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THE

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OR A VIEW OF THE

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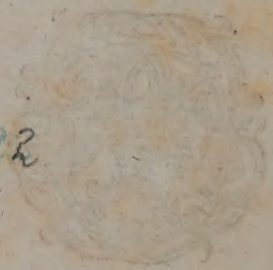
For the YEAR 1779.



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PREFACE.

THE Year of which we treat, preſented the moſt aweful appearance of public affairs, which this country had perhaps beheld for many ages. All ancient ſyſtems of policy, relative to any ſcheme of equality or balance of power, ſeemed forgotten in Europe. Friends and allies were no more with reſpect to us. On the contrary, whether it proceeded from our fault, or whether it was merely our misfortune, mankind ſeemed to wait, with an aſpect which at beſt beſpoke indifference, for the event of that ruin which was expected to burſt upon us.

It has happened fortunately, that the expected evil and danger, were less dreadful in the encounter, than in the distant appearance. The great combination of the House of Bourbon with the American Colonies, was far from producing all those effects which were undoubtedly expected. If our own successes were not great, and rather negative than direct in their nature, our losses, however considerable, were still less than might have been apprehended. It affords no small room both for satisfaction and hope, that no diminution of national glory has taken place, through any failure of native valour in our Seamen and Soldiers. They have supported in all cases, and under whatever circumstances of disadvantage, their antient character.

With the importance and variety of the work, our labour has increased; and

every year of this period, ſo full of trouble both abroad and at home, has produced ſo much matter, that the buſineſs of one has run in upon the other. The Reader will thus account for the delay which has annually increaſed. Perhaps we ought rather to apologize for bringing out the matter ſo crudely, as we are obliged to do, to keep tolerably within time, than for a delay rendered neceſſary by the magnitude of our taſk. Happy ſhall we deem the hour, when, recurring from the horrors of war to the pleaſant ways of peace, we ſhall have the pleaſure of announcing to the Public, the glad tidings of returning tranquility.

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1779.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of American affairs in the year 1778. *Expedition to Bedford, Fair Haven; and to Martha's Vineyard. Admiral Montague dispossesses the French of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Lord Cornwallis, and General Knyphausen, advance into the enemy's country, on both sides of the North River. Surprize of Baylor's light horse. Success of the expedition to Egg Harbour. Surprize of Pulaski's legion. Cruel depredations by Butler, Brandt, and the savages, on the back frontiers. Destruction of the new settlement at Wyoming, attended with circumstances of singular cruelty and barbarity. Col. Clarke's expedition from Virginia, for the reduction of the Canadian towns and settlements in the Illinois country. Consequences of Clarke's success. Expedition from Schoharie to the Upper Susquehanna. Destruction of the Unadilla and Anaquago settlements.*

WE have seen in our last volume, that the effectual protection which the French squadron received from their new allies at Boston, had entirely frustated Lord Howe's design of attacking D'Estaing in that road or harbour. Upon this failure of hope with respect to his primary object, the noble Admiral immediately returned to the succour of Rhode Island, which, we have also seen, had been invested, and vigorously attacked, by General Sullivan. And finding that island already freed from danger, he proceeded to New York, where,

Sept. 8th, 1778.

in conſequence of what is underſtood by a previous leave of abſence, he reſigned the command of the fleet into the hands of Admiral Gambier, and returned to England.

Sir Henry Clinton, who had embarked with 4,000 men for the relief of Rhode Iſland, had two other material objects in view, in one or both of which he might probably have ſucceeded, if he had not been detained by contrary winds a few hours beyond his time, or that Sullivan had not been attentive to the danger to which he was expoſed, when he found himſelf finally abandoned by the French fleet, and in conſequence deſerted by the New England volunteers, who compoſed the better part of his force. One of theſe was to cut off Sullivan's retreat to the continent; and the other, which might have been either adopted as principal, or purſued as a ſecondary object, was to attack the Americans in their head quarters and principal place of arms at Providence; the deſtruction, or effectual diſmantling of which, would have removed an eye-ſore, and conſtant ſource of apprehenſion, at leaſt, from the immediate vicinity of Rhode Iſland.

Sullivan's timely retreat having fruſtrated theſe deſigns, Sir Henry Clinton, on his return to New York, diſpatched Major General Grey, with the fleet of tranſports and troops, under the convoy of Captain Fanſhawe, of the Carysfort frigate, upon an expedition to the eaſtward. The firſt object of this expedition was to exterminate ſome neſts of ſmall privateers, which abounded in the rivers and creeks adjoining to Buzzards Bay, in that part of New England called the Plymouth Colony; which from their vicinity to Rhode Iſland and the Sound, greatly infeſted the trade of New York, as well as the adjacent coaſts of Long Iſland; whilſt the nearneſs of their retreats, with the ſmallneſs of their veſſels, and the ſhallowneſs of their creeks, ſecured them in a great meaſure from all purſuit.

This ſervice was performed with great effect by the detachment under the command of the Major General. Between ſix in the evening, when the troops were landed, and twelve, on the following day, the work was completely done: deſtroying in their courſe about ſeventy ſail of ſhipping, beſides a great number of ſmall craft. The detachment likewiſe burnt or deſtroyed in the ſame manner, the magazines, wharfs, ſtores, warehouſes, rope walks, and veſſels on the ſtocks, both on the Bedford and Fair Haven ſides of the Acuſhinet river. Sept. 5th.

The tranſports and troops proceeded from Fair Haven to the iſland called Martha's Vineyard; the inhabitants of which, like thoſe of Nantucket, were once celebrated for their enterprize, ſkill, and great ſucceſs in the fiſheries. This iſland being, however, the reverſe of Nantucket in point of fertility, afforded a conſiderable and moſt deſirable contribution, conſiſting of 10,000 ſheep, and 300 oxen, for the public ſervice at New York.

In the mean time, Admiral Montague, who commanded on the Newfoundland ſtation, no ſooner received intelligence that D'Eſtaing had commenced hoſtilities on the coaſts

coaſts of North America, than, in conſequence of proviſional orders with which he had been furniſhed for the purpoſe, he diſpatched Commodore Evans, with the Romney and ſome frigates, together with a detachment of marines and artillery, to ſeize on the ſmall iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which had been allotted to France by the laſt treaty of peace, for the purpoſe of curing and drying their fiſh, and ſerving as a ſtorehouſe and ſhelter for the veſſels employed in their fiſhery.

As France had been particularly reſtricted by the late treaty, from fortifying thoſe iſlands, and equally tied down from any increaſe of a ſmall limited number of troops in them, which were only adapted to the ſupport of the civil government, and not to any purpoſes of defence, againſt whatever might deſerve the name of enemy, this ſervice was accordingly performed without difficulty. A capitulation was granted, in conſequence of which the Governor, with the inhabitants, and the garriſon, amounting in the whole to about 2,000, were tranſmitted to France; all the accommodations of habitation, trade, and fiſhery, were deſtroyed; and the iſlands thrown back into their original ſtate.

Upon the return of the troops from the Bedford expedition, and with the contributions raiſed at Martha's Vineyard, Gen. Sir Henry Clinton determined upon another to Egg Harbour, on the Jerſey coaſt, where the enemy had a number of privateers and prizes, and what was ſtill more intereſting, ſome very conſiderable ſalt-works. To draw away their attention from the objects of this expedition, and in order alſo to procure forage and freſh proviſions for the army, Lord Cornwallis advanced into Jerſey with a ſtrong body of troops, where he took a poſition between Newbridge, on the Hackinſack, to his left, and the North river, to his right. At the ſame time, Lieut. Gen. Knyphauſen, advancing with another diviſion of the army on the Weſt Cheſter ſide, took a parallel poſition, his left reaching to the North River, near Wepperham, and his right extending to the Brunx.

It would not be eaſy to conceive any ſituation more favourable for the carrying on of military operations with advantage. The two diviſions being only ſeparated by the North River, could, by the means of their flat boats, unite their whole force on either ſide of it within twenty-four hours; whilſt, by the command of the Channel, which their marine afforded all the way up to the Highlands, Waſhington's forces, which were likewiſe ſeparated in the ſame manner, but much more diſperſed, could not have been aſſembled in leſs than ten days. And even then, if he ſhould quit his ſtrong ground in the Highlands, in order to paſs over to the relief of the Jerſeys, he muſt have ſubjected himſelf to hazard the conſequences of a general action, in a country, which from its nature, would have been very unfavourable to him in ſuch an event. By this means, the provinces of New York and the Jerſeys were in a great meaſure laid open to the army; the neceſſary ſupplies of forage and proviſions were plentifully obtained; and an opportunity was afforded to the well affected of

coming in for protection or service. Such was one, among the numberless advantages, which our naval command of the seas and rivers afforded in the course of this war.

Baylor's regiment of light horse, which had been lately raised in Virginia, and was generally called Mrs. Washington's regiment, became a victim upon this occasion to the design of Lord Cornwallis, with the immediate address, and prompt execution, of Major General Grey. This regiment having been detached with some militia to watch and interrupt the foragers, their vicinity to the North River, in the villages of Old and New Taapan, where they lay, with other circumstances of situation, and perhaps more than any, their unsoldierly security, and carelessness with respect to guards and posts, induced Lord Cornwallis to form a plan for their surprize in the night. In pursuit of this design, whilst Gen. Grey, with the light infantry, and some other troops, advanced by night on the left, to surprize the enemy on that side, a detachment was made from Knyphausen's corps, on the right, consisting of the 71st regiment under Col. Campbell, and an American light corps, called the Queen's Rangers, who having passed the North River, intended to have enclosed them so effectually, that being placed between two fires, few or none of them could escape.

Sept. 27th.

Some deserters from the column on the right, prevented the completion of the scheme. These having, at the most critical moment rouzed the militia who lay in New Taapan, from their trance of security, afforded a clear opportunity for their escape, before the column could come up. But the Major General conducted his division, with so profound a silence, and such excellency of order, that they not only cut off a serjeant's patrole of twelve men, without any noise, but completely surrounded the village of Old Taapan without any discovery, and surprized Baylor's horse, asleep and naked, in the barns where they lay. A severe execution took place, and the regiment was entirely ruined.

Capt. Ferguson of the 70th regiment, with about 300 land forces, were detached on the expedition to Little Egg Harbour, on the Jersey coast, under the convoy of Capt. Colins of the Zebra, with two other frigates, besides some light armed vessels and gallies, which, from their capacity of running into shallow water, were particularly adapted to the nature of the intended service.

The convoy arrived at the place of its destination about the beginning of October; but as the wind and other circumstances retarded the passage of the ships over a bar which lay in their way, and that every thing in such an enterprize depended upon expedition, the troops were crowded, as circumstances would admit, into the gallies and small craft, which were lightened, by taking out every thing that was not essentially necessary to the immediate service. It seems, that the enemy having received some intelligence of the design against them, had suddenly sent out to sea, such of their privateers as were in any degree of readiness, in order thereby to evade the impending danger. The larger of their remaining vessels, con-

consisting mostly of prizes, were, for their greater security, hauled up the river Mullicus as far as they could go, to a place called Chesnut Neck, which lay about 20 miles from the mouth of the river. Their smaller privateers, and craft of different sorts, were carried still farther up into the country.

The detachment, with the lighter armed vessels, proceeded, through a most difficult passage, to Chesnut Neck; being obliged to work their way at random through numberless shoals, without the aid of a pilot, or any knowledge of the channels. Having successfully overcome these difficulties, they discovered on their arrival, an appearance of resistance which they could scarcely have expected; one battery shewing itself close to the water side, and another, with a breast work manned, to cover it on an adjoining eminence. But upon a nearer approach it was discovered, that these works were totally destitute of artillery; and the troops being landed under a well directed cannonade from the gallies and gun boats, the neighbouring militia, who had undertaken their defence with small arms, soon found the task beyond their ability, and were, with little difficulty, and without any loss, obliged to abandon them and disperse.

The detachment found ten vessels at this place, which were of a considerable size, and mostly British prizes. Although these were in general valuable, yet the difficulty of the navigation, and the danger of delay, rendered the carrying them off impracticable; they were accordingly fired and destroyed. And as the trade of New York had suffered greatly from their depredations, the commanders determined to root out this nest of privateers as effectually as possible. Under this determination, they destroyed the settlements, storehouses, and works of every sort.

The good will of the officers and troops would have led them to complete the business, by proceeding up the river, and destroying the remainder of the enemy's shipping, in their last retreat, at the Forks, if the difficulties had not appeared too discouraging, and the danger too imminent to be prudently encountered. The delays which they met with in their return, owing to the stranding of some of the vessels, afforded an opportunity to the troops of making some successful excursions into the neighbouring country. In these they destroyed some considerable salt works, as well as the houses and settlements of several persons, who had either been conspicuous by their activity in the rebellion, charged with oppression and cruelty to the well affected, or who had been concerned in the fitting out of privateers; a species of service, however, more calculated to gratify resentments on one side, and to excite them on the other, than to produce any essential end with regard to the issue of the war.

When the troops had rejoined the squadron, a delay occasioned by contrary winds in Egg Harbour, afforded an opportunity to enterprizing officers for the performance of new service, and that of a more active and spirited nature, than what they had already executed. A French captain, with some private men, who had deserted from Pulaski's legion, gave such an account of the careless

manner in which three troops of horſe, and as many companies of infantry, all belonging to that corps, were cantoned, at only a few miles diſtance, that the commanding officers by ſea and land, judged it a ſufficient ground for undertaking an expedition to ſurprize and beat up their quarters. The advantage of conveying the troops by water to within a ſmall diſtance of their deſtination, together with the information given by the deſerters of an unguarded bridge, which lay a little on their ſide of the ſcene of action, the poſſeſſion of which would ſerve in caſe of neceſſity, effectually to cover the retreat back to their veſſels, added much to the apparent eligibility of the deſign.

The deſerters ſpoke truth in this inſtance, and the ſucceſs was accordingly anſwerable to the expectation: 250 men were embarked, who after rowing ten miles, were landed long before day-light, within a mile of the bridge and defile we have mentioned; theſe being ſeized without diſcovery, and a proper guard left to ſecure the poſſeſſion, the reſt of the detachment puſhed forward, and ſo completely ſurprized Pulaſki's light infantry in the houſes where they lay, as nearly to cut them to pieces without reſiſtance. The victors numbered above fifty dead bodies. Several officers, and among them, the Baron de Boſe, a lieutenant colonel, with a captain, and an adjutant, periſhed in this ſlaughter. Capt. Ferguſon obſerves in his report, that it being a night attack, little quarter could be given, ſo that only five priſoners were taken. Though ſome attempt was made by Pulaſki's horſe, and the remains of his infantry, to harraſs the detachment on their retreat, the good countenance which they kept, and the poſſeſſion of the bridge, rendered it totally ineffectual.

Civil wars are unhappily diſtinguiſhed from all others, by a degree of rancour in their proſecution, which does not exiſt in the hoſtilities of diſtinct nations, and abſolute ſtrangers. They are of courſe fruitful in circumſtances grievous to humanity. In ſuch caſes, the moſt trifling occaſions, the moſt vague and abſurd rumours, will irritate the multitude in all armies, to acts of great rigour and cruelty. An account given by the deſerters, that Pulaſki had iſſued public orders, forbidding his corps to grant any quarter to the Britiſh troops, afforded a new edge to the fury of the ſoldiers, and ſhut up their boſoms againſt every feeling of pity or remorſe. This tale, totally unſupported, as it ſhould ſeem, by any former, concurrent, or ſubſequent circumſtance, might well be attributed to the malice of the deſerters; and perhaps on all ſuch occaſions, it were better not to credit too haſtily, thoſe reports which urge to acts of unuſual ſeverity, by charging a like intention to the enemy.

This and the former expedition afforded an opportunity for a renewal of thoſe complaints, which the Americans had ſo loudly and repeatedly made, of the inhumanities and cruelties exerciſed by ſome corps of the Britiſh troops, as well as by their auxiliaries. A number of real or ſuppoſed facts, were now particularly ſupplied by the ſurprize of Baylor's regiment,

which was represented as a cold-blood massacre of naked men, surprized in their sleep; and who, from a reliance on the laws of war and customs of nations, being in full expectation of quarter when they made no resistance, would not lessen or hazard that security, by even an attempt to lay hold of their arms, or the smallest motion of defence. The depositions of several of the soldiers who had been left as dead, or who had otherwise unaccountably escaped, were taken upon oath, authenticated in the usual forms, and published by authority. Some of the witnesses who appeared upon this occasion, afforded such extraordinary instances of the tenaciousness of human nature, in some particular cases and circumstances, with respect to life, that a recital of the facts as they are stated, may possibly be considered by some as a matter of physical curiosity. Of about a dozen wounded soldiers who appeared to give their evidence, three had received, in a regular gradation, from nine to eleven stabs each, of bayonets, in the breast and trunk of the body, besides several wounds in other parts. Two others had received, the one five, and the other six, stabs in the body. It will undoubtedly excite the admiration of whoever considers the nature of the weapon, and the force which it derives, as well from the weight of the musket to which it is fixed, as from the manner in which it is used, and the strength of the operator, that these men were not only able to give their testimony at a considerable distance of time, but that no doubt seems then to have been entertained of their recovery.

Although some tribes of the Indians, particularly of those commonly called the Six Nations, had sent congratulations to General Gates on his success at Saratoga, and seemed to enjoy great satisfaction in that event, and that others took different opportunities of expressing similar sentiments, yet the presents which they continually received from England, the industry of the British agents, and the influence of the great number of American refugees which had taken shelter amongst them, all operating in conjunction upon their own native and unconquerable passion for rapine, soon led them to contradict in act, their sentiments or professions upon that occasion. The success which attended the small expeditions undertaken by individuals of different tribes, under the guidance of the refugees, who knew where to lead them directly to spoil, and how to bring them off without danger, soon spread the contagion of havock through the adjoining nations, so that, in a little time, destruction raged very generally through the new settlements, on the back of the northern and middle colonies.

Colonel Butler, whose name we have seen, as an Indian agent and commander, in the wars on the side of Canada, and who had great influence with some of the northern nations of that people, together with one Brandt, an half Indian by blood, a man of desperate courage, but, as it is said by the Americans, ferocious and cruel beyond example, were the

principal leaders in these expeditions. The vast extent of the frontiers, the scattered and remote situation of the settlements, the nature of the combined enemy, which seemed to coalesce in one point of action, all the properties of British, American, and savage warfare, together with the exact knowledge which the refugees possessed of every object of their enterprize, and the immediate intelligence which they received from their friends on the spot, afforded them such advantages in these expeditions, that the wretched settlers, found all personal resistance as ineffectual, as public protection was impracticable. To complete their calamity, submission could procure no mercy, nor was age, sex, or condition, in too many instances, capable of allaying the fury of their enemy.

In this course of havock, the destruction of the fine, new, and flourishing settlement of Wyoming, was particularly calamitous to the Americans. That district, situated on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, in a most beautiful country, and delightful climate, although claimed by, and in the natural order of things seeming properly to appertain to Pensylvania, was notwithstanding, since the last war, settled and cultivated with great ardour, by a numerous swarm from the populous hive of Connecticut. This measure was, however, so much opposed and resented by Pensylvania, and so obstinately supported by its antagonist, that after much altercation, it became at length the foundation of an actual war between the two Colonies, in which they engaged with such earnestness, that it was not even terminated by the contest with the mother country, until the danger grew so near and so imminent to both sides, as of necessity to supercede for the present all other considerations. Their respective charters, and the grants of land under them, interfered strangely with each other. It may be presumed, that the crown in those days did not take much trouble in settling the geography of boundless wastes, which afforded no immediate value, and whose future cultivation, or any disputes about their limits, appeared to be matters of so remote and uncertain a speculation, as to excite no great degree of present attention.

The Colony of Connecticut obtained by their grant, all the lands westward, within their proper degrees of latitude, to the South Seas, which were not already occupied by other powers. New York, and New Jersey, were then within that exception, being both foreign, and they stretched directly across, in the way of that grant. Pensylvania was afterwards granted to its proprietors, lying on the farther side, and in a parallel line, with these two provinces. The Connecticut men acknowledged, the validity of the exception with respect to New York and Jersey; but insisted, that their right emerged on the western boundary of those provinces, in the course of the supposed line, and could not in any degree be affected by a later grant made to Pensylvania. A claim, which, if established, would narrow the limits of the last province to a degree, which would most materially

ally affect its power and intereſts; and which lying open, as it ſtill does, may poſſibly be productive of very material conſequences with reſpect to the future ſtate of America.

The ſettlement of Wyoming conſiſted of eight townſhips, each containing a ſquare of five miles, beautifully ſituated on both ſides of the Suſquehanna. In ſuch a country, ſituation, and climate as we have deſcribed, and bleſt with a ſoil luxuriantly fertile; where every man poſſeſſed an abundance, which was, however, the fruit of moderate labour and induſtry; where no man was very rich, nor very great; the inhabitants exhibited upon the whole, ſuch a picture of primeval happineſs, as has ſeldom been equalled; and ſuch, indeed, as humanity in its preſent ſtate ſeems ſcarcely capable of exceeding.

The ſettlement increaſed and throve accordingly. And notwithſtanding its infant ſtate, and the oppoſition they met from Philadelphia, population was already become ſo vigorous amongſt them, that they had ſent a thouſand men to ſerve in the continental army. Yet, with this exceſſive drain from the cultivation of a new Colony, their farms were ſtill ſo loaded with plentiful crops of every kind, and their paſtures ſo abundantly covered with cattle, that their ſupplies to the army in thoſe reſpects, were at leaſt in full proportion to that which they afforded in men. Nor had they been deficient in providing againſt thoſe dangers, to which, from their remote ſituation, they were particularly expoſed; and had accordingly conſtructed for that purpoſe no leſs than four forts, which ſeemed, at leaſt, fully ſufficient to cover the ſettlement from the irruptions of the ſavages.

But neither the happineſs of climate, the fertility of ſoil, nor the remoteneſs of ſituation, could prevent the evils of party and political diſcord from ſpringing up amongſt them. It might indeed appear from the ſupply of men which they had ſent to the army, that only one political principle pervaded the ſettlement; a ſupply ſo ill ſuited to the ſtate and ſtrength of an infant colony, that it ſeems difficult whether to admire more, the exceſs of zeal from which it proceeded, or the total want of prudence, policy, and wiſdom, under which it was directed. But notwithſtanding this appearance, they had no inconſiderable mixture of loyaliſts among themſelves, and the two parties were actuated by ſentiments of the moſt violent animoſity. Nor were theſe animoſities confined to particular families or places, or marked by any line of diſtinction; but creeping within the roofs, and to the hearths and boards where they were leaſt expected, ſerved, as it afterwards fatally appeared, equally to poiſon the ſources of domeſtic ſecurity and happineſs, and to cancel the laws of nature and humanity.

It would ſeem extraordinary, if ſuch inſtances had not occurred upon other occaſions, that this devoted people had frequent and timely warnings of the danger to which they were expoſed by ſending all their beſt men to ſo great a diſtance, without their taking any timely meaſures for their recall,

call, or even for procuring a ſubſtitute of defence or protection. Their quiet had been interrupted by the ſavages, joined with marauding parties of their own countrymen, in the preceding year; and it was only by a vigorous oppoſition, in a courſe of ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, that they had been driven off or diſperſed. Several of thoſe whom they called Tories, and others who had not before been ſuſpected, had at that time and ſince abandoned the ſettlement, and along with a perfect, and conſequently dangerous knowledge of all the particulars of their ſituation and circumſtances, were well known to have carried along with them ſuch a ſtock of private reſentment, from the abaſement and inſults they had ſuffered from the prevailing party, as could not fail to give a direction to the fury, and even a new edge to the cruelty, of their ſavage and inveterate enemies.

A ſort of public act which had taken place in the ſettlement ſince the laſt invaſion, was preceded with, and productive of circumſtances, which afforded cauſe for the greateſt alarm, and for every poſſible defenſive precaution. An unuſual number of ſtrangers had, under various pretences, and the ſanction of that univerſal hoſpitality which once ſo much diſtinguiſhed America from the old world, come into the Colony, where their behaviour became ſo ſuſpicious, that they were at length taken up and examined, when ſuch evidence appeared againſt ſeveral of them, of their acting in direct concert with the enemy, on a ſcheme for the deſtruction of the ſettlements, that about twenty were ſent off under a ſtrong guard to Connecticut, in order to be there impriſoned and tried for their lives. The remainder of theſe ſtrange Tories, againſt whom no ſufficient evidence could be procured, were only expelled. It was ſoon well known, that this meaſure of ſending their fellows to Connecticut, had excited the rage of thoſe called Tories, in general, whether in arms on the frontiers, or otherwiſe, in the moſt extreme degree; and that all the threats which had ever been denounced againſt this people, were now renewed with aggravated vengeance.

As the time approached for the final cataſtrophe, the Indians practiſed a more refined diſſimulation, if not greater treachery, than had been cuſtomary with them. For ſeveral weeks previous to the intended attack, they repeatedly ſent ſmall parties to the ſettlement, charged with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of friendſhip, declarations of the fulleſt deſire and intention to preſerve the peace inviolate on their ſide, and requeſts, that the ſame favourable and pacific diſpoſition might be entertained and cultivated on the other. Theſe parties, beſides lulling the people in their preſent deceitful ſecurity, anſwered the purpoſes, of communicating with their friends, and of obſerving the immediate ſtate of affairs in the Colony. Some alarm, or ſenſe of their danger, began, however, to ſpread among the people, and letters were ſent to General Waſhington, and to others in authority, repreſenting their ſituation, and demanding immediate aſſiſtance. As the time more nearly approached

approached, ſome ſmall parties of the enemy, more impatient than the reſt, or more eager and covetous to come in for the firſt fruits of the ſpoil, made ſudden irruptions into the ſettlement, and committed ſeveral robberies and murders; in the courſe of which, whether through ignorance, or whether from a total contempt of all ties and obligations, they maſſacred the unhappy wife and five children of one of thoſe men, who had been ſent for trial, in their own cauſe, to Connecticut.

At length, in the beginning of July, 1778, the enemy appeared ſuddenly, but in full force, on the Suſquehanna. They were led by Butler, that diſtinguiſhed partizan, whoſe name we have already mentioned; who was aſſiſted by moſt of thoſe leaders, who, like him, had rendered themſelves terrible in the preſent frontier war. Their force was eſtimated at about 1,600 men, of whom, ſomething leſs than one fourth were Indians, led by their own chiefs; the others, were diſguiſed and painted in ſuch a manner, as not to be diſtinguiſhed from the ſavages, excepting only their officers, who being dreſſed in regimentals, carried the appearance of regulars. One of the ſmaller forts, which was moſtly garriſoned by thoſe called Tories, was by them given up, or as it was ſaid betrayed. Another was taken by ſtorm, where, although they maſſacred the men in the moſt inhuman manner, they ſpared the women and children.

It ſeems odd enough, if not ſingular, that another Colonel Butler, and ſaid to be a near relation to the invader, ſhould chance to have the defence of Wyoming, either committed to his charge, or by ſome means fall to his lot. This man, with nearly the whole force of the ſettlement, was ſtationed in the principal fort, called Kingſton; whither alſo, the women, children, and defenceleſs of all ſorts, as the only place of common refuge, crowded for ſhelter and protection. It would ſeem, from his ſituation and force in that place, that he might there have waited, and ſucceſsfully reſiſted, all the attempts of the enemy. But this man was ſo wretchedly weak, that he ſuffered himſelf to be enticed by his nameſake and kinſman, to abandon the advantage and ſecurity afforded by his fortreſs, and to devote thoſe under his charge to certain deſtruction, by expoſing them naked to ſo ſevere an enemy. Under the colour of holding a parley for the concluſion of a treaty, he was led into an agreement, that upon the enemy withdrawing their force, he ſhould march out to hold a conference with them in the open field, and that at ſo great a diſtance from the fort, as ſhut out every poſſibility of the protection which it otherwiſe afforded. To render this meaſure ſtill more unaccountable, he, at the ſame time, ſhewed ſo great a diſtruſt of the enemy, and ſeemed ſo thoroughly apprehenſive of their deſigns, that he marched 400 men well armed, being nearly the whole ſtrength of his garriſon, to guard his perſon to the place of parley.

Upon his arrival there, he was greatly ſurprized, at finding nobody to treat with; but not being willing to return without finiſhing his buſineſs, he advanced towards the

the foot of the neighbouring mountains, ſtill hoping that he might hear or ſee ſomething of thoſe he wanted. As the country began to grow dark and woody, a flag at length appeared, at a conſiderable diſtance among the buſhes, the holders of which ſeemed ſo much afraid of treachery and danger from his ſide, that they retired as he advanced; whilſt he, endeavouring to remove this ill impreſſion, ſtill purſued the flag.

This commander of a garriſon did not once perceive his danger, until his party was thoroughly encloſed, and he was ſuddenly awakened from his dream, by finding it attacked at once on every ſide. His behaviour in this wretched ſituation, could ſcarcely have been expected from the conduct which led him into it. He and his party, notwithſtanding thoſe circumſtances of ſurprize and danger which might have diſconcerted the moſt veteran troops, fought with reſolution and bravery; and kept up ſo continual and heavy a fire for three quarters of an hour, that they ſeemed to gain a marked ſuperiority over their numerous enemy.

In this critical moment of danger, ſome ſudden impulſe of fear, or premeditated treachery in a ſoldier, which induced him to cry out aloud that the colonel had ordered a retreat, determined at once the fate of the party, and poſſibly that of the final author of their ruin. In the ſtate of confuſion that enſued, the enemy breaking in on all ſides without obſtruction, commenced an unreſiſted ſlaughter. Conſidering the great ſuperiority of numbers on the ſide of the victors, the fleetneſs of the ſavages, and the fierceneſs of the whole, together with the manner in which the vanquiſhed had been originally ſurrounded, it affords no ſmall room for aſtoniſhment, that the commander of the garriſon, with about ſeventy of his party, ſhould have been able to effect their eſcape, and to make their way good to a ſmall fort on the other ſide of the river.

The conquerors immediately inveſted Fort Kingſton, and to cheer the drooping ſpirits of the weak remaining garriſon, ſent in for their contemplation, the bloody ſcalps of 200 of their late relations, friends, and comrades. Colonel Denniſon, the preſent commander of the fort, ſeeing the impoſſibility of any effectual defence, not having force ſufficient even to man the works for one effort, went with a flag to Butler, to know what terms he would grant on a ſurrender; to this application of weakneſs and miſery, Butler, with all the phlegm of a real ſavage, anſwered in two ſhort words, "the hatchet." In theſe dreadful circumſtances, the unfortunate governor having defended his fort, until moſt of the garriſon were killed or diſabled, was at length compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion. Some of the unhappy perſons in the fort were carried away alive; but the barbarous conquerors, to ſave the trouble of murder in detail, ſhut up the greater part promiſcuouſly in the houſes and barracks, which having then ſet on fire, they enjoyed the ſavage pleaſure of beholding the whole conſumed in one general blaze.

They then proceeded to the only remaining fort, called Wilkeſborough, which, in hopes of obtaining

taining mercy, was surrendered without resistance, or without even demanding any conditions. Here the tragedy was renewed with aggravated horrors. They found here about seventy of that sort of militia, who are engaged by the different provinces, merely for the guard and defence of their respective frontiers, and who are not called to any other service. With these, as objects of particular enmity, the slaughter was begun; and they were butchered with every possible circumstance of the most deliberate, wanton, and savage cruelty. The remainder of the men, with the women and children, not demanding so much particular attention, were shut up as before in the houses, which being set on fire, they perished all together in the flames.

A general scene of devastation was now spread through all the townships. Fire, sword, and the other different instruments of destruction alternately triumphed. The corn fields were set on fire, and the standing corn, now almost ready for the fickle, burnt as it grew. The houses, furniture, valuables of every kind, together with all those improvements which owed their rise to the persevering toil, and patient industry of man, were as completely destroyed, as their nature, or the industry of the spoilers would admit. The settlements of the Tories alone, generally escaped, and appeared as islands in the midst of the surrounding ruin. It has been often observed, that the practice and habit of cruelty with respect to any particular object, begets a facility in its execution, and a disposition to its commission, with regard to all others. Thus, these merciless ravagers, when the main objects of their cruelty were exhausted, seemed to direct their animosity to every part of living nature; and, as if it were a relaxation or amusement, cut out the tongues of the horses and cattle, leaving them still alive only to prolong their agonies.

The following are a few of the more singular or detached circumstances of barbarity, which are related as parts of this massacre. A Captain Bedlock, who had been taken prisoner, being stripped naked, had his body stuck full of sharp pine splinters, and then a heap of knots of the same wood being piled round him, the whole was set on fire, and his two companions, the Captains Ranson and Durgee, thrown alive into the flames. It is said, that the returned Tories, who had at different times abandoned the settlement in order to join in those savage expeditions, were the most distinguished for their cruelty. Among these, one, whose mother had married a second husband, butchered with his own hands, both her, his father-in-law, his own sisters, and their infant children. Another, who, during his absence, had sent home several threats against the life of his father, now not only realized them in person, but was himself, with his own hands, the exterminator of his whole family; mother, brothers, and sisters, mingled their blood in one common carnage, with that of the ancient husband and father.

However painful the task of reciting such horrible barbarities, (many of the worst circumstances of which are spared) it may not be

be totally useless, if they serve to produce a dislike of that promptitude of entering into wars, which is but too natural to people, as well as to princes, when they see the consequences, which their passion, often for trivial and contemptible objects, so frequently produce; and by which they are led gradually, not only to great crimes and great misfortunes, but even to a total change and degradation of their nature.

It is necessary to observe with respect to the destruction of Wyoming, that as no narrative of the exploits of the leaders in that transaction, whether by authority or otherwise, has as yet appeared in this country, we can only rely, for the authenticity of the facts which we have stated, upon the accounts published by the Americans. As these have already been long exposed to the view of all Europe, without their yet producing a single contradiction, any natural, but improper partiality, which might be a temptation to induce us, either to draw a veil over the whole, or to suppress any of the parts of that transaction, would therefore of course, be as fruitless in the effect, as disgraceful in the design. Happy should we deem it, for the honour of humanity, that the whole account was demonstrated to be a fable. The event has already shewn, the impolitic nature of these proceedings, which have only served to fix a bitter and lasting resentment in the minds of the colonists.

The sufferings of the refugees, consisting mostly of women and children, (the broken parts, and scattered relicks of families, who had escaped to the woods during the different scenes of this devastation) were little less deplorable, than those of their friends who had perished in the ruins of their houses. Dispersed and wandering in the forests, as chance and fear directed their steps, without any mutual knowledge or communication, without provision or covering, they had a long tract of deserts to traverse, without guide or direction. They accordingly suffered every degree of distress. Several women were delivered alone in the woods, at a great distance from every possibility of relief. If these, through vigour of mind, or strength of constitution, escaped, undoubtedly others, in similar, and in different circumstances, perished.

Although the fate of Wyoming, and the lamentations of the survivors, had served alternately to freeze every breast with horror, and to melt it with compassion; yet the various objects and exigencies of the war, rendered the Americans incapable for the present, of executing that vengeance on their savage enemy, which was however, fully intended at a proper season. Some small expeditions were, indeed, undertaken, which, from the difficulties attending them, and the spirit of enterprize under which they were conducted, were not destitute of merit, and consequently, are not unworthy of observation, in the narrative of a campaign not distinguished by any activity in the great and splendid operations of war.

Of this sort was an expedition undertaken in the course of the summer from Virginia, under the conduct of a Col. Clarke, with a small party of between two and three hundred men. It cannot but appear astonishing to those, who have

have been generally used to contemplate military operations, only as they are circumscribed within the narrow confines of European countries, that the object of this enterprize was at so vast a distance, as that the party, in their way, were obliged to traverse no less than about 1200 miles, of a boundless, uncultivated, and uninhabited waste, through which they were under a necessity of conveying, every necessary for subsistence, and every equipment for action. It is, however, to be observed, that their conveyance, for much the greater part of the way, was by water.

Their object was the reduction of those French settlements, which had been planted by the Canadians on the upper Missisippi, in that fine and fertile region, as it is described, which taking its name from a noted nation of Indians, is called the Illinois country. It appears, that much of the mischief which had fallen upon the southern and middle colonies from the incursions of the savages, had been attributed to the activity of the governor of those settlements; who, since the commencement of the troubles, acting as an agent for government, and paying large rewards for scalps, had besides been indefatigable in his continual endeavours of exciting the Ohio and Missisippi Indians, to undertake expeditions against the back settlements. This conduct was the motive to the present distant expedition.

The party, after a long course down the Monongahela, and what might be considered in point of extent, as a voyage, on the Ohio, arrived at length at the great falls of the latter, within about 60 miles of its mouth, where they hid their boats, and bent their course by land to the northward. In this stage of the expedition, after consuming all the provision which they had been able to carry on their backs, they endured a hard march of two days without any sustenance. We may therefore well credit their assertion, that when they arrived in this hungry state, about midnight, at the town of Kaskaskias, they were unanimously determined to take it, or to perish in the attempt.

This town contained about 250 houses, and was sufficiently fortified to have withstood a much stronger enemy; but as the imagined security which the people derived from their remoteness, forbid all ideas of danger, it of course superseded all precaution against a surprize. This was accordingly as complete as possible. The town and fort were taken, without noise or opposition, before the people were well awake; and the inhabitants were so effectually secured, that not so much as a single person escaped to alarm the neighbouring settlements. The governor, Philip Rocheblave, who was considered as so inimical to the Americans, was sent to Virginia, with all the written instructions which he had received from Quebec, Detroit, and Michillimackinack, for setting on and paying the Indians. The inhabitants were compelled to take an oath of allegiance to the United States; and the fort became the principal citadel and head quarters of the victors.

A small detachment which was pushed forward from this place on horseback, surprized and took with as little difficulty, three other French towns, which lay from

fifteen

fifteen to about ſeventy miles farther up the Miſſiſippi. In all, the inhabitants ſeem to have transferred their allegiance with great facility; nor were thoſe diſperſed in the country behind-hand with them; who, without waiting for any operation of force or neceſſity, flocked in by hundreds to take the new oath.

The ſituation of this ſmall party, in the heart of the Indian country, at the back of ſome of their moſt cruel and hoſtile tribes, in the track of many others, and more or leſs in the way of all, was converted to peculiar advantage, by the extraordinary activity, and unwearied ſpirit of their commander. He directed and timed his attacks with ſuch judgment, and executed them with ſuch ſilence and diſpatch, that the ſavages, at length, found their own mode of war effectually turned upon them. Surprized in their inmoſt retreats, and moſt ſequeſtered receſſes, at thoſe times and ſeaſons, when they were ſcarcely leſs indiſpoſed for action, than unprepared for defence, they experienced in their own huts and families, that unexpected ſlaughter and deſtruction, which they had ſo frequently carried home to others. Thus feeling, in the moſt ſenſible manner, thoſe calamities which they were only wont to adminiſter, they grew cautious and timid; and the continual danger to which their families were expoſed, damped, for a while, the ardour of the warriors in undertaking expeditions. In the mean time, the Americans in the back ſettlements, not only hearing of Clarke's ſucceſſes, but immediately feeling their benefit, began to ſhake off their terror, and even ſeemed by degrees to partake of his ſpirit and enterprize.

An expedition, in ſome degree of the ſame nature, was alſo undertaken, from the remote and upper parts of Penſylvania in the month of October, under the conduct of a Col. Butler; the preſent being, however, as much directed againſt ſeveral conſiderable ſettlements belonging to thoſe people whom they called Tories (and who, from the violence of their paſt hoſtilities, had become particularly obnoxious), as againſt the Indians, with whom they ſeem to have been intermixed as one people. This party, which conſiſted of a Penſylvania regiment, covered by riflemen and rangers, took its departure from Schoharie; and having gained the head of the Delaware, marched down that river for two days; from whence, turning off to the right, they ſtruck acroſs the mountains to the Suſquehanna, which was the ſcene of action.

Without entering into a detail of particulars, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that they totally burnt and deſtroyed, both the Indian caſtles or villages in that quarter, and the other ſettlements. But that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt addreſs and precaution were practiſed for the purpoſe of a complete ſurprize, the inhabitants, both Tories and Indians, had the fortune to eſcape; a deliverance of no ſmall moment in their ſituation; as the vengeance for Wyoming, where they bore a diſtinguiſhed part, would undoubtedly have fallen heavy upon them. The deſtruction was extended for ſeveral miles on both ſides of the Suſquehanna; in the courſe of which, the fruits of a plentiful harveſt, together with the only ſaw-mill and griſt-mill in that whole country, ſhared an equal fate with the houſes, and every other

other article useful or necessary to man.

The difficulties, distresses, and dangers, which the party encountered in this expedition, were peculiar to that part of the world; and required no small share of that patient fortitude, and hardiness of body and mind, which can scarcely be acquired without long habitude, under certain marked circumstances of situation, by any considerable number of men. Notwithstanding the occasional assistance which they derived from their pack-horses, they were under a necessity of carrying six days provisions on their backs; and thus loaded, continually to wade through rivers and creeks of such a depth and magnitude, that they would scarcely appear passable, without any incumbrance, to men unused to such service. In these circumstances, after the toil of a hard march, and in some situations not venturing to make fires for fear of discovery, they were obliged to endure, without cover, the chilling nights and heavy rains peculiar to that climate and season; whilst their arms were rendered useless, at those times when they were most liable to the sudden attack of an enraged and cruel enemy, whose principal effort lay in that sort of surprize. These were, however, only small matters, when compared with the danger which awaited their return, and which they hardly escaped. This was the sudden rising of the great rivers in their way, occasioned by the continual rains, whilst they were still in the enemies country, (who were very strong in that quarter) their provisions nearly expended, and every moment affording fresh room for apprehension, that their return would become totally impracticable. A strenuous and bold exertion, to which fortune was, at least, negatively favourable, prevented the fatal consequences of that event.

In this manner, the savage part of the war was carried on in America with mutual boldness and perseverance; and waste and cruelty inflicted and retorted, with infinite variety of scenes of horror and disgust.

CHAP. II.

Review of conciliatory meaſures purſued by the commiſſioners for reſtoring peace in America. Attempt to open and ſmooth the way to a negociation by private communications and correſpondence, fails in the effect, and is highly reſented by the Congreſs. Reſolutions by that body againſt holding any Communication or intercourſe with one of the commiſſioners. Gentleman in queſtion, declines acting any longer in the commiſſion, and publiſhes a declaration in anſwer to the Congreſs. Declaration from the remaining commiſſioners in anſwer to that body. Final manifeſto and proclamation by the commiſſioners. Cautionary meaſures recommended by the Congreſs to the people; followed by a counter manifeſto, threatening retaliation. Singular letter from the Marquis de la Fayette, to the Earl of Carliſle. American expedition for the reduction of the Britiſh ſettlements in the country of the Natches, on the borders of the Miſſiſippi. Expedition from New-York, under the conduct of Commodore Parker and Colonel Campbell, for the reduction of the province of Georgia. Landing made good, and the rebels defeated. Town of Savannah taken, and the province in general reduced. Major-General Prevoſt arrives from the ſouthward; takes the town and fort of Sunbury, and aſſumes the principal command.

IT affords no ſmall degree of pleaſing relaxation, to return from all the rage of war, and all the horrid ferocity of ſavages, and once more to tread in the pleaſing paths of civil life. We have indeed beheld the firſt in its moſt ſhocking and degraded form. Stripped of all that "pomp, pride, "and circumſtance," which ſerve ſo ſtrongly to faſcinate the imagination, and diveſted of that glare of glory, which throws a ſhade over its deformities, the ghaſtly carcaſs has not only been expoſed in all its nakedneſs, but polluted and diſtained by the bloody hands of barbarians. From ſo horrid a ſcene we naturally turn with pleaſure, to trace the tranquil mazes of negociation, and to review the acts and conduct of men in the moſt refined ſtate of ſociety.

We briefly ſtated in our laſt volume, the inſuperable difficulties which the Congreſs had thrown in the way of that conciliatory ſyſtem, with which the Commiſſioners had been charged from England to America; and that an acknowledgment of independency, or the total withdrawing of the military force, were the peremptory and only conditions held out by the former, upon which they would admit the opening of any negociation. One of the gentlemen who was appointed in the commiſſion, having ſerved in the navy, on the American coaſt, and afterwards been governor of a province there, had formed conſiderable connexions, and an extenſive acquaintance in that country; and he now hoped that theſe circumſtances might be of eſſential ſervice, by uſing them as means to facilitate the attainment of the great object in view. This ſeemed the more feaſible, as his parliamentary conduct ſince that time, had

had been in ſuch direct oppoſition to all thoſe meaſures, which were deemed hoſtile or oppreſſive with regard to the Colonies, that it could ſcarcely fail of greatly increaſing, inſtead of diminiſhing, any influence which he might then have acquired. Under theſe circumſtances he deemed it reaſonable to conclude, that the direct applications of friendſhip, under the covert and freedom of a private correſpondence, together with the ſanction of perſonal eſteem and opinion, might operate more happily in ſmoothing or removing thoſe difficulties which ſtood in the way of an accommodation, than the ſtiff, tedious, and formal proceedings of public negociation. He was beſides well aware, as indeed it was publicly avowed, that the Commiſſioners laboured under the capital impediment, of the Americans, with whom they were to treat, placing no manner of confidence in the faith or equity of the authority under which they acted; but that on the contrary, their diſtruſt of adminiſtration had grown ſo long, and was become ſo rivetted and confirmed, that they ſuſpected every propoſal that was made, as held out only to circumvent; and as the mere offspring of duplicity and treachery. To remove this ill impreſſion, would have been evidently an object of the utmoſt importance towards the opening of a negociation, and the hope of entering into a treaty. But if the accompliſhment of this appeared to be an impracticability, it did not ſeem a very unreaſonable expectation, that the character which this gentleman had acquired in his political capacity, of being an avowed friend to the rights and conſtitutional liberties of America, further ſtrengthened and confirmed by the known principles of the oppoſition in general, with whom he had ſo long acted in parliament, might produce that neceſſary degree of confidence in a private, which unhappily could not be obtained in a public negociation.

Under ſome of theſe, and perhaps other ideas, he endeavoured to commence or renew a private correſpondence with ſeveral members of the Congreſs, and other perſons of conſideration. Thus in fact, endeavouring to eſtabliſh a double ſyſtem of negociation; the one, oſtenſible, with the Congreſs at large; the other, unſeen and private, with individuals whoſe influence might not only facilitate, but even in ſome degree direct, the proceedings of the former. Some of theſe letters, which have been publiſhed, ſeem rather of an unuſual caſt, conſidering the peculiar circumſtances and ſituation of the writer. While, as a common friend to both countries, he pathetically lamented their mutual calamities, he ſeemed no way ſparing in his cenſure of the conduct and meaſures on the ſide of government which led to the preſent troubles; nor did he any more ſupport the juſtice of the original claims ſet up by the mother country, than he did the prudence or policy of endeavouring to enforce them. Upon the whole, he uſed a freedom with the authority under which he acted, not cuſtomary with thoſe entruſted with delegated power, and afforded ſuch a degree of approbation to the conduct of the Americans in the paſt reſiſtance which they had made to it, as is ſeldom granted by negociators to

their opponents. But it was perhaps not ill fitted to confirm that character of neutrality, which might have helped him to infinuate himſelf into the minds of the Americans.

However right the principles might be, upon which this inſinuating ſcheme of conciliation was adopted, its effects were rather untoward; and the Congreſs affected to conſider it in a very different point of view, from that in which it had been wiſhed or intended to be placed. The firſt inſtance of this diſpoſition that appeared, was in a reſolution paſſed by the Congreſs, about a week after their firſt communication with the Commiſſioners. In this, after ſtating ſimply as a fact, and without any particular direction, that many letters addreſſed to individuals of the United States, had been lately received through the conveyance of the enemy, and that ſome of theſe were found to contain ideas, inſidiouſly calculated to divide and delude the people; they, therefore, earneſtly recommended to the governments of the reſpective ſtates, and ſtrictly directed the commander in chief, and other officers, to take the moſt effectual meaſures for putting a ſtop to ſo dangerous and criminal a correſpondence.

This was followed by a reſolution in the beginning of July, that all letters of a public nature, received by any members of Congreſs, from the agents, or other ſubjects of the King of Great-Britain, ſhould be laid before that body. It need ſcarcely be doubted, that the contents of theſe objects of enquiry were already well known; but this meaſure afforded a ſanction to the diſcloſure of private and confidential correſpondence, which was indeed neceſſary to leſſen its odium, and at the ſame time held out authorized ground to the Congreſs, whereon to found their intended ſuperſtructure. Several letters being accordingly laid before them, a paſſage in one, from Governor Johnſtone to General Joſeph Reed, and in another, from that gentleman to Mr. Morris, together with an account given by General Reed, of a verbal meſſage or propoſal delivered to him by a lady, afforded an opportunity to Congreſs for entering into thoſe violent meaſures, by which they interdicted all intercourſe and correſpondence with Mr. Johnſtone.

The firſt of theſe exceptionable paſſages, went no farther than a ſort of general propoſition, that the man who could be inſtrumental in reſtoring harmony between both countries, would deſerve more from all the parties concerned in or affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, "than ever yet was be-"ſtowed on human kind."—The ſecond, in the letter to Mr. Morris, was more particular. After a complimentary declaration, of believing the men who conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives, it, however, proceeds upon the ſubject of the negociation in the following terms:—"But in "all ſuch tranſactions there is "riſque; and I think that who-"ever ventures ſhould be ſecured, "at the ſame time that honour "and emolument ſhould naturally "follow the fortune of thoſe who "have ſteered the veſſel in the "ſtorm, and brought her ſafely "to port. I think that Waſhington "and the Preſident have a right "to

" to every favour that grateful " nations can beſtow, if they could " once more unite our intereſts, " and ſpare the miſeries and de- " vaſtations of war."

But the tranſaction in which the lady was concerned, afforded the principal ground for that indignation and reſentment expreſſed by the Congreſs. This matter, as ſtated by General Reed, went to a propoſal of engaging the intereſt of that gentleman in promoting the object of the commiſſion, viz. a reunion between the two countries, in which event, he ſhould receive an acknowledgment from government of ten thouſand pounds ſterling; together with any office in his Majeſty's gift in the colonies. To which, Mr. Reed, finding (as he ſays) that an anſwer was expected, replied, that, " he was " not worth purchaſing; but ſuch " as he was, the King of Great- " Britain was not rich enough to " do it."

Aug. 11th. 1778. The Congreſs iſſued a declaration, including three reſolutions, upon the ſubject, which they ſent by a flag to the Britiſh Commiſſioners at New-York. The declaratory part contained a recital at length of thoſe paſſages in the letters which we have taken notice of, together with the particulars of the converſation which had paſſed between Mrs. Ferguſon, the lady in queſtion, and General Reed. By the reſolutions they determine, That the contents of the ſaid paragraphs, and the particulars in Reed's declaration, cannot but be conſidered as direct attempts to corrupt and bribe the Congreſs of the United States of America. That, as they feel, ſo they ought to demonſtrate, the higheſt and moſt pointed indignation againſt ſuch daring and atrocious attempts to corrupt their integrity.—And, " That it is incompatible with " the honour of Congreſs to hold " any manner of correſpondence " or intercourſe with the ſaid " George Johnſtone, Eſq; eſpe- " cially to negociate with him " upon affairs, in which the cauſe " of liberty and virtue is inte- " reſted."

Theſe proceedings drew out an exceedingly angry and vehement declaration from the gentleman in queſtion; in which, whatever ſufficient cauſe he had for indignation and reſentment, the immediate operations of paſſion were, perhaps, rather too apparent. Thoſe perſons, and that body, which were lately held up as examples of virtue and patriotiſm to all mankind, and whoſe names ſeemed to be equalled with the moſt celebrated in antiquity; were now, not only found to be deſtitute of every virtue under heaven; but were directly charged with being the betrayers and deſtroyers of their country; with acting directly contrary to the ſenſe and opinion of the people in general, and of ſacrificing their deareſt intereſts to the moſt unworthy and baſe motives; and with deluding their unhappy conſtituents, and leading them blindfold to irretrievable ruin. After charging the Congreſs with forgetting every principle of virtue and liberty, it creates no ſurprize that he declares himſelf indifferent as to their good opinion; nor that their reſolution was ſo far from being a matter of offence to him, that he rather conſidered it as a mark of diſtinction.

With respect to the facts or charges stated by the Congress, they are neither absolutely denied, nor acknowledged, by Mr. Johnstone in this piece; he consequently does not enter into any justification of his own conduct; but declares a reservation to himself of the liberty, if he should think proper, of publishing, before he left America, such a justification, against the aspersions thrown on his character. He also seems indirectly to deny the charge, by attributing the resolutions to the malice and treachery of the Congress, who intended them only for the purposes of inflaming their wretched constituents to endure all the calamities of war, and as a means for continuing their delusion, thereby to frustrate all the good effects intended by the commission for the restoration of tranquillity. But to defeat their purposes in this respect, he declared, that he should for the future decline acting as a commissioner, or taking the smallest share in any business, whether of negociation or other, in which the Congress should be any way concerned. It may not be unnecessary here to observe, that this gentleman afterwards absolutely disowned the particular transaction with Mr. Reed.

The tone of this publication, accorded but badly with the high and flattering elogiums, which this gentleman had so lately bestowed on the Americans, in those very letters which were the subject of the present contest. In one of these, to Mr. Dana, is the following remarkable passage:—"If you "follow the example of Britain in "the hour of her pride, insolence, "and madness, and refuse to hear "us, I still expect, since I am "here, to have the privilege of "coming among you, and seeing "the country; as there are many "men, whose virtues I admire "above Greek and Roman names, "that I should be glad to tell my "children about." The same request, in equivalent terms, appears in a letter to Mr. Laurens, the president; and in that to General Reed, among other not dissimilar expressions are the following,—"Your pen and your sword have "both been used with glory and ad-"vantage in vindicating the rights "of mankind, and of that com-"munity of which you was a "part. Such a conduct, as the "first and superior of all human "duties, must ever command my "warmest friendship and vene-"ration."

This piece from the Congress also drew out a declaration in answer from the other Commissioners, viz. Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden; which went to a total and solemn disavowal, so far as related to the present subject, of their having had any knowledge, directly or indirectly, of those matters specified by the Congress. They, however, took care at the same time to guard effectually against any inference that might from thence be drawn, of their implying any assent to the construction put upon private correspondence by the Congress; or of their intimating thereby a belief, that any person could have been authorized to hold the conversation stated by that body. With respect to the charges and resolutions, so far as they related merely to their late brother commissioner, they did

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not think it neceſſary, they ſaid, to enter into any explanation of the conduct of a gentleman, whoſe abilities and integrity did not require their vindication. They however gave a teſtimony from their own knowledge to the liberality of his general ſentiments, and the fair and equitable principles upon which he had wiſhed to reſtore the harmony, and to eſtabliſh the union, between the Mother Country and the Colonies, on terms mutually beneficial.

But the great objects of this declaration, as well as of that iſſued by Governor Johnſtone, and of other former and ſubſequent publications, were to defeat the effect of the French treaties, to controvert the authority of the Congreſs, with reſpect to its acceptance or confirmation of them, and to render the conduct of that body ſuſpicious or odious to the people. For theſe purpoſes, having firſt laid it down as an incontrovertible fact, that an alliance with France was totally contrary to the intereſts of America, and muſt in its effects prove utterly ſubverſive, both of her civil and religious rights, they then proceeded to demonſtrate, that ſhe was not bound in honour, nor tied down by any principle of public faith, to adhere to thoſe treaties. In ſupport of this doctrine, they endeavoured to eſtabliſh as proof, that the French conceſſions owed their origin entirely to the conciliatory propoſitions of Great Britain. For that being well aware of the returning union, felicity and ſtrength, which the lenient conduct of the crown and parliament would immediately introduce throughout the Britiſh Empire, the court of Verſailles, merely with a view of prolonging the troubles, and of rendering the Colonies inſtruments to Gallic ambition and perfidy, ſuddenly complied with thoſe conditions, and ſigned thoſe treaties, which ſhe had before conſtantly and diſdainfully rejected.

They then proceeded to examine the validity of that ſanction which thoſe treaties were ſuppoſed to derive, from the confirmation which they had ſince received in America; and endeavoured much to eſtabliſh as a general doctrine and opinion, that the Congreſs had far exceeded their powers, both in that reſpect, and in their laying down unreaſonable and inadmiſſible preliminaries, as an inſuperable bar to their own propoſed negociation, and to defeat, without hearing or deliberation, all the amicable purpoſes of their miſſion. They inſiſted, that the Congreſs were not authorized or warranted, by their own immediate conſtitution, to take ſuch deciſive meaſures, and finally to pronounce upon queſtions of ſuch infinite and laſting importance, without recurring to the general ſenſe of the people, and receiving the opinion and inſtructions of their conſtituents, after a full and open diſcuſſion of the different ſubjects in their reſpective aſſemblies.

Upon this ground, they pointed all their artillery directly againſt the Congreſs; whom they charged with betraying the truſt repoſed in them by their conſtituents, with acting contrary to the general ſenſe of the people, and with ſacrificing their intereſts

and ſafety, to their own ambitious views and intereſted deſigns. Indeed, however ſtrange it may appear, there ſeems no doubt, that notwithſtanding the repeated trials which the long continued, various, and extenſive operations of the war had ſeemed to afford, of the diſpoſition of the people in ſo many Colonies, the Commiſſioners themſelves were fully perſuaded, that a vaſt majority of them were firmly attached to the Britiſh government, and totally adverſe to the rebellion. It is, however, to be conſidered, that all the information they could receive on the ſubject, was through the medium of men, whoſe minds were violently heated, by their ſufferings, their loſſes, their hopes, their loyalty, and undoubtedly in many inſtances, by their private and party animoſities.

The Congreſs, and thoſe who wrote in their defence, and apparently with authority, controverted theſe poſitions, the inferences drawn from them, and the facts they were founded on. They firſt attacked the poſition which would naturally operate with moſt force upon the minds and opinions of men, viz. that the concluſion of the French treaties was entirely owing to the conciliatory propoſitions held out by the Britiſh parliament. This they aſſerted to be contradicted by facts and dates; and this point was ſtrongly urged by the American popular writers, particularly Mr. Dayton, and the author of a celebrated publication, entitled, from his ſignature, *Common Senſe*, who with great induſtry pointed out to the public, the defectiveneſs, incoherence, or contradiction of the evidence. But not ſatisfied with apparently gaining this point, they undertook to prove the direct reverſe of the propoſition, and pretended to ſhew, that the Britiſh conceſſions, inſtead of being the cauſe, were the immediate effect, of the French negociation and treaties. It was ſhrewdly obſerved in one of theſe publications, that the Commiſſioners, who now totally denied that the Congreſs had any power or authority to conclude the French treaties, had themſelves propoſed to enter into a treaty with that very body; and that the uncommon chagrin and diſappointment which they openly avowed upon meeting with a refuſal, was a ſufficient teſtimony, how fully they were ſatisfied of its competence to that purpoſe.

In refuting what they aſſerted as errors of fact on the part of the Commiſſioners, ſome of theſe writers did not ſcruple to avail themſelves of the ſame inſtrument, and aſſerted things which were not true, or which are at leaſt highly improbable. Particularly, that to bribe the acquieſcence of France in the ruin of America, that power was offered a ceſſion of ſome conſiderable part of our Eaſt India poſſeſſions, and the ſame privileges and advantages on the Coaſt of Africa, which were enjoyed by the ſubjects of England.

Although the Commiſſioners did not expect that the facts or arguments ſtated in their declarations, would produce any ſerviceable effect in the conduct of the Congreſs, it was ſtill hoped, that they would have operated powerfully upon the people at large. This ſource of hope being alſo at length

exhauſted, and the Commiſſioners convinced by experience, that the deſign of detaching any particular province, or large collective body of the people, ſo far from the general union as to enter into a private or ſeparate negociation, was as fruitleſs, as the attempt of opening a treaty with the Congreſs in the name of the whole, had already proved ineffectual, determined totally to change their mode of conduct, and to denounce hoſtility and deſtruction, in their moſt terrific forms, to thoſe who had rejected conciliation and friendſhip. The operations of terror might poſſibly produce thoſe effects, which the ſmooth language of peace was found incapable of attaining: or, if the loſs of America was inevitable, it was determined to render it of as little value to its preſent and future poſſeſſors as poſſible.

The partizans of the predatory ſcheme in England, from whom this idea ſeems to be taken, aſſerted, that the nature of the country expoſed it more to the ravage of ſuch a war as was intended or threatened, than perhaps any other upon the face of the globe. Its vaſt line of ſea coaſt was indefenſible by any poſſible means, againſt the efforts of a ſuperior marine, accompanied by ſuch a moderate land force, as would be neceſſary for the purpoſes of a deſultory and exterminating war; and thoſe numberleſs navigable creeks and rivers, which had in happier days conveyed commerce to every door, and ſpread plenty, independence, and induſtry, thro' every cottage, now afforded equal means and facility, for the carrying of ſudden and inevitable deſtruction, home to the moſt ſequeſtered fire-ſide. The impracticability of evading the dangers ariſing from ſituation was farther increaſed, by that mode of living in ſmall, open, ſcattered towns and villages, which the nature and original circumſtances of the country had preſcribed to the inhabitants.

The Commiſſioners accordingly iſſued and publiſhed that ſignal valedictory manifeſto and proclamation, which has ſince been an object of ſo much diſcuſſion at home and abroad; and which has afforded a ſubject, that was no leſs agitated in both Houſes of the Britiſh Parliament, than in the American Congreſs. Oct. 3d. 1778.

In that piece, they entered into a long recapitulation of facts and arguments which had been generally ſtated in former declarations, relative to the French treaties, the conduct and views of the Congreſs, their criminal obſtinacy in rejecting all propoſals of accommodation, and their total incompetency, whether with reſpect to the concluſion of treaties on the one hand, or to their rejection on the other. With an enumeration of their own repeated endeavours for the reſtoration of tranquility and happineſs to the people, and a review of the great advantages held out by the equitable and conciliatory propoſitions which they had made, they announce their intention of ſpeedily returning to England, as, under the circumſtances of treatment and reject on which they had experienced, their longer ſtay in America would be as inconſiſtent with their own dignity, as with that of the authority which they re-

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preſented. They, however, held out during the remainder of their ſtay, the ſame favourable conditions, and ſhould ſtill retain the ſame conciliatory diſpoſition and ſentiments, which they had hitherto propoſed or manifeſted.

The Commiſſioners then thought it neceſſary to inform and warn the people, of the total and material change which was to take place, in the whole nature and future conduct of the war, if they ſhould ſtill perſevere in their obſtinacy; more eſpecially, as that was founded upon the pretended alliance with France. Upon this ſubject they expreſſed themſelves as follows: "The policy, as well "as the benevolence of Great "Britain, had hitherto checked "the extremes of war, when "they tended to diſtreſs a people, "ſtill conſidered as fellow-ſub-"jects, and to deſolate a coun-"try, ſhortly to become again a "ſource of mutual advantage; "but when that country profeſſes "the unnatural deſign, not only "of eſtranging herſelf from us, "but of mortgaging herſelf and "her reſources to our enemies, "the whole conteſt is changed; "and the queſtion is, how far "Great Britain may, by every "means in her power, deſtroy or "render uſeleſs, a connection "contrived for her ruin, and for "the aggrandizement of France.

"Under ſuch circumſtances, "the laws of ſelf-preſervation "muſt direct the conduct of "Great Britain; and, if the "Britiſh Colonies are to become "an acceſſion to France, will di-"rect her to render that acceſ-"ſion of as little avail as poſſi-"ble to her enemy."

The firſt act of the Congreſs in conſequence of this manifeſto, was a cautionary declaration or notice to the public, ſtating, that as there was every reaſon to expect, that their unnatural enemies, deſpairing of being able to enſlave and ſubdue them by open force, would, as the laſt effort, ravage, burn, and deſtroy every city and town on that continent, which they could come at; they therefore ſtrongly recommended to all thoſe people, who lived in places expoſed to their ravages, immediately to build huts, at the diſtance of at leaſt thirty miles from their preſent habitations, whither they were to convey their wives, children, cattle, and effects, with all who were incapable of bearing arms, on the firſt alarm of the enemy. 10th.

So far, the policy of the meaſure was prudent and juſtifiable; but the following clauſe of this public inſtrument, however coloured by a diſplay of humanity, confined merely to terms, towards its concluſion, or even covered under the pretence of being intended only to operate in terrorem, can ſcarcely eſcape condemnation, as being exceedingly reprehenſible and unjuſt in its principle. The reſolution is couched in the following words, viz. "That immediately when the "enemy begin to burn or deſtroy "any town, it be recommended "to the people of theſe ſtates, to "ſet fire, to ravage, burn and "deſtroy, the houſes and pro-"perties of all Tories, and ene-"mies to the freedom and inde-"pendence of America, and ſe-"cure the perſons of ſuch, ſo as "to prevent them from aſſiſting

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" the enemy, always taking care, " not to treat them or their fami- " lies with any wanton cruelties, " as we do not wish, in this par- " ticular, to copy after our ene- " mies, or their German, negro, " and copper-coloured allies."

This was followed, in about three weeks, by a counter manifesto on the part of the Congress, filled with bitterness and acrimony. In this they boast, that since they could not prevent, they strove, at least, to alleviate the calamities of war; had studied to spare those who were in arms against them, and to lighten the chains of captivity. In contrast to this portrait of their own conduct, they drew a hideous picture of those enormities which they attributed to the other side. They charge their enemy with having laid waste the open country, burned the defenceless villages, and having butchered the citizens of America. That their prisons had been the slaughter-houses of her soldiers, their ships of her seamen, and, that the severest injuries had been aggravated by the grossest insults. That, foiled in their vain attempt to subjugate the unconquerable spirit of freedom, they had meanly assailed the representatives of America with bribes, with deceit, and with the servility of adulation.

As a specimen of the spirit which inspired this piece, and the acrimony with which it abounds, we shall give the following passage in their own language—" They " have made a mock of humanity, " by the wanton destruction of " men: they have made a mock " of religion, by impious appeals " to God, whilst in the violation " of his sacred commands: they " have made a mock even of " reason itself, by endeavouring " to prove, that the liberty and " happiness of America could " safely be entrusted to those who " have sold their own, unawed " by the sense of virtue, or of " shame."

They conclude the piece with the following threat of retaliation. " But since their incorrigible dis- " positions cannot be touched by " kindness and compassion, it be- " comes our duty by other means " to vindicate the rights of hu- " manity."

" We, therefore, the Congress " of the United States of Ame- " rica, do solemnly declare and " proclaim, that if our enemies " presume to execute their threats, " or persist in their present career " of barbarity, we will take such " exemplary vengeance as shall " deter others from a like con- " duct. We appeal to that God " who searcheth the hearts of men, " for the rectitude of our inten- " tions. And in his holy pre- " sence we declare, that as we are " not moved by any light and " hasty suggestions of anger or re- " venge, so through every pos- " sible change of fortune, we will " adhere to this our determina- " tion."

Thus, unhappily, did the second commission for the restoration of peace in America, prove as futile in the event as the former. Although it would be too much to affirm, that any proposal made by the commissioners, or any circumstances attending their mission, could have been productive of the desired effect, after the conclusion of the French treaties; it would however seem, that nothing could have been more untoward in point of time, and more subversive of

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the purpoſes of their commiſſion, than the ſudden retreat from Philadelphia, which took place almoſt at the inſtant of its being opened. However neceſſary this meaſure might have been, conſidered in a military view, the diſgrace of a retreat, and the loſs of a province, were undoubtedly omens very inauſpicious to the opening of a negociation. It has been publicly ſaid, (however ſtrange it muſt appear) that one of the commiſſioners, at leaſt, was totally unacquainted, even at the time of their arrival, that this meaſure was not only intended, but that the orders for its execution actually accompanied their miſſion.

As if Fortune had deſigned, that this commiſſion ſhould have been diſtinguiſhed in every part of its exiſtence from all others, it was alſo attended with the ſingular circumſtance, of a letter from the Marquis De la Fayette, (whoſe military conduct had placed him very high in the opinion of the Americans, as well as in their ſervice) to the Earl of Carliſle, challenging that nobleman, as firſt commiſſioner, to the field, there to anſwer in his own perſon, and in ſingle combat, for ſome harſhneſs of reflection upon the conduct of the French court and nation, which had appeared in thoſe public acts or inſtruments, that he and his brethren had iſſued in their political capacity. It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that ſuch propoſal, which could only be excuſed by national levity, or the heat and inexperience of youth, was rejected by the noble Lord to whom it was addreſſed, with the ſlight that it deſerved.

Whilſt New York, the Jerſies, Pennſylvania, and the borders of Connecticut, had hitherto endured all the calamities of war, it fortuned, that the northern and ſouthern, as well as the more interior colonies, enjoyed no inconſiderable degree of general tranquility. The early tranſactions in the neighbourhood of Boſton, the attempt on Charleſtown, Lord Dunmore's adventures in Virginia, with the ſubjugation of the Tories in North and South Carolina, being the principal exceptions to this obſervation. The continual petty hoſtilities carried on between the inhabitants of the two neighbouring weak colonies, of Georgia and Eaſt Florida, ſerved, however, to keep the rumour of war alive to the ſouthward; and an expedition undertaken in the ſpring of this year by a party of Americans, conveyed its effects to the Miſſiſippi, and afforded no ſmall cauſe of alarm, to the whole new colony of Weſt Florida, which had hitherto been totally clear of the general tumult.

The expedition was, however, confined in its preſent effect to its immediate object, which only extended to the reduction of the Britiſh ſettlements in that country which had formerly belonged to a diſtinguiſhed Indian nation called Natches; who many years before had fallen victims to European policy, the whole people having been perfidiouſly exterminated by the French. Theſe ſettlements were under the government, and conſidered as a part of Weſt Florida; but being too remote for protection, if it could even have been afforded, the inhabitants preſerved their property by ſurrendering without reſiſtance to a Captain

tain Willing, who commanded the American party, and who, although they were surprized and totally in his power, granted them every condition which they required, for their present and future security. It seems by the account, as if this party had fallen down the Missisippi by water; but from what place is not specified. It is probable, and seems in some degree confirmed by subsequent events, that the objects of this expedition were not confined merely to the reduction of the country in question, but were extended to the establishment of an intimate correspondence with the Spaniards at New Orleans, and to further views upon West Florida.

The state and circumstances of the war, as well as of the forces under his command, together with the winter season, which restrained, if it did not entirely shut up enterprize, in the northern and central colonies, afforded an opportunity to General Sir Henry Clinton, towards the close of the year, to direct his views to the southward. The recovery of the province of Georgia, although in itself neither great nor powerful, was in various respects a matter of the utmost importance. Its products were indeed considerable, and rendered more so, by their being greatly wanted. In particular, nothing could be more essential to the support of a fleet and army, at so great a distance from their principal sources of supply, than its staple commodity, rice, which was now dedicated to the service of our enemies, whether in Europe or America. The possession of this province would also, by presenting a new barrier to the enemy, relieve East Florida from those constant alarms, incursions, and dangers, to which it had been so long exposed. And the two Florida's, with this, would all together form such an aggregate establishment of strength at the southern extremity of the continent, as could not fail greatly to influence the future operations and fortune of the war.

Important as these objects were, this acquisition held out one still greater. The southern colonies produced those commodities which were most wanted and most valuable in the European markets. France took off a prodigious quantity of their staple products; and the quiet and security which they had hitherto enjoyed, admitted so vigorous a cultivation, that their export trade seemed little otherwise affected by the war, than what it suffered from the British cruizers. Thus, in effect, the continental credit in Europe was principally upheld by the southern colonies; and they became the medium through which they received those supplies, that were not only indispensibly necessary to the support of the war, but even to the conducting of the common business and affairs of life. The recovery of Georgia, would not only put an end to that quiet and security upon which so much depended, but would open so wide a door into South Carolina, as could never be effectually closed whilst it was held by a vigorous enemy; at the same time, that the vicinity of Charlestown would constantly expose it to his enterprize, and that the fate of the whole colony inevitably hung upon that of the capital.

All these important consequences, and perhaps others, were fully compre-

comprehended by the General; and the time and ſeaſon ſerving, he entruſted the conduct of the expedition in the land department, ſo far as it was undertaken from New York, to Colonel Campbell, a brave and able officer, whoſe misfortune of being taken with a part of his regiment on their paſſage to America, as well as his ſubſequent ſufferings under a long confinement near Boſton, we have formerly ſeen. The force appointed to act under this gentleman's command, conſiſted of the 71ſt regiment of foot, two battalions of Heſſians, four of provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery.

The tranſports, with this force, ſailed from Sandy Hook, on the 27th of November 1778; being eſcorted by a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips of war, under the command of Commodore Hyde Parker. In the mean time, inſtructions had been communicated to Major General Prevoſt, who commanded the troops in Eaſt Florida, to collect all the force that could poſſibly be ſpared, from the mere neceſſary defence of the fort and garriſon of St. Auguſtine, and to ſecond the views of the expedition, by a vigorous invaſion of the province of Georgia on that ſide, and by even endeavouring to penetrate ſo far, as to be able to co-operate immediately with Colonel Campbell, in his intended attack on the capital town of Savannah.

It does not ſeem from any thing that appears, that the Americans were aware of the object of this enterprize; or, perhaps, the greatneſs of the diſtance, prevented their being able to take any meaſure for defeating its effect. The fleet arrived at the iſland of Tybee, near the mouth of the river Savannah, in ſomething under a month. On the following day, the Commodore, with the greater part of the tranſports, got over the bar, and anchored in the river, within the Light Houſe of Tybee; but, from ſome unavoidable circumſtances of delay, it was not until the 27th that they were there joined by the reſt of the fleet. The commanders being totally ignorant of the force of the enemy, and of the ſtate of defence which they were to encounter, ſeized this opportunity of delay, in endeavouring to procure intelligence. For this purpoſe, a company of light infantry, with a naval officer and ſailors, were diſpatched, in two flat boats, up one of the creeks, and had the fortune of ſeizing and bringing off two men, who afforded the moſt ſatisfactory information. The commanders were now acquainted, that the batteries which had been conſtructed for the defence of the river, had been ſo much neglected, as to be grown out of repair and condition; and, that there were very few troops in the town, but that re-inforcements were daily expected. They alſo gave ſuch exact information, of the ſituation of two row gallies, which had been armed for the defence of the river, as afforded means after for cutting off their retreat, by any of thoſe numerous creeks which interſect that country. Dec. 23d.

Upon this intelligence, the commanders determined to loſe no time in the proſecution of their enterprize. Colonel Campbell had already ſeized the opportunity afforded by the delay, in making a new

new and advantageous arrangement with reſpect to part of his force. He had formed two corps of light infantry, which were drawn from the provincial battalions, and attached one of theſe to Sir James Baird's light company, of the 71ſt (Highlanders), and the other to Captain Cameron's company, of the ſame regiment. A meaſure excellently calculated, to transfuſe the ſpirit, vigour, and confidence of veteran troops, equally inured to danger and to victory, to thoſe who being yet raw, were diffident of their own powers, from mere ignorance of their effect.

Every thing being in due preparation, the Vigilant led the way up the river, on the 28th, being attended by the Greenwich and Keppel armed veſſels, and followed by the tranſports, who formed three diviſions, in the order eſtabliſhed by the commanders for deſcent. At the ſame time the Comet bomb-galley was ſent up the ſouth channel, to prevent the enemy's row-gallies from eſcaping by the inland navigations. On finding that the battery on a place called Salters Iſland, was totally deſerted by the enemy, the armed veſſels puſhed forward towards the intended landing place; but a number of the tranſports had grounded on the Flats by the way, which neceſſarily retarded for ſome time the landing. The activity and judgment of Captain Stanhope of the navy, who acted as a volunteer in this ſervice, obviated this difficulty, as far as its nature would admit. Having undertaken the command of the flat boats, he embarked the whole firſt diviſion of the troops with ſuch celerity, that he joined the Vigilant with very little loſs of time, after ſhe had taken that ſtation which the ſhallowneſs of the water would admit, at about random cannon ſhot diſtance from the landing place. It was, however, then dark; and the enemy's fires ſhewing that they had taken poſt, and intended defence, the landing was deferred until morning.

The deſtined landing place was a poſt of great importance; exceedingly difficult of acceſs; and which was accordingly capable of being eaſily put in ſuch a ſtate of defence, as might have effectually reſiſted a vaſt ſuperiority of force. But it was the firſt practicable landing place on the Savannah river, the whole country between it and Tybee being a continued tract of deep marſh, interſected by the extenſive creeks of St. Auguſtine and Tybee, beſides a number of other cuts of deep water, which were impaſſable by troops at any time of the tide.

The firſt diviſion of the troops, conſiſting of all the light infantry of the army, the New York volunteers, and the firſt battalion of the 71ſt regiment, under the conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, were landed at break of day. From the landing place, a narrow cauſeway of ſix hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each ſide, led through a rice ſwamp to one Gerridoe's houſe, which ſtood upon a kind of blunt and abrupt promontory, called in ſea language a bluff, riſing conſiderably above the level of the rice-ſwamp. The light infantry under Captain Cameron, being firſt landed, formed directly, and puſhed forward along the cauſeway. As they approached the poſt they meant

meant to attack, they received a ſmart fire of muſquetry, from a ſmall party of about fifty rebels, to whom its defence had been committed. But the troops, incenſed at the loſs of their Captain, who had fallen by that fire, afforded them no time for charging again, ſo that they were almoſt inſtantly diſperſed in the woods.

Thus, after ſo much time as the enemy had for preparation, ſo weak or confuſed were their counſels, that a moſt difficult landing place was ſecured to the army, and an open way gained to their capital, at no greater expence than the loſs of one brave officer, with about half a dozen private men killed or wounded. Colonel Campbell, having taken a view of the country from Gerridoe's farm, diſcovered the rebel army, under Major General Robert Howe, drawn up about half a mile eaſt of the town of Savannah, with ſeveral pieces of cannon in their front. He was prompted by this ſight, the apprehenſion of their retiring unmoleſted and whole, and the length of ſervice, which that early hour of the day promiſed to afford, to puſh forward with the troops already landed, and to expect the remainder as they could come up.

The commander in chief accordingly, having left a detachment to guard the landing place, advanced directly towards the enemy. When the army had paſſed a croſs road, which interſected the great one leading to the town, the diviſion of the Wiſſenbach regiment was left to take poſt at that place, both in order to cover the rear, and to preſerve the communication with the landing place. The troops then advanced along the great road in the utmoſt ſecurity; a thick impenetrable wooded ſwamp covered the left of the line of march, and the light troops and flankers effectually ſcoured the cultivated plantations on the right.

From whatever caution or delay it happened, the troops did not reach the open country before three o'clock, at which time they halted within about a thouſand yards of the enemy. The enemy were in appearance, and fancied themſelves exeeedingly ſtrongly poſted; and would in reality have been found ſo, had the Britiſh commander made the attack exactly in the manner they wiſhed, and to which they had vainly directed all their views and expectation. They were yet to be inſtructed in one of the moſt obvious maxims of warfare, that the very cauſes which induced them to wiſh the attack to be made in a particular quarter, would, almoſt to a certainty, produce a contrary effect, and direct its operation elſewhere.

They were formed in two diviſions on either ſide of the great road. Half their regular forces, conſiſting of two regiments of Carolina troops, under the command of Colonel Eugee, extended from the road, on their left, to a wooded ſwamp on their right, which was covered by houſes defended with rifle-men. The other diviſion of their regular troops, conſiſting of part of three Georgia battalions, under Colonel Elbert, with the road to their right, were covered on the left by rice ſwamps; being further ſtrengthened by the fort of Savannah Bluff behind their left, which

which would have operated in attack as a second flank. The town of Savannah, encompassed with the remains of an old line of entrenchment, covered their rear. One piece of cannon was planted at the extremity of their line on the right, one on the left, and two pieces occupied the traverse, across the great road, in the center of their line. About 100 paces in front of this traverse, at a critical spot between two swamps, a trench was cut across the road, and about 100 yards in front of the trench, a marshy rivulet run almost parallel the whole extent of their front; and to render the passage still more difficult, they had destroyed the bridge which led over this brook.

Col. Campbell soon discovered, by the countenance, as well as the movements of the enemy, that they equally wished and expected that he should attack them on the left; and he accordingly omitted no means that could serve to cherish that opinion, and continue its delusion. For that purpose he ordered the 1st battalion of the 71st to draw off and form on the right of the road, and then marching up to the rear of the light infantry, that corps was drawn off still more to the right, thereby increasing the jealousy of the enemy for their left, and impressing a full idea, that he was in the act of extending his front to that quarter. The happiest effect of this manœuvre, however, was, that the light infantry had thereby got into a hollow ground, by which they were totally covered from the view of the enemy.

Fortune, the great friend to enterprize in war, and whose favours no prudent officer will ever deny, had thrown a negro into the hands of the commander, whose intelligence he turned to the happiest account. This man knew a private path through the wooded swamp on the enemy's right, through which he promised to lead the troops without observation or difficulty. To profit the more effectually of this discovery, it happened that the hollow way into which the light infantry had now fallen, continued winding all round the rear of the army until it joined the morass and wood in question. Sir James Baird was accordingly directed to pursue the course of the valley with the light infantry, until he arrived at the path pointed out by his guide, by which he would be enabled to turn the enemy's right flank, and by a moderate circuit to fall in upon the rear of that wing. The New-York volunteers, under Colonel Tumbull, were ordered to support the light infantry.

During the course of this movement, the artillery were formed in a field on the left of the road, and concealed from the enemy by a swell of ground in front, up which it was intended to run them, as soon as the signal was made for action. From that commanding ground, they could either bear advantageously upon the right of the rebel line, or cannonade any body of troops in flank, which they might detach into the wood to retard the progress of the light infantry. An Hessian regiment was formed upon the left of the artillery.

During all this time, totally blind to their danger, the enemy continued to amuse themselves with their cannon, although a single fire was not returned; a circumstance,

which, along with the ſtillneſs and immobility of the Britiſh troops, might have reaſonably excited apprehenſion, diſtruſt, and watchfulneſs. At length, Colonel Campbell, convinced that the light infantry had got effectually round upon their rear, ſuddenly brought forward the cannon, and commanded the line to move briſkly on to the enemy. The well-directed fire of the artillery, the rapid advance of the 71ſt regiment, and the forward countenance of the Heſſians, ſo overpowered the enemy, that they inſtantly fell into confuſion, and diſperſed.

In the mean time, the light infantry having arrived at the new barracks, which were full in the way they were making to the rear of the enemy, fell in unexpectedly with a body of the militia of Georgia, who were there ſtationed with artillery, to guard the great road from Ogeeche; theſe were ſoon routed, with the loſs of their cannon, and as Sir James Baird was in full purſuit of the fugitives, in his way to fall upon the main body, the terrified and ſcattered troops of the Carolina and Georgia brigades, came running acroſs the plain full in his front. Nothing could exceed the confuſion and rout that now enſued, when the light infantry, with the rapidity peculiar to that corps, threw themſelves in headlong upon the flanks of a flying enemy, already ſufficiently broken and confuſed.

No victory was ever more complete. 38 commiſſioned officers, 415 non-commiſſioned and privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort with its ammunition and ſtores, the ſhipping in the river, a large quantity of proviſions, with the capital of Georgia, were all in the poſſeſſion of the conquerors before dark. Neither the glory of the victory, nor the military renown ariſing from the judicious meaſures, and admirable manœuvres which led to it, could reflect more honour upon the commander in chief, than every other part of his conduct. His triumph was neither diſtained by an unneceſſary effuſion of blood, nor degraded by preſent or ſubſequent cruelty. The moderation, clemency, and humanity of all his conduct, will be conſidered ſtill the more praiſe-worthy, when it is recollected, that he was under the immediate impreſſion of ſuch peculiar circumſtances of irritation and reſentment, as had not been experienced by any other Britiſh officer, who had borne command during the American war.

The loſs of the Americans in ſlain was very ſmall, conſidering the nature of the complete rout they had undergone. Only about fourſcore men fell in the action and purſuit, and about thirty more periſhed in their attempts to eſcape through the ſwamp. The conduct of their commanders requires no obſervation. Every body will ſee they knew nothing of their buſineſs. Although the fugitives fled, and conſequently led the purſuit, through the town of Savannah, and that many of the inhabitants were then in the ſtreets, yet, ſuch was the excellent diſcipline obſerved, that in that heat of blood, not a ſingle perſon ſuffered, who had not arms in his hands, and who was not beſides in the act either of flight or reſiſtance. The commander having received ſome information, that the ſetting of the capital

pital on fire, in caſe of its loſs, had been once a matter in contemplation with the enemy, took effectual meaſures to guard againſt that deſign, if ſtill intended. No place in ſimilar circumſtances, ever ſuffered ſo little by depredation, as the town of Savannah did upon this occaſion; even taking into the account, that committed by their own negroes during the darkneſs of the approaching night. A ſtrong circumſtantial teſtimony, that thoſe enormities, ſo frequently attributed to the licence of the ſoldiers, ſhould with much more juſtice be charged to the indefenſible conduct of their ſuperiors; whether by a previous relaxation of diſcipline, an immediate participation in the guilt, or a no leſs culpable ſufferance of the enormity.

Through the activity and prompt union of the commanders in chief by land and ſea, and the ſpirit and diligence of their officers, General Howe, with the broken remains of his army, was not only compelled to retreat into South-Carolina, but notwithſtanding many impediments in their way, and ſome wants not eaſily remedied, particularly horſes for their artillery, they, within leſs than a fortnight, had recovered the whole province of Georgia (excepting only the town of Sunbury) to the Britiſh government. In that time they had reſtored tranquillity every where, afforded protection to all who remained in or returned to their houſes, eſtabliſhed ſuch poſts as ſecured the whole line of frontier on the ſide of South-Carolina, and formed the well-affected, who came in with their rifles and horſes, into a corps of light dragoons.

In the mean time, Major-General Prevoſt found no ſmall difficulty in bringing together, from their ſcattered and remote cantonments, the ſmall parties with which he was to make an impreſſion on the ſide of Florida. The getting forward his artillery, ſtores, and proviſions, as the enemy were maſters of the navigation in general, both along the coaſts, and on the greater waters inland, was no leſs difficult. In theſe operations, the troops underwent unuſual hardſhips and diſtreſſes, which they bore with the moſt exemplary fortitude and temper; both officers and ſoldiers having been reduced to live for ſeveral days ſolely upon oyſters, and enduring at the ſame time the greateſt heat and fatigue, without complaint, deſpondency, or murmur. The major-general having at length brought forward a few pieces of artillery, ſuddenly ſurrounded the town and fort of Sunbury, on the frontiers of Georgia. The garriſon, conſiſting of about 200 men, made ſome ſhew of defence, and gave the commander the trouble of opening trenches. But although they were ſupported by ſome armed veſſels and gallies, yet all hope of relief being now totally cut off by the reduction of the reſt of the province, they found it neceſſary to ſurrender at diſcretion. This happened juſt at the time, when Colonel Campbell, after the ſettlement of the interior country, had returned to Savannah, and was preparing to ſet out on an expedition for the reduction of Sunbury. The command devolved of courſe to General Prevoſt on his arrival at Savannah.

CHAP. III.

Iſland of Dominica taken by the Marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinico. State of the French fleet at Boſton. Riot between the French and inhabitants. Deſperate riot between the French and American ſailors, in the city and port of Charleſtown. M. D'Eſtaing ſails from Boſton for the Weſt-Indies: having firſt iſſued a declaration addreſſed to the French Canadians. Admiral Byron's fleet driven off from the coaſt of New-England by a violent hurricane, which afforded an opportunity for the departure of the French ſquadron. Britiſh fleet detained at Rhode-Iſland, to repair the damages ſuſtained in the tempeſt. Reinforcement ſent from New-York to the Weſt-Indies, under the conduct of Commodore Hotham, and Major-General Grant: narrowly miſs falling in with the French fleet: join Admiral Barrington at Barbadoes, and proceed together to the reduction of the iſland of St. Lucia: troops land, take the French poſts in the neighbourhood of the Grand Cul de Sac: proceed to Morne Fortune and the Viergie. M. D'Eſtaing appears in ſight, with a vaſt ſuperiority both of land and marine force: attacks the Britiſh ſquadron in the Grand Cul de Sac; and is bravely repulſed by Admiral Barrington, twice in the ſame day. French land their troops in Choc Bay: attack General Meadows three times in the Viergie; are repulſed every time, and at length defeated with great loſs. Great glory obtained by the Britiſh forces, both by ſea and land, in theſe ſeveral encounters. M. D'Eſtaing, after ten days longer ſtay, abandons the iſland of St. Lucia, without any further attempt for its recovery. The Chevalier de Micoud, with the principal inhabitants, capitulate before the French fleet is out of ſight.

GEORGIA was reduced in the manner we have ſeen. In other reſpects little was done; nor did the ſeaſon permit much to be done in other parts of America. Whilſt the war ſtagnated there, the loſs of the valuable iſland of Dominica in the Weſt-Indies, opened a new ſcene of action in that quarter. Complaints and repreſentations had been long and repeatedly made by the Weſt-India merchants and planters to adminiſtration, of the weak and expoſed ſtate of thoſe iſlands; which ſeemed to be left to the mercy of their powerful European neighbours, without a military force for their defence, or a competent naval ſquadron for their protection. Jamaica had been particular in theſe applications. The immenſe Britiſh capital neceſſarily lodged in that iſland, rendered it no leſs an object of concern in this country, than its great domeſtic property did to the owners of the ſoil. The great increaſe of troops, and the unuſual military preparations in the French and Spaniſh ſettlements, afforded ſufficient room to juſtify theſe apprehenſions and repreſentations.

This buſineſs was alſo frequently introduced in both Houſes of Parliament by the oppoſition, who repeatedly warned the miniſters of the danger to which our Weſt-India poſſeſſions were expoſed.

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They were generally anſwered in this inſtance, as in ſome others, by a repetition of the well-founded confidence repoſed in the pacific diſpoſition and good intentions of our neighbours. But the ſimple matter of fact, undoubtedly was, that our military force and proviſion by ſea and land, were ſo completely ſwallowed up in the vortex of the American war, and the demands were ſtill ſo inceſſant and urgent, that the ſources of ſupply were conſtantly drained and exhauſted, ſo that other objects, however important, were of neceſſity obliged to be committed, in a great meaſure, to the blind diſpoſition of chance or fortune.

The iſland of Dominica was a part of thoſe compenſations, acquired by the treaty of Paris, for the expences of a war, very glorious indeed, but very burthenſome. To theſe expences and glories, the whole of the ceſſions was not adequate. Conſidered independently of this comparative eſtimate, Dominica was an acquiſition of no inconſiderable importance; and its ſituation, lying between Martinico and Guadaloupe, and within view of each, would have rendered it of the utmoſt importance in time of war. This circumſtance ſeems to have been ſo well underſtood by government, that it went to a great and unuſual expence in fortifying the iſland, and the works had been lately covered with a numerous artillery, ſent for the purpoſe from England; but the garriſon, if it could deſerve to be called by that name, was totally incompetent to the defence of the one, or to the uſe of the other.

Neither the importance nor the weakneſs of the iſland, eſcaped the attention of the Marquis de Bouille, Governor-general of Martinico. He accordingly landed with about 2000 men, under the cover of ſome frigates and privateers, about day-break at Dominica, and proceeded to attack the different batteries and forts by land, as his marine force did by ſea. The handful of regular troops, amounting only to about a hundred men, together with the militia and inhabitants in general, did all that could be expected againſt ſuch a ſuperiority of force, and under ſuch circumſtances of ſurprize. But the French having taken thoſe detached and half-manned batteries which lay firſt in their way, and advanced by noon to attack the little capital of Roſeau, by ſea and land, which likewiſe comprehended the principal fortifications of the iſland, Lieutenant-Governor Stuart, with the military officers and council, ſeeing all defence fruitleſs, thought it neceſſary to ſave the inhabitants from plunder and ruin, by entering into a capitulation. Sept. 7th, 1778.

This was ſoon concluded. The terms were the moſt moderate that could be conceived; the Marquis de Bouille having nearly agreed, without diſcuſſion or reſerve, to every condition that was propoſed in favour of the inhabitants. Beſides the honours of war, and the liberty of retaining their arms, with the fulleſt ſecurity to their eſtates, property of every ſort, rights, privileges, and immunities, they were allowed to retain their civil and religious governments in all their parts, with all their laws, cuſtoms, ordinances, courts, and miniſters of juſtice, until the con-

cluſion of a peace; and at that period, if the iſland ſhould be ceded to France, they were to have it in choice, whether to adhere to their own political form of government, or to accept that eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands. And in either event, ſuch of the inhabitants as did not chuſe to continue under a French government, were to be at liberty to ſell all their eſtates real and perſonal, and to retire with their effects wherever they pleaſed. Other conditions of leſs importance, were equally favourable in their degree to the inhabitants; nor were they bound to any duty to the French King, more than what they had owed to their natural ſovereign. In a word, a mere change of ſovereignty was the only change in the condition of the inhabitants.

How much of the favour and lenity of theſe conditions may be attributed to the moderation and humanity of the Marquis de Bouille, how much to the policy of inducing the leſs reſiſtance in other Engliſh iſlands, or how much to the apprehenſion of Admiral Barrington's arrival with a ſuperior naval force from Barbadoes, are queſtions not to be abſolutely decided upon. It is, however, equitable, to attribute juſt or humane actions to the moſt laudable motives, where the contrary does not appear from any ſtrong concurrent or ſubſequent circumſtances. The matter of fact is certain, that the ſmalleſt diſorder or pillage was not permitted, and that the French commander, in lieu of plunder, rewarded the ſoldiers and volunteers with a conſiderable gratuity in ready money.

The French found 164 pieces of cannon, and 24 braſs mortars, with a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores and ammunition in the works. The public effects, with the Britiſh veſſels in the harbour, became a prize to the conquerors. The ſtay of the Marquis de Bouille in the iſland was very ſhort; but he left a garriſon of 1500 men behind him; which, with the ſtrength of the works, and the powerful artillery in their hands, have hitherto unfortunately ſuperſeded all attempts for its recovery.

Many circumſtances concurred in rendering the loſs of this iſland grievous. The large ſums expended upon its fortifications, and the numerous and weighty artillery ſent out for its defence, indicated a full knowledge of its importance in caſe of a war. Its ſituation, on which this importance depended, equally pointed out the danger to which it was expoſed, and that it muſt neceſſarily be the firſt object of the enemy's enterprize; whilſt its naked works and valuable artillery, ſeemed held out as a prize, to direct and quicken their operations. To increaſe the vexation, Rear-Admiral Barrington, with two ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates, was lying at the ſmall diſtance of Barbadoes, where he had been chained down for more than two months, waiting merely for inſtructions, which he had been ordered to expect at that place, and which, from whatever cauſe or misfortune, were not yet arrived. Small as this force was, it would have been fully ſufficient, had time and his orders allowed it, for the preſervation of Dominica, and the protection of the other iſlands for

the preſent, as the French had not a ſingle ſhip of the line in that quarter.

The defect of intelligence accompanied that of inſtructions, or orders how to act. A French document executed at Paris on the 28th of June, and publiſhed at Martinico in the middle of Auguſt, amounting, in effect, to a declaration of war in the Weſt-Indies, afforded the firſt information of hoſtilities to Admiral Barrington, and to the neighbouring iſlands. The loſs of two of Sir Peter Parker's frigates, which were taken by the French on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, afforded alſo the firſt means of information to that admiral, as well as to the government of Jamaica, where he was ſtationed, of the commencement of hoſtilities.

As ſoon as Admiral Barrington received intelligence of the invaſion of Dominica, he diſpenſed with the violation of his orders in that inſtance, and proceeded with the utmoſt diſpatch to its intended relief. Although it was impoſſible he could prevent a conqueſt, which was only the work of a ſingle day, the preſence of his ſmall ſquadron, however, had the happy effect, of removing the panic which had ſpread through the neighbouring iſlands, and of effectually curbing the further enterprizes of the enemy. The conſequences of the loſs of Dominica were experienced, both by ſea and land, in the courſe of the operations of the enſuing Weſt-India campaign.

As Monſ. D'Eſtaing was now to bear a principal part on the Weſt-India theatre of action, it will be neceſſary to take ſome notice of his ſituation and proceedings, from the time of our leaving him in the harbour of Boſton. Neither the care of the governing powers in that town, nor the ideas of benefits received, or to be derived, from the alliance with France, were ſufficient, during the ſtay of the French fleet in that port, wholly to cure the ancient prejudices and hereditary animoſity of the populace, with reſpect to a nation, which they had ſo long conſidered as a rival, and ſo frequently encountered as an enemy. The difference of religion, language, and manners, could not fail to hold a conſiderable ſhare in keeping theſe animoſities ſtill alive; although, ſo far as it can be judged from appearances at this diſtance, the French have ſtudied more in their commerce with the Americans, to evade the effect of theſe peculiarities, and have ſhewn a greater deference to the prejudices, and conformity to the manners and opinions of the people, than they perhaps ever practiſed in their connections with any other part of mankind. Indeed a mode of conduct directly contrary, has for many ages been conſidered, as one of the ſtriking characteriſtics of that nation; and has, not unfrequently, been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences to themſelves, as well as to others.

However it was, a moſt violent affray, in which numbers on both ſides were engaged, and the French ſeem to have been very roughly treated, happened at night in Boſton. Some Sept. 13th. of the French were ſaid to have been killed, and ſeveral were certainly wounded; among whom were ſome officers, and one particularly, of conſiderable diſtinction. As both D'Eſtaing and the government of Boſton, were eager to

accommodate matters in such a manner, as that no sting should remain behind on either side, a great reserve was observed with respect to the particulars of the riot, as well as of the circumstances which led to it; and the cursory imperfect sketches that were published, shewed evidently that they were not to be relied on.

A proclamation was issued by the council of state on the following day, strictly urging the magistrates to use their utmost endeavours for bringing the offenders to justice, and offering a reward of 300 dollars, for the discovery of any of the parties concerned in the riot. And to remove the impression of its arising from any popular animosity to the French, the Boston prints laboured to fix it upon some unknown captured British seamen, and deserters from Burgoyne's army, who had enlisted in their privateers. D'Estaing had the address to give into this idea, and to appear throughly satisfied with the satisfaction he received. The high reward produced no manner of discovery.

The same spirit operated just about the same time, and in the same manner, but much more violent in degree, and fatal in consequence, between the American and French seamen, in the city and port of Charlestown, South Carolina. The quarrel there began, as at Boston, ashore, and at night, and ended in the last extreme of hostility, an open fight with cannon and small arms; the French firing from their ships, whither they had been hastily driven from the town, and the Americans from the adjoining wharfs and shore. Several lives were acknowledged to be lost, and a much greater number were of course wounded.

Mr. Lowndes, the president and commander in chief of that colony, in the proclamation which he issued upon the subject, sufficiently points out the causes of the quarrel, by charging the magistrates in the strongest terms, that, along with the discovery and prosecution of the rioters, they should use every possible means in their power to prevent, for the future, all indecent, illiberal, and national reflections, against the subjects of their great and good ally, as tending to excite resentment and ill-will among those, whom, by interest, treaty, and alliance, they were bound to regard as friends, and who were particularly entitled to their favour and affection. In his message to the assembly, he also strongly recommends the framing of such regulations, as would effectually prevent this licentiousness, whether in words or in actions: and that body considered the matter to be of so serious a nature, that they appointed a committee to revise the laws relative to seamen in that port, and to consider of effectual means for preventing and suppressing riots in the town. A reward of a thousand pounds was offered for the discovery of the particular persons, who had fired some guns, which were fatal in their effect, from one of the wharfs. We have not heard that this great reward produced any discovery.

As the northern Colonies, particularly the province of Massachusetts,

chuſetts, do not produce wheat in any proportion at all equal to their own conſumption, and that through the continual loſſes and dangers which their ſupplies from the ſouthern experienced in their paſſage, together with ſome local cauſes, proviſions of all ſorts had for ſome time been ſo unuſually ſcarce and dear in the town and neighbourhood of Boſton, as nearly to threaten a famine, it was generally expected, and undoubted apprehended by himſelf, that D'Eſtaing would have encounteredly great difficulties, if not actual diſtreſs, from the impracticability of victualling, and the doubt even of ſubſiſting, his fleet at that port. He was, however, relieved from theſe difficulties and apprehenſions by a ſingular fortune. The New England cruizers happened at that very period to take ſuch a number of proviſion veſſels on their way from Europe to New York, as not only abundantly ſupplied the wants of the French fleet, but furniſhed ſuch an overplus, as was ſufficient to reduce the rates of the markets at Boſton, to ſomething about their uſual modetate ſtate. This fortunate ſupply was a matter of great triumph to that people.

Nov. 3d. Thus was D'Eſtaing enabled to quit Boſton, and to proſecute his deſigns in the Weſt Indies, with a fleet thoroughly repaired, clean, well victualled, and his forces in full health and vigour. And thus it may be ſaid, without any extraordinary ſtretch of licence, that to all appearance, a royal fleet owed its preſervation, at leaſt in a very great degree, to the induſtry and fortune of a few privateers.

Previous to his departure, D'Eſtaing had publiſhed a declaration, which was to be diſperſed among the French Canadians, and was addreſſed to them in the name of their antient maſter, the French King. The deſign of this piece, and an object which was much laboured in it, was to recall the affection to their antient government, and to revive all the national attachments of that people, thereby to prepare them for an invaſion either from France or America, and to raiſe their expectation and hope, to no diſtant change of maſters. For theſe purpoſes they were applied to and called upon, by all the endearing and flattering ties of country, blood, language, common laws, cuſtoms, religion, by their former friendſhips, antient glory and fellowſhip in arms, and even by their common participation in the dangers and misfortunes of the laſt war. To touch the vanity of a people exceedingly prone to it, they were flattered by reminding them, of thoſe peculiar military honours, diſtinctions, and royal decorations, which would have been the glorious rewards of their proweſs in the French ſervice; from which they had been ſo long debarred, and which were held ſo dear by all their countrymen. They were taught to conſider the French and Americans as equally friends, and almoſt as one people; whoſe invaſion of Canada, whether jointly or ſeparately, inſtead of conveying hoſtility or deſolation to them, would be undertaken only to free them from the yoke of foreigners, dwelling in another hemiſphere; a people differing wholly from them, in religion, manners, in language, and every thing; whoſe jealous and deſpotic govern-

government, would ſooner or later treat them as a conquered people, and undoubtedly much worſe, than they had done their own late countrymen the Americans, to whom they owed their former victories. Their future condition, in the event of this propoſed emancipation from the government of Great Britain, was left almoſt entirely in the dark; although ſome faint and diſtant alluſion was held out, to a ſimilar ſtate of freedom with that poſſeſſed by the Britiſh Colonies. This was a tender and jealous ſubject, and the French commander thought it prudent to leave it involved in obſcurity. He ſeemed not altogether authorized to give up the idea, of the reſtoration of Canada to the dominion of France; but he was aware, that an avowal of thoſe ſentiments, might have been yet imprudent with reſpect to that people, and would have been diſguſting and alarming in the higheſt degree to the Americans. He, however, aſſured the Canadians, in the name of the French King, that all his former ſubjects, who ſhould relinquiſh their dependence on Great Britain, might depend on his ſupport and protection.

Admiral Byron had arrived at New York from Hallifax in the middle of September; but ſo much had his ſquadron ſuffered in their unfortunate voyage from England, that although the greater part of them had arrived long before him at that port, yet it was a full month before he was enabled to ſail again, in order to obſerve M. de Eſtaing's motions. The ſame unfortunate diſpoſition of the weather, which had already produced ſuch unhappy effects, ſeemed ſtill to perſecute that commander. He had ſcarcely appeared before Boſton, when he was driven off the coaſt by a violent hurricane, in which the ſhips again ſuffered ſo much, that they were glad to get into ſhelter at Rhode Iſland. This afforded the opportunity to D'Eſtaing, which he immediately embraced, of quitting Boſton; whilſt the damage now ſuſtained, together with the continuance of bad weather, again cramped the operations of the Britiſh ſquadron in ſuch a degree, that it was not until the 14th of December, that Admiral Byron was able to ſet out in purſuit of him to the Weſt Indies.

In the mean time, as the ſtate of the war, as well as the mode of conducting it, were now greatly altered from what they had been at former periods, and General Sir Henry Clinton being ſenſible, that no eſſential ſervice could be undertaken by the army at New York during the winter, and being alſo apprehenſive of the danger to which our Weſt India iſlands were expoſed, determined upon ſending ſuch a force to that quarter, as would be at once equal to the protection of our friends, and to the annoyance of the enemy. He accordingly diſpatched ſeveral regiments of thoſe veteran, and perhaps unequalled troops, who had ſo long braved every variety of climate and danger in America, to encounter along with a new enemy, all the rage of the tropical ſuns in the Weſt Indies. This detachment, conſiſting of about 5,000 men, was placed under the command of Major General Grant; and the tranſ-

transports, amounting to sixty, were convoyed by Commodore Hotham, with five men of war, a bomb-vessel, and some frigates.

It was remarkable, that they sailed from Sandy Hook, on the very day that D'Estaing departed from Boston, and that the two fleets were very near each other, both steering the same course, and in parallel lines, during some part of the passage, without any knowledge, on either side, of their relative situation. A violent gale of wind, in which both fleets were equally involved, and the French greatly dispersed, probably saved the British convoy from the danger of encountering so unequal a force. Commodore Hotham had the fortune and ability, to keep his fleet, which was so much more numerous, whole and together during that storm; to get the start of D'Estaing; and to arrive without the smallest loss at Barbadoes; where he joined Admiral Barrington, before Mr. Byron had been able to depart from Rhode Island.

Dec. 10th

An expedition, without suffering the troops to land, was immediately undertaken from Barbadoes, for the reduction of the island of St. Lucia; an adventure attended with great and unforeseen peril; but which, in the issue, was productive of no less glory to the commanders and forces both by sea and land, and of the greatest advantage in all the ensuing operations of war. The reserve of the army, consisting of the 5th regiment, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the whole, under the command of Brigadier General Meadows, were landed at the grand Cul de Sac, in the island of St. Lucia, on the 13th, in the evening. That officer, with his detachment, immediately pushed forward to the heights upon the north side of the bay, which were occupied by the Chevalier de Micoud, the French commandant, with the regular forces and militia of the island. These posts, although very difficult of access, he soon forced; having taken in the conflict, a field-piece with which the enemy fired upon the boats that were conveying the troops to the shore, and a four gun battery, which greatly annoyed the shipping at the entrance of the harbour.

While this was doing, Brigadier General Prescot had landed with five regiments, with which he guarded the environs of the bay, and at the same time pushed on his advanced posts, so as to preserve a communication during the night with the reserve. As soon as the morning appeared, the reserve, followed and supported by General Prescot, advanced to the little capital of Morne Fortune, of which they took possession. The Chevalier de Micoud made the best defence he was able; but was compelled by the superiority of force to retire from one post to another, as the British troops still pressed forward. As the reserve advanced, General Prescot took possession of the batteries and posts in their rear; and with an unexampled degree of caution and industry, in a contest with so weak an enemy, was indefatigable in immediately supplying them with artillery-officers, and men, establishing communications and posts for their support, and putting them

them in the beſt ſtate of immediate defence, which the ſhortneſs of the time could poſſibly admit.

Whilſt theſe meaſures of ſecurity were carrying into execution, General Meadows puſhed forward under the heat of a burning ſun, and took poſſeſſion of the important poſt of the Viergie, which commanded the north ſide of the Careenage Harbour; and Brigadier General Sir Henry Calder, with the four remaining battalions, guarded the landing place, kept up the communication with the fleet, and ſent detachments to occupy ſeveral poſts upon the mountains, which looked down upon and commanded the ſouth ſide of the grand Cul de Sac. A meaſure which ſoon after contributed not a little to the preſervation of the fleet and army, from a danger then totally unknown.

Celerity in execution, and prudence in ſecuring and immediately turning to account every advantage obtained in war, were never more neceſſary, nor ever more eminently diſplayed, than upon this occaſion. It affords an uſeful leſſon in a ſtriking inſtance, that nothing ſhould ever be committed to chance in warfare, which any induſtry could ſecure from ſo doubtful a deciſion. The force under the Chevalier de Micoud did not ſeem to demand much jealouſy or caution; and no other enemy was apprehended; yet every meaſure of ſecurity was practiſed, which the preſence of a powerful, and even ſuperior foe, could have induced. The event proved the wiſdom of the conduct.

The laſt French flag, on thoſe poſts which were in ſight among the neighbouring hills, was ſcarcely ſtruck, when M. D'Eſtaing, with a prodigious force, appeared in view of the fleet and army. Beſides his original ſquadron of twelve ſail of the line, and thoſe ſhips of great force and weight of metal, he was now accompanied by a numerous fleet of frigates, privateers and tranſports, with a land force, eſtimated at 9,000 men. Of the latter, he had brought no inconſiderable part on board his ſhips from France; the reſt were compoſed of regulars and volunteers from the different French iſlands, who, as well as the tranſports and cruizers, had been collected in readineſs to join him at Martinico, being intended for the immediate reduction of the Granades, and of the iſland of St. Vincents; but with the farther view, and no doubtful expectation, of completely ſweeping all the Britiſh leeward ſettlements. In his way, on that expedition, M. D'Eſtaing received intelligence of the attack on St. Lucia; a circumſtance which he conſidered as the moſt fortunate that could have happened, it ſeeming to afford the means of throwing the whole Britiſh force by ſea and land, an eaſy prey, into his hands. It muſt be acknowledged, that if he had arrived 24 hours ſooner, it ſeems, in all human probability, that this muſt have been the inevitable event. As it was, the day being far advanced, D'Eſtaing deferred his operations until the enſuing morning.

It will be neceſſary here to take ſome notice of the ſcene of action, and of the ſituation of the Britiſh forces; not conſidering the ſhip-

ſhipping as they lay at the unexpected appearance of the French fleet; but in that ſtate in which the unremitted labour and induſtry of a night had placed them, in order to withſtand ſo vaſt a ſuperiority of force on the following day. The fleet were in the moſt ſouthern inlet, called by the French the Grand Cul de Sac, the tranſports filling the interior part of the bay, and the ſhips of war drawn up in a line acroſs the entrance; and that was ſtill farther ſecured, by a battery on the ſouthern, and another on the northern oppoſite points of land. The Careenage Bay, which led up towards Morne Fortune, lay between two and three miles to the northward of the Grand Cul de Sac; and the Peninſula of the Viergie, occupied by General Meadows, formed the northern boundary of the Careenage, and covered its entrance on that ſide. Choc Bay, and Groſs Iſlet Bay, lay ſtill farther north.

Admiral Barrington had intended, upon General Meadows taking poſſeſſion of the Viergie, to have removed the tranſports into the Careenage Bay, as a place of much greater ſecurity than the Cul de Sac; but was prevented by the ſudden appearance of the French fleet. The Cul de Sac being thus conſidered as a mere temporary lodging, the idea of an immediate removal prevalent, and no apprehenſion of an enemy entertained, it will be eaſily conceived, that the night called forth all the powers and induſtry of that able officer, in getting the tranſports warped into the bottom of the bay, to be as remote from danger as poſſible, and the ſhips of war brought into their reſpective ſtations, ſo as to form a line effectually to cover its entrance. His force conſiſted only of his own ſhip the Prince of Wales, of 74 guns, the Boyne of 70, St. Albans, and Nonſuch, of 64, the Centurion and Iſis, of 50 each, and three frigates. Such was the weak ſquadron, with which the admiral, with the moſt determined countenance and reſolution, waited the encounter of ſo vaſt a ſuperiority of force. His own ſhip, the Prince of Wales, took the poſt of honour and danger, on the outward and leeward extremity of the line; the Iſis, ſupported by the frigates, who flanked the paſſage between her and the ſhore, was ſtationed in the oppoſite and interior angle to windward.

However odd it may appear, it ſeems as if the Count D'Eſtaing was not yet ſenſible, that the Britiſh forces had extended their operations ſo far, as to have taken poſſeſſion of the Viergie, and other poſts adjoining to the Careenage; for under this apparent deluſion, his firſt motion in the morning, was to ſtand in with his whole fleet of ſhips of war and tranſports for that bay. But a well directed fire, which his own ſhip the Languedoc received from one of thoſe batteries that had ſo lately changed maſters, ſoon convinced him of his miſtake. The French were apparently much diſconcerted at this unlooked for circumſtance; and not only immediately bore away, but ſeemed for a time totally at a loſs how to act. At length, after much evident heſitation, the admiral bore down with ten ſail of the line upon

on the Britiſh ſquadron. A warm conflict enſued; but they were received with ſuch gallantry by the admiral and commanders, and ſuch coolneſs, reſolution and firmneſs, by their brave officers and men, who were alſo well ſupported by the batteries from the ſhore, that they were repulſed, and found it neceſſary to draw off.

Time being now taken for ſomewhat of a new diſpoſition, D'Eſtaing renewed the attack at four in the afternoon, with twelve ſail of the line. He now directed his efforts more to the right, from the leeward point of the Britiſh line to its center, by which the Prince of Wales underwent rather more than a due proportion of the weight of the action. This attack was better ſupported, and longer continued than the firſt. The French cannonade was exceedingly heavy, and its whole weight concentrated within a narrower direction than before; but neither the change of poſition, nor the additional force, were capable of rendering this effort more ſucceſsful than the former. After a long and warm engagement, the French fleet fell into evident confuſion and diſorder, and retired from action with apparent loſs, without their having been able to make the ſmalleſt effective impreſſion on the Britiſh line.

No naval engagement, however great in its extent, or deciſive in its conſequences, could afford more glory, than the Britiſh admiral, and his brave aſſociates, derived from theſe two actions.

Dec. 16th On the following day, M. D'Eſtaing ſeemed to ſhew a diſpoſition to hazard a third attack; but after ſeveral motions ſtrongly indicating that deſign, it was at length evidently abandoned, and the whole fleet plied up to windward, and anchored in the evening off Groſs Iſlet, about two leagues to the northward.

That night and the following morning were ſpent by the French commander, in landing his troops in Choc Bay, which lay between Groſs Iſlet and the Careenage. That time was alſo employed by the Britiſh Admiral in preparing for every poſſible future event; in warping the ſhips of war farther within the bay, thereby to render the line more compact and firm, and in conſtructing new batteries on thoſe points of land which covered the entrance. The cloſe connection, equal participation of danger and ſervice, with the mutual dependance, now ſubſiſting between the land and naval departments, united the whole ſo cloſely, that they ſeemed to form but one ſolid and compact body; and this being farther cemented and confirmed by that admirable harmony which prevailed between the commanders and officers on both ſides, ſerved altogether, to ſpread ſo high a degree of confidence, hope, and ſpirit, through the army and fleet, that they totally forgot the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, the precarioufneſs and danger of their own ſituation, and ſeemed inſenſible to ſuch continual duty, fatigue, and hardſhips, as would, in other circumſtances, have appeared intolerable.

The country which was now the ſcene of action, being among the moſt difficult and impracticable, whether with reſpect to its face, or to the climate, in which

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it would ſeem that war could in any manner be conducted, it is not eaſy to deſcribe, and it is ſtill harder clearly to comprehend, the complicated ſituation of the Britiſh poſts. The country preſented no regular face, but a broken and confuſed congeries of ſteep and abrupt hills, ſcattered among greater mountains, every where interſected by narrow winding vallies, deep defiles, and difficult gullies. General Grant, with the bulk of the forces, conſiſting of the brigades of Preſcot and Calder, occupied all the ſtrong-holds among the hills on either ſide of the Grand Cul de Sac; and commanded by ſeveral detached poſts, the ground that extended from thence to the Careenage, which lay at about two miles diſtance. A battery on their ſide, and at the ſouth point of the Careenage, with another on the oppoſite point of the Viergie, defended the entrance into that bay, and, as we have ſeen, checked the attempt of the French fleet in their deſign to attain that object. The brigades were alſo poſſeſſed of two other batteries, near the bottom of the bay, where it narrows into, or is joined by a creek, which paſſing Morne Fortune, cuts the country for ſome way farther up. Theſe batteries were covered in front by the creek, and commanded, in a conſiderable degree, the land approaches to the Viergie.

Thus, General Meadows, who with the reſerve, was ſtationed, and it may be ſaid, ſhut up, in that peninſula, was by diſtance and ſituation, as well as that decided ſuperiority, which the numbers of the enemy enabled them to maintain, in all the parts of whatever ſervice they undertook, totally cut off from the ſupport of the main body, any farther than what might be derived from thoſe batteries we have mentioned. He was indeed in poſſeſſion of very ſtrong ground, but there were circumſtances to counterballance that advantage. A retreat, however preſſed or overpowered he might be, was impoſſible; and the very circumſtance of ſituation which afforded ſtrength to the peninſula in one reſpect, rendered it liable to danger in another, as he was expoſed to a landing and attack from the ſea in the rear, at the very inſtant that he might have been deſperately engaged, or perhaps overborne, in the front. But he was obeyed by men, who might have inſpired confidence in a commander much more diſpoſed to deſpondency. For although they amounted only to about 1300 in number, they were compoſed, beſides a veteran regiment, of a part of thoſe brave and hardy light troops, who had borne ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſhare, in all the moſt active and dangerous ſervice of the American war.

Upon the whole, with troops of another caſt and character, even without ſuppoſing them to be by any means contemptible, the ſituation, notwithſtanding its advantages, would have been found more than perilous. The critical ſituation of the fleet and army, with the vaſt importance of that poſt, and of the Careenage, which depended on it, cut off, however, every imputation of raſhneſs, from whatever hazard might be encountered in their preſervation.

The effect of thoſe judicious poſitions which had been taken by the

the Britiſh troops on their firſt landing, became now fully evident to both armies. Nor was the chagrin and diſappointment of the French greater, upon the failure of their attempt to gain the Careenage Bay, than it was after their landing, when they diſcovered that Sir Henry Calder's brigade were in poſſeſſion of the mountains on the ſouth ſide of the Grand Cul de Sac. For the bombarding of the Britiſh fleet, from thoſe heights, which ſo effectually commanded that bay, was the firſt great object in view in their landing; which, from the ſtrong poſitions taken by that brigade, was now totally unattainable, at any leſs price, than that of a general engagement by ſea and land; an iſſue to which the French were not yet at all diſpoſed to bring matters.

Upon a full view and conſideration of thoſe circumſtances which we have ſtated, as well as of others, the French commanders determined to direct their firſt effort ſeparately againſt General Meadows, and to attack the peninſula, at the ſame time, by land and ſea. For 18th. the firſt of theſe purpoſes, about 5,000 of their beſt troops were drawn out, and advanced in three columns to attack the Britiſh lines, which were drawn acroſs the iſthmus that joins the peninſula to the continent. That on the right was led by the Count D'Eſtaing, the centre by M. de Lovendahl, and the left column, by the Marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinique. The remainder of their troops were kept diſengaged, to watch the motions of Preſcot's brigade, and to check any attempt they might make to ſuccour General Meadows.

On the near approach of the columns, they were enfiladed with great effect, by thoſe batteries which we have taken notice of, on the ſouth of the bay. But notwithſtanding this impediment, they ruſhed on to the charge, with all that impetuoſity which is characteriſtic of their nation. They were received with a coolneſs, ſteadineſs, and immoveable firmneſs, which even exceeded the expectation of thoſe, who were moſt verſed in the temper and character of their enemy. The French troops were ſuffered to advance ſo cloſe to the entrenchments, without oppoſition, that the Britiſh front line fired but once, and then received the enemy on the bayonet. That fire, had of courſe, a dreadful effect; but the French, notwithſtanding, ſupported the conflict with great reſolution, and ſuffered extremely before they were entirely repulſed. It is ſaid, that ſeventy of the enemy were killed within the entrenchment on the firſt onſet.

As ſoon as they had recovered their breath and order, they renewed the attack with the ſame eagerneſs and impetuoſity as before; and were again encountered, with the ſame determined reſolution and inflexible obſtinacy. Although they had ſuffered ſeverely in theſe two attacks, they again rallied, and returned to the charge the third time. But the affair was now ſoon decided. They were totally broken, and obliged to retire in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, leaving their dead and wounded in the power of the victors.

tors. They were, however, in consequence of an agreement entered into, almost immediately after, permitted to bury the one, and to carry off the other; M. de Estaing having rendered himself accountable for the wounded as prisoners of war.

The diversion attempted by sea produced so little effect, as not to deserve any particular notice. Nothing could exceed the dispositions made upon this occasion by General Meadows, nor surpass his conduct in any of its parts. He was wounded in the beginning of the action; but could neither be persuaded by his surgeons to quit the field, nor to admit of their assistance in it, until the affair was decided. It would be needless to make any observation upon the behaviour of his officers and troops. Where all were brave, little notice could be taken of individuals. Major Harris, who commanded the grenadiers, and Major Sir James Murray, at the head of the light infantry, had, from their commands, an opportunity of being more particularly distinguished. It would seem upon the whole, as if there had been a jealous emulation in danger and glory between the land and the naval departments, and that Fortune had taken care to share the palm so equally, that the contest should still remain undecided.

The loss sustained by the French exceeded any thing that could have been supposed or apprehended, whether from the numbers engaged, or from the duration of the action. No less than 400 men were killed upon the spot; 500 were so desperately wounded as to be rendered incapable of service; and 600 more were slightly wounded; the whole amounting to a number considerably superior to that of the enemy whom they had encountered. The loss of the victors, was comparatively as small, as that on the side of the vanquished was great, and beyond usual example; and it cannot but excite astonishment, that although a good many were wounded, not a single British officer should have lost his life in such an action.

M. D'Estaing continued, in a state of seeming irresolution, for ten days longer on the island, without forming any apparent plan for its recovery, or making the smallest farther attempt by sea or land, notwithstanding the vast superiority of his marine force; which was hourly increased (if such may be considered as an aid) by the number of French and American privateers, which flocked from all quarters, to partake of the spoil; if not of the glory of the enterprize. He, however, at length, found himself reduced to the necessity of relinquishing a contest, which had proved so exceedingly barren both of profit and honour. He accordingly embarked his troops on the night of the 28th, and on the following day, abandoned the island to its destiny. As if it were to crown the climax of his mortifications, he was not yet out of sight, when the Chevalier de Micoud, with the principal inhabitants, offered to capitulate; and although they were now totally deserted, and left solely at the mercy of the victors, very favourable conditions were granted to them.

CHAP. IV.

State of public affairs during the receſs of parliament. Addreſs and petition from the city of London. Militia embodied. Camps formed. Admiral Keppel appointed to the command of the grand fleet for the home ſervice. Peculiar ſituation of that commander. Fleet ſails from St. Hellens. Licorne, French frigate, ſtopt and detained. Blameable conduct of the Captain, in firing unexpectedly into the America man of war. Deſperate engagement between the Arethuſa, and the Belle Poule, frigates. French ſchooner, bravely taken by the Alert cutter. Another French frigate falls in with the fleet; and is, with the Licorne and ſchooner, brought to England. Fleet returns to Portſmouth for a reinforcement. Rewards and bounty of the French King, to the officers and crew of the Belle Poule. Admiral Keppel ſails again from Portſmouth. Falls in with the French fleet under the Count d'Orvilliers; and after a chace of five days, brings them at length to action. Account of the engagement on the 27th of July. View of thoſe circumſtances which were ſuppoſed to have prevented that action from being deciſive. French fleet eſcape in the night, and return to Breſt. Prudent and temperate conduct obſerved by the Admiral. Returns to Plymouth to refit. Proceeds again to ſea, but cannot meet the French fleet.

FROM theſe ſcenes of diſtant hoſtility, it is time we ſhould direct our attention nearer home, and take a view of thoſe immediate meaſures purſued by Great Britain, to extricate herſelf from the difficulties of that new, ſingular, and perilous ſituation, in which ſhe had ſo unfortunately been involved. A ſituation, indeed, more ſingular and perilous, could ſcarcely be traced in hiſtory.

Weakened and diſtracted by a domeſtic conteſt, which equally conſumed her ſtrength and reſources; in which victory was attended with conſequences, that were always of equivocal advantage, and defeats produced the whole of their natural effects; while the balance of fortune in that ſingle conteſt was yet ſo doubtful, that the inability of reducing her revolted colonies, was held out as an oſtenſible and ſufficient cauſe for conſidering and treating them as independent and ſovereign ſtates; in the midſt of this critical ſtruggle, we ſee Great Britain ſuddenly involved in a new and much more dangerous war, without any mitigation of the old; we behold her engaged with her antient rival and hereditary enemy; with one of the moſt mighty and moſt warlike powers in Europe, rendered ſtill more dangerous by his vicinity; and in this double warfare with old friends and old enemies, not only bereaved of her natural ſtrength, but a great part of it turned againſt her, ſhe is left alone to endure the unequal combat, abandoned by all mankind, and without even the pretence of a friend, or the name of an ally in the world.

Such

Such was the unfortunate ſituation, ſuch the calamitous picture, which Great Britain exhibited in the year 1778. So aweful a criſis; ſo perilous a ſtate of public affairs; demanded thoſe ſupreme degrees of wiſdom in counſel, and of efficacy in action, which are ſo ſeldom united with each other, and which are ſtill more rarely united with true patriotiſm. If ſuch ſituations are ſometimes bleſt with the extraordinary good fortune, of calling forth great talents from inertneſs or obſcurity, it much more frequently happens that they produce a totally contrary effect. For the vaſtneſs of the occaſion is too liable to dazzle, to bewilder, and to confound, that uſeful mediocrity of talents and abilities, which, however unequal to the ſituation, is exceedingly well calculated for the common conduct and purpoſes of mankind.

However it was, or from whatever cauſes it proceeded, whether from a fluctuation or diſcordance of opinions, diſagreement in temper and views among the miniſters, whether from the want of any previous or eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, or that the flattering ideas of ſome partial or general accommodation, ſtill interfered with and counteracted all other modes of proceeding, ſo it was, that ſome appearance of irreſolution and indeciſion, which at that critical period prevailed in the counſels and meaſures of Great Britain, was ſo palpable, as neither to eſcape the obſervations of friends or of enemies. Notwithſtanding repeated cauſes of alarm, we ſeemed to be taken by ſurprize. The language of the court, as ſoon as it could collect itſelf, was ſufficiently firm; and ſeemed inſpired by a ſpirit of vigour ſuited to an occaſion which called for efforts of an extraordinary kind. It was rather even the tone of indignation and vengeance, than mere conſtancy and reſolution. But this ſpirit very ſoon evaporated; and nothing was talked of in a war of conqueſt and vengeance but ſelf-defence.

The enemies of miniſtry were loud on this occaſion. They ſaid, that by this timid plan, neither ſuited to the emergency, nor to the language held upon it, the opportunity was loſt, by ſome ſudden, great, and ſignal blow, of reviving our antient name and character; and of inſpiring that reverence to our national vigour and military proweſs, which it was ſo neceſſary for us to maintain and eſtabliſh with other nations, whether friendly or inimical, at the outſet of ſuch a war.

It was ſuppoſed, that a double ſcheme of partial accommodation, the one part avowed, and the other ſecret, and founded upon ſyſtems directly oppoſite, was about that period prevalent, and had no ſmall ſhare in influencing the conduct of public affairs. The firſt part of this ſcheme was founded on the idea of detaching America, through the intervention of the Commiſſioners, from the alliance with France. Nothing could poſſibly have been more eſſential to the intereſts, the reputation, and to the grandeur of Great Britain, than the ſucceſs of this meaſure. France would then have been left to encounter all her force alone, which, if properly directed, ſhe was yet by no means capable of enduring.

The event of that part of the ſcheme we have already ſeen. The ſecond, was that of detaching France from America; and conſequently leaving the latter expoſed to that reſentment, which in the other inſtance, would have been directed againſt the firſt. Although this part of the ſcheme, even ſuppoſing it capable of ſucceſs, could not ſtand in any degree of real comparative value with the former, yet it held out certain flattering ideas, which might even render it, in ſome degree, a favourite. For the dereliction of America by France, would have left the former open, and now totally hopeleſs, to that complete and final ſubjugation, or unconditional ſubmiſſion, which had ſo long been the great object of court and miniſters. But this ſcheme ſeemed from the beginning hopeleſs, though it for a while entertained the imaginations of many. Great Britain had no bribe of ſufficient magnitude to purchaſe from France this dereliction of her object. If ſuch could have been offered, and offered with effect, it muſt have been before the concluſion of the treaty: but the treaty was concluded.

Every part of the conduct of France from the commencement of the American troubles, either tended directly, or but ill diſguiſed her deſign, to bring matters to the preſent criſis. To the period of that treaty, however, her policy lay open to the influence of circumſtances, and her conduct was, and undoubtedly would have been in any caſe, governed by them. But when once ſhe had taken the decided and dangerous part, of publicly avowing her ſentiments and views, and of openly binding herſelf in the face of the world to the performance and ſupport of thoſe treaties which ſhe had concluded with the Americans, it was then not only evident that ſhe had gone too far to recede, but that ſhe had alſo choſen her ground, and was fully diſpoſed and determined to abide the conſequences. So that every hope founded upon her change of ſyſtem, ſeemed little better than viſionary.

There were ſome ſtrong indications, that a third, and more comprehenſive ſcheme of pacification than either of the foregoing, was at one time in agitation. This was no leſs, than the concluſion of an immediate peace and alliance with the Colonies, under the acknowledgment of that independence, which it was laid down as a principle, they had already virtually and irretrieveably obtained, and thereby cutting off at one ſtroke, every cauſe of war, and of diſpute with America. In that caſe, if a plan of prudence, not very glorious, had been purſued, there was an end of the quarrel both with America and France. If the reduction and puniſhment of France was the object, the war againſt her might be purſued with undiſſipated force. On the very day of the delivery of the French reſcript, a paper to that purpoſe, written by an old and ſtrong advocate for the American war, was delivered at the doors of the two Houſes.

If this ſcheme ever had any ſubſtantial being in the miniſtry, it was, however, but of ſhort duration; and was ſo far from being brought forward, or any more heard of in that quarter, that when pro-

propoſitions of a ſimilar nature, were ſoon after made by the oppoſition in both Houſes of Parliament, and ſtrongly ſupported, on the ground both of expedience and neceſſity, they were violently oppoſed, and accordingly over-ruled (as we have formerly ſeen) by the miniſters.

To ſome ſuch variety of opinions, with reſpect to the means of accommodation, the grand queſtions of peace and war, and the mode of proſecuting the latter, may probably be attributed thoſe appearances of fluctuation, and indeciſion, which, at that period, were ſo ſtrongly and repeatedly charged, as the characteriſtic marks of our counſels and meaſures. And to ſuch cauſes muſt be attributed, the reception of the report, of a reproach ſaid to be thrown out by the French miniſter, at the moment of his departure from London, viz. "That the Britiſh counſels "were ſo totally undetermined and "indeciſive, in every matter, whe"ther of public or private con"cern, that he never could get a "poſitive anſwer from the mi"niſters, upon any buſineſs, whe"ther of ſmall, or of the higheſt "importance."

On the very day March 13th, 1778. that the French reſcript had been delivered to the Secretary of State, an addreſs and petition from the City of London, praying for the adoption of ſuch meaſures as would moſt forward the reſtoration of internal peace, tend to reſcue public affairs from unwiſe and improvident management, and obtain, improve, and ſecure, the returning confidence of the people, was preſented to his Majeſty. This piece, which was of unuſual length, and a maſterly compoſition in point of writing, contained, in the moſt qualified language, and the moſt guarded and reſpectful terms, a ſeries of the ſevereſt obſervations and cenſures, on (what they termed) thoſe fatal counſels, and that conduct of public affairs and meaſures, which equally miſleading and deceiving the Prince and the people, led to the preſent dangerous and unhappy criſis. Along with a recapitulation of the loſſes, misfortunes, and diſgraces of the war, with a ſtriking picture of the various calamities and miſeries, which they attribute to that public conduct they ſo ſtrongly condemn, they by no means forget to take notice, how repeatedly they had deprecated, and how truly foreboded, in their former applications to the throne, (and in concurrence with the ſenſe of many other reſpectable public bodies, and of many of the wiſeſt and beſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects) the preſent evils and dangers, as well as thoſe greater to which the nation is ſtill liable, as the inevitable conſequences of the meaſures which were purſued; neither did they paſs without notice the inefficacy of their former applications, and the anſwers which had been given to their addreſſes and remonſtrances upon public affairs.

Among other political obſervations, all implying or charging neglect or miſconduct on the ſide of government, they particularly noticed in the preſent inſtance, that there was no appearance of our having formed any alliance with any of the other great powers of Europe, in order to cover us from the complicated perils ſo ma-

nifeſtly imminent over this nation, at a time when there was but too much reaſon to apprehend, that alliances of the moſt dangerous kind were formed againſt us.

The anſwer, which was longer than uſual, ſeemed alſo to indicate a greater attention, both to the ſubject of the addreſs, and to the body whoſe act it was, than had been always manifeſted upon ſimilar occaſions. It comprehended in ſubſtance, that, although it could not be allowed, that the force and reſources of the ſtate, had been unwiſely and improvidently exerted, when the object was the maintenance of that conſtitutional ſubordination which ought to prevail through its ſeveral parts; yet, the calamities inſeparable from a ſtate of war had been conſtantly lamented; and, an aſſurance was given, that his Majeſty would moſt earneſtly give all the efficacy in his power, to thoſe meaſures which the legiſlature had adopted, for the purpoſe of reſtoring, by a happy and permanent conciliation, all the bleſſings and advantages of peace.

Whatever hopes or motives operated towards a temporizing conduct on the ſide of England, it was ſoon perceivable, that no ſimilar cauſes influenced that of France. No ſooner was the account conveyed with unuſual diſpatch to that court, of the immediate effects, which the delivery of the reſcript from their miniſter ſeemed to have produced in London, than orders March 18th. were inſtantly iſſued for the ſeizure of all thoſe Britiſh veſſels, which were found in any of the French ports. This example was followed by a ſimilar order in Great Britain. But theſe meaſures produced no great effect on the one ſide or the other, as there were few ſhips in the ports of either.

The order for the ſeizure of the Britiſh veſſels, was in three days followed by another meaſure ſtill more deciſive, and which ſeemed as if it were intended by France, to affix ſuch a ſeal to her late declaration, as would not only convince her new allies of her ſincerity, but put it out of her own power to retract from her engagements with them. This was the public audience and reception given to the three American deputies, Dr. Franklyn, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, as ambaſſadors from the United States, by the French monarch. The deputies were 21ſt. introduced by M. de Vergennes, and received by the King, with the uſual formalities and ceremonials, which the etiquette of courts has eſtabliſhed on the introduction of miniſters from ſovereign ſtates. A great and ſtriking event, as any which has been known in the latter ages. Nothing could be deſired more mortifying to the Crown of Great Britain.

Certain appearances were, however, ſtill to be preſerved by France as well as by England; and the King's ordinance, affording new and extraordinary advantages to the captors of prizes, as an encouragement and ſpur to the vigour of the marine ſervice, although it was ſigned on the 28th of March, was kept dormant, without publication or effect, until the beginning of July.

To complete the defenſive plan, which was declared to be only preliminary to one more effectual, to be taken up in due time, in England

land the militia were immediately called out and embodied, upon the rising of parliament; and being joined by the regular forces, the numbers of the one being apportioned in some degree to that of the other, camps were formed at Winchester, Salisbury, St. Edmund'sbury in Suffolk, Warley Common in Essex, and Coxheath in Kent. But the eyes and the confidence of the nation, were turned, as usual, towards that naval force, which had so long been the object of its pride and hope.

This hope and confidence were still farther increased, by the appointment of a distinguished, and exceedingly popular admiral, in the highest esteem with his own profession, as well as the public, to the command of, what was called, the grand fleet at Portsmouth. It happened, however, most unhappily, that at this critical season of national danger, our navy was not altogether capable of supporting the expectations which were formed. Some time elapsed before any considerable force could be got together.

We have for some years past seen, that complaints on this subject, and enquiries into the state of the navy, have been repeatedly introduced and proposed in parliament; that direct charges as to points of fact, of the utmost importance, have been frequently made and strongly supported; that these charges have been no less strongly and confidently denied; and that all propositions, which led to any direct and effectual investigation of the subject, have been uniformly rejected by prodigious majorities, as improper and impolitic in their own nature.

The minority charged the ministers, on the present occasion, with having entertained the King with the vain pageantry of a naval review, and having for this purpose kept the navy from more rational service in America, in order to impose on the sovereign, and to hide from his eyes their neglect of his most essential forces. Such means of gratifying royal or popular curiosity in the fair weather of peace, may well serve to hide defects, and to conceal weakness; but the rough season and searching hand of war, will soon tear off the painted covering, and expose the deception.

Admiral Keppel was destined to the command of that fleet, to which was committed the defence of this island, the protection of the homeward bound trade, and the preservation of the dignity and honour of the British flag in the adjoining seas. He arrived at Portsmouth to take upon him the command, in a few days after the delivery of the French rescript. It now appears, from evidence which cannot be controverted, and which nothing less than the extraordinary events that followed could have brought forward, that he found matters in a very different state, as well from the opinion which had been generally circulated, as from what he had himself been taught to expect. He asserted on his trial, and it was not contradicted, that instead of a strong and well appointed fleet, capable of undertaking the great objects of service laid before him, he then discovered to his astonishment, that there were only six sail of the line, which were in any degree of condition for immediate service; and that the paucity or condition of men or ships was not

more alarming, than the deficiency of all kinds of naval ſtores was lamentable. The miniſters have ſince aſſerted, that there were many ſhips in condition, and ſufficient to form a ſtrong ſquadron; but they were at that time diſperſed on various ſervices; and could not be collected together ſo ſoon as they wiſhed, though early enough for uſe. Whatever merit might have been in this matter, the admiral, accommodating himſelf to the actual ſtate of affairs, and to the neceſſity of the time, acted with ſuch prudence, caution, and diſcretion, as fully prevented that increaſe of the public alarm and apprehenſion, which a diſplay of theſe circumſtances muſt neceſſarily have occaſioned. Without noiſe, and without complaint, he urged his private applications to the Admiralty with ſuch aſſiduity and effect, that a new ſpirit, and unuſual degree of vigour, were ſuddenly ſeen to pervade the naval department; and ſuch induſtry was uſed in preparation, that by the middle of June, he was enabled to take the ſeas, with a fleet of twenty ſail of the line, and a promiſe of ſpeedy and effectual reinforcement.

In this anxious ſituation of affairs, and in ſuch imperfect preparation, great reliance was placed by the public, in the acknowledged naval abilities and ſkill of a commander, the ſettled fame of whoſe cool and determined courage, might make him dare to be prudent. He had been concerned in many of the moſt ſplendid ſervices of the late war, and ſtood particularly high in the eſtimation of Lord Anſon and Lord Hawke. In the navy he was in a manner adored. It was ſtrongly expreſſed by an eminent member of parliament, "that all deſcriptions of men ſeemed pleaſed "with the choice, and to feel "their own ſecurity included in "his appointment."

However flattering theſe circumſtances might be, his taking ſuch a command, was not without its difficulties, and afforded much room for ſerious reflection. It is indeed highly flattering to, and one of thoſe meeds of virtue and ability, which perhaps affords the moſt poignant gratification, that however they may be neglected and laid by, in the halcyon days of quiet and ſecurity, they muſt be ſought to with reverence, and called into action with honour, in the ſeaſons of trouble and peril. But the Admiral had, upon this occaſion, a great deal to riſque, and he expected nothing. His circumſtances were not ſuch as to prompt him to ſeek for new perils, and his time of life, and ſtate of health, naturally led to a deſire of eaſe, rather than to the fatigues, hardſhips, and difficulties, not only of an active employment, but of a moſt critical ſervice. The well-earned glory acquired in forty years ſervice, was now to be ſtaked upon a ſingle caſt, and could receive no great addition from winning. And it could not be without much reluctance, that a ſituation in life, which it would be ſo extremely difficult in any reſpect to have mended, ſhould be committed to any new hazard. This is, with few additions, his own natural and affecting way of ſtating his ſituation:

His political ſituation increaſed all theſe difficulties, and evidently rendered the meaſure extremely ha-

zardous. Every officer who has ever been entrusted with a great and important command must experimentally know, how much his success and his fame depends, upon the support which he has at home. In this support is to be included, the countenance of those ministers, who are in effect his employers, as well as the measure of supply which they mete out for the support of his service. Opposition in parliament, and a difference of opinion in political matters, have, in former times as well as the present, been alledged as a cause of the oppression of officers in military commands. "I go to serve against "your enemies," said Villars to Louis the XIVth, "but I leave "mine in your closet." Ministers, on the other hand, are apt to accuse them of failure in duty, on account of disaffection to the power of persons whom they hate. It is however certain, that in the latter case, this misconduct can seldom happen, without being very evident to the discerning eyes of their own profession. But in the former, the character of a commander may be whispered away, without any direct charge being laid against his conduct, or any avowed censure from those, under whose auspices and instructions he had acted.

In consequence, however, of a royal message, which came through the first Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral Keppel attended in the closet, to receive the commands of his sovereign. And although (to use his own expressions upon his trial) his forty years endeavours were not marked by the possession of any one favour from the crown, except that of its confidence in time of danger, he could not think it right to decline the service of his country. And this the more especially, as the nation was represented to him, by those, who had a right to be the best acquainted with its condition, to be in no very secure state. In that, and other subsequent royal audiences, he delivered his opinions with that plainness and openness, which were equally suited to his natural, and incidental to his professional character. He particularly took the freedom of observing, that he served in obedience to his Majesty's commands; that he was unacquainted with his ministers, as ministers; and that he took the command as it was, without making any difficulty, and without asking a single favour; trusting only to his Majesty's good intentions, and to his gracious support and protection.

Nor were appearances less favourable on the side of the ministers. The business had been sixteen months in contemplation, the first proposal having been made in consequence of the alarming aspect which the state of public affairs exhibited, in the month of November 1776; the notice of his appointment, upon the decisive part at length taken by France, was conveyed to the admiral, through the chief minister of the marine, with every appearance of concurrence and approbation; and the bearer of this message, who seemed to feel no small degree of pleasure in the employment, (although he afterwards became his accuser) was his particular friend and intimate acquaintance of very long standing. This gentleman, who was vice admiral of the blue,

and

and likewiſe a lord of the admiralty, was to ſerve in Mr. Keppel's fleet, as third in command. It would be needleſs to dwell upon the well-founded ſatisfaction and confidence, which the aſſiſtance of officers, ſtanding in ſuch a degree of intimacy and friendſhip, muſt afford to a commander in chief. It ſeems to meet, ſo far as it goes, that firſt wiſh of every general, to have the choice of thoſe officers on whom he muſt principally confide, and on whoſe conduct, his reputation and ſucceſs muſt ſo much depend.

With the force we have mentioned, the greateſt national truſt that could be repoſed, and unlimited diſcretionary powers, the admiral ſailed from St. Helen's. The truſt was indeed great, for the ſtate of public affairs was exceedingly critical. It was well known that France had a ſtrong fleet at Breſt, and in ſuch a ſtate of preparation, as ſufficiently indicated ſome immediate and important deſign. Our great commercial fleets, loaded with that wealth, which could alone enable us to encounter ſuch formidable enemies, and to ſupport ſo complicated and extenſive a war, were on their way home from different quarters of the globe. To the protection of the commerce of Great Britain, was to be added the defence of her extenſive coaſts, the ſecurity of her vaſt capital, and the preſervation of thoſe invaluable reſervoirs of her naval power, in which were equally included, her preſent ſtrength, and her future hope. All theſe immenſe objects, were committed to the defence of twenty ſhips.

June 13th, 1778.

The fleet had ſcarcely arrived at its ſtation in the Bay of Biſcay, when an occaſion offered to ſhew, that great diſcretionary powers are liable to much perſonal riſque, unleſs the moſt cordial ſupport is afforded, by thoſe in the adminiſtration of public affairs, to the perſon on whom theſe powers is delegated. Two French frigates, with two ſmaller veſſels, appeared in ſight, and were evidently taking a ſurvey of the fleet. The admiral's ſituation was nice and difficult. War had not been declared, nor even reprizals ordered. It was, however, neceſſary to ſtop theſe frigates, as well to obtain intelligence, as to prevent its being conveyed. Indeed it ſeemed a matter of indiſpenſible neceſſity, not to miſs the opportunity of acquiring ſome knowledge of the ſtate, ſituation, and views of the enemy. But that fluctuation of counſels, which, as we have ſtated, ſeemed to prevail at that time, joined to the peculiar circumſtances of the admiral's political ſituation, ſeemed, all together, to render any ſtrong meaſure exceedingly hazardous. He might have been diſavowed; and a war with France might be charged to his raſhneſs, or to the views and principles of his party. In this dilemma, the admiral determined to purſue that line of conduct which he deemed right, and to abide the conſequences. The ſubſequent behaviour of the French frigates, ſeemed calculated to afford a juſtification for any meaſure of violence he could have purſued.

A general ſignal for chacing being made, the Milford frigate got in the evening along-ſide of the Licorne of 32 guns,

June 17th.

guns, and in the moſt obliging terms, required, or rather requeſted, the French captain, to come under the admiral's ſtern; this was refuſed, but upon the coming up of a ſhip of the line, and her firing a gun, the Frenchman ſtood to her, and was brought into the fleet. The admiral ſent a meſſage to leeward, that every civility ſhould be expreſſed to the French captain, and alſo information given, that he would ſee him as ſoon as they could come up in the morning; the veſſels who had him in charge received orders to attend to him through the night, and to bring him up without moleſtation.

In the morning, an unexpected movement made by the French frigate, occaſioned one of the convoy to fire a ſhot acroſs her way, as a ſignal for keeping her courſe, when, to the aſtoniſhment of the admiral and the whole fleet, ſhe ſuddenly poured her whole broadſide, accompanied with a general diſcharge of her muſquetry, into the America of 74 guns; at the very inſtant that Lord Longford her commander was ſtanding upon the gunwale, and talking in terms of the utmoſt politeneſs to the French captain. The frigate inſtantly ſtruck her colours as ſoon as ſhe had diſcharged her fire. Several of the ſhot ſtruck the America; and it ſeemed little leſs than a miracle, conſidering the cloſeneſs of the ſhips, and the unſuſpecting ſtate of the crew, that only four of her people were wounded. Although this behaviour merited the ſevereſt return; and that a broadſide, which would probably have ſent her to the bottom, was that immediately to be expected, yet, the noble commander of the America, with a magnanimity, humanity, and admirable command of temper, which reflect the higheſt honour on his character, did not return a ſingle ſhot.

In the mean time, the other French frigate, called La Belle Poule, which was of great force, and heavy metal, with a ſchooner of 10 guns in company, were cloſely purſued by the Arethuſa frigate, Captain Marſhal, and the Alert cutter, until they got out of ſight of the fleet. The Arethuſa having at length got up with her chaſe, requeſted the French captain to bring to, and acquainted him with the orders of bringing him to the admiral. A compliance with theſe requiſitions being peremptorily refuſed by the French officer, Captain Marſhall fired a ſhot acroſs the Belle Poule, which ſhe inſtantly returned, by pouring her whole broadſide into the Arethuſa, then very cloſe along ſide.

A deſperate engagement enſued, and was continued with unuſual warmth and animoſity for above two hours; each ſide vying with the utmoſt degree of national emulation to obtain the palm of victory, in this firſt action and opening of a new war. The French frigate was much ſuperior in weight of metal and number of men; nor could ſhe at all have ſpared any part of thoſe advantages. At length, the Arethuſa was ſo much ſhattered in her maſts, ſails, and rigging, and there being at the ſame time but little wind for her government, ſhe became in a great meaſure unmanageable; and they being now upon the enemy's coaſt, and the French ſhip's head in with the land, the latter took that opportunity of ſtanding into a ſmall bay, where ſeveral boats came to her

her assistance at day-light, and towed her into a place of safety.

During the fore part of this action, the engagement was no less warm between Captain Fairfax, in the Alert cutter, and the French schooner. Their force was about equal; the former carrying ten, and the latter (if we remember right) eight guns. The contest was well supported for upwards of an hour; when the schooner was compelled to strike, with the loss of five men killed, and seven mortally wounded. The Arethusa had suffered so much, that she was towed back to the fleet by the Valiant and Monarch, both of which had pursued the chace. Her loss in men was also considerable, amounting to eight killed, and thirty-six wounded. That of the Belle Poule was prodigious. The French account acknowledges above forty slain, and fifty-seven wounded. Among the former was the second in command.

They acknowledge that the Belle Poule carried 26 twelve pounders; but they forget to enumerate those of lighter metal, which are said to have amounted to 14 more; and they estimate the Arethusa at 28 six pounders. Notwithstanding this superiority of force, the brave and obstinate defence made by the Belle Poule, in this first action of a new war, when the terrors of our naval prowess in the last, were not yet forgotten, became a matter of great praise, and wonderful exultation. The King of France took care to nourish this national pride and opinion, as well by the honour and promotion which he bestowed on the captain and other principal officers, as by the pecuniary rewards to those in a more subaltern degree, and his liberal munificence to the widows, families, or relations, of those who fell in the action. Nor was this attention confined to the officers. The wounded seamen, and the widows of their fellows who were slain, partook, in a proportional degree, of the same bounty; and the whole was crowned with a considerable benefaction to the ship's company in general. On the other hand, the Captains Marshal and Fairfax, received great praise from their commander, and not more than they deserved.

In the mean time, another French frigate fell in with the fleet, and was detained by the admiral, under colour of the hostility committed, and the extraordinary circumstances of ill conduct with which it was attended, by the captain of the Licorne; but several French merchantmen were suffered to pass through the fleet unmolested, as he did not think himself at all authorized to interrupt their commerce. It was reported, we know not with what authority, that these frigates, with some other vessels, were cruizing to intercept our Mediterranean fleet of merchantmen, which, including those from Spain and Portugal, amounted to about 70 sail, and which were then upon the point of immediate arrival.

From the taking of the French frigates, the admiral derived a source of information of the most critical and alarming nature. He had been taught, as he affirmed, to believe that he commanded a fleet, which, if not quite equal in number and force, was yet such, as from a confidence in his officers and men, he might venture, without rashness, to oppose to any thing that could have been brought out against

againſt him during his cruize. He was now cloſe upon the enemy's coaſt, and within ſight of Uſhant, when he diſcovered, to his inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment, from the papers, and other means of information which the capture of the frigates had thrown into his hands, that the French fleet in Breſt Road and Breſt Water, amounted to 32 ſhips of the line, beſides 10 or 12 frigates; whereas his own force conſiſted only of 20 of the former, and three of the latter.

His ſituation was certainly highly perplexing, and no leſs critical. It was ſcarcely poſſible to ſuppoſe, that he could have been ſent out with ſuch a force, and where objects of ſuch immenſe importance, as perhaps included no leſs than the very exiſtence of the empire, were at ſtake, under any intention of his encountering ſo prodigious a ſuperiority; and it was yet ſcarcely leſs difficult to conceive or believe, that adminiſtration in general, or that great department of the ſtate under which he immediately acted, in particular, could have been poſſibly deficient in information, on the full poſſeſſion of which the public welfare and ſafety ſo directly hung, and which they could not want means of procuring with the utmoſt facility.

In ſo untoward a ſituation, it was indeed difficult what to decide on. Want of experience ſeems as neceſſary as want of wiſdom, to inſpire contempt for an enemy. The conſequences of a defeat on the enemy's coaſt, were not in this caſe, as in the general courſe of wars, to be meaſured only by a temporary loſs of territory, or ſubſtraction of glory. Every thing was at ſtake. The fortune, and perhaps the being of this country, were to be committed to the hazard of a ſingle die. Our own narrow ſeas might be ſwept by an inſulting enemy; our open coaſts every where expoſed to devaſtation and ruin; and the kingdom to open invaſion.

Such were ſome of the fatal conſequences that were to be apprehended from a defeat in the preſent ſtate of things; and the more eſpecially, as that, through the courage of the commanders, and the urgency of the occaſion, could only have been accompliſhed by the abſolute deſtruction of the fleet; whilſt the unfortunate deficiency of naval ſtores and proviſion, which then prevailed within the kingdom, with the difficulty, if not impracticability, under ſuch circumſtances, of procuring a foreign ſupply, and the expoſed ſituation of our docks, yards, and conſequently of all thoſe ſhips which were either building or under repair, would, all together, preſent ſuch an opening to final ruin and calamity, that ſcarcely a hope could be entertained of retrieving the ſtroke. On the other hand, to fly from the coaſt of an inſulted enemy, when that enemy was coming out to avenge the inſult, would be an incident as new in the naval hiſtory of England, as it would ſeem inconſiſtent with the preſent opinion, and degrading to the paſt renown of the commander.

In this dilemma, the admiral determined that all other conſiderations ſhould give way, to what he deemed a faithful diſcharge of the great truſts repoſed in him; the primary objects of which, were the protection of his country, and the preſervation of her commerce. He wiſely thought the ſtakes were too great to be hazarded againſt vaſt odds,

odds, either upon perſonal, or profeſſional punctilio. It was, however, a difficult conqueſt. He afterwards declared, when compelled to a public explanation and defence of his conduct, that he never in his life felt ſo deep a melancholy, as when he found himſelf obliged to turn his back on France.—And, that his courage was never put to ſuch a trial as in that retreat; but that it was his firm perſuaſion, that his country was ſaved by it.

27th. Upon the return of the fleet to Portſmouth, the admiral had an opportunity of verifying by experience, the neceſſity to a commander in chief, eſpecially in critical ſeaſons, and endowed with large diſcretionary powers, to be well ſupported in the cabinet, and to meet with a diſpoſition to a favourable conſtruction and acceptance of his well-directed ſervices, in thoſe nice and doubtful ſituations, wherein no ſpecific line of conduct can be laid down for his direction, and in which, either perſonal reſponſibility muſt be hazarded, or what appears at the time to be the eſſential intereſts of his country ſacrificed. He had already gone in two inſtances to the limits of his diſcretionary powers. The taking of the frigates, and the return, contrary to expectation and intention, if not to direct orders, from his ſtation, were meaſures of ſuch a nature, as admitted of no medium in their conſtruction. They were either abſolutely right, or they muſt be abſolutely wrong. In the former caſe, they demanded not only immediate, but great approbation; in the latter, the moſt direct reprehenſion. The officer, who had committed errors of ſuch magnitude and danger, ſhould not again, by any means, have been entruſted with a command of ſuch national importance.

The admiral was, however, left in this ſtate of uncertainty; and with ſo great a truſt in his hands, never received the ſmalleſt direct or official approbation of his conduct in either inſtance. But he ſeemed to be immediately delivered over, without mercy, to the obloquy and ſcurrility of thoſe publications, which he conſidered as being under the immediate direction of the miniſters; and which, from the circumſtance of their abuſe having been ſo frequently the prelude to the downfal or diſgrace of officers, are particularly conſidered as being, in ſome ſort, in the ſecret, and as having the ſanction of authority for their cenſure and condemnation. By theſe, the admiral's return and conduct were branded with the moſt opprobrious terms which language was capable of beſtowing, and aſcribed to the moſt diſgraceful motives; his general character treated with the moſt indecent ſcurrility; and as they placed his conduct and his merits in the ſame ſcale with thoſe of Admiral Byng, ſo they boldly and directly threatened him with the ſame fate.

The admiral bore all the diſcouraging, as well as the diſagreeable circumſtances he met, with wonderful temper. He made no complaints himſelf, did every thing to ſtifle diſcontents in others, preſſed forward the preparations for his return to ſea, without noiſe or parade, and bore all the unmerited reproach that was thrown upon him, without being once tempted to a juſtification, which, by the narration

narration of the fact, must necessarily have criminated the first lord of the admiralty.

The fortunate arrival of the two first of our West-India fleets, and of the Levant trade, brought in a supply of seamen, at the most critical period in which they could have ever been wanted. By this means, and the exertions every where used by the admiralty, the admiral was enabled to put again to sea, on the 13th day from his arrival at Portsmouth, with 24 ships of the line; and was joined on the way by six more; the paucity of frigates still continued, there being an addition of only one, to which was also added two fireships. But the ships in general were commanded by men, who in point of skill, ability and courage, were of the highest estimation.

July 9th.

In the mean time, the French king made use of the engagement with the Belle Poule, and the taking of the other frigates, as the ostensible ground, for issuing out orders for reprisal on the ships of Great-Britain; and the ordinance for the distribution of prizes, which we have already observed had been passed a considerable time before, although hitherto kept dormant, was now immediately published. Similar measures were likewise pursued in England, as soon as the account of these transactions was received. Thus nothing of war was wanting between the two nations, excepting merely its name, or rather the formality of the proclamation.

On the day preceding the departure of the British fleet from Portsmouth, the French fleet sailed from Brest, amounting to 32 sail of the line, and a cloud of frigates. They were divided in three squadrons or divisions, the whole being under the command of the Count d'Orvilliers, who was assisted in his own particular division, by Admiral the Count de Guichen. The second was commanded by the Count Duchaffault, assisted by M. de Rochechovart; and the third by the Duke of Chartres, (prince of the blood) who was seconded by Admiral the Count de Grasse. M. de la Motte Piquet, although an admiral, acted as first-captain in the Duke of Chartres' ship. On their departure from Brest, the Lively frigate, which had been sent to watch their motions, got so involved amongst them that she could not possibly escape, and was accordingly taken.

The English fleet was likewise thrown into three divisions; the van being commanded by Sir Robert Harland, Vice-Admiral of the Red; and the rear by Sir Hugh Palliser, Vice-Admiral of the Blue. The commander in chief was assisted by the voluntary services of Rear-Admiral Campbell, a brave and experienced officer, who from ancient friendship, and a long participation of danger and service, condescended to act as first-captain in his own ship the Victory.

The two fleets came in sight of each other on the afternoon of the 23d of July. It appears from the movements and conduct, both then and after, of the French admiral, that he had no knowledge of the increase of Mr. Keppel's strength, at their first meeting; but considered his fleet as being still in about the same state as to number, in which it had been at the time of quitting its station before Brest. Under this impression, he

he seemed disposed for bringing on an immediate engagement; but as soon as the fleets had approached so near, as pretty well to discover each others force, he seemed evidently to relinquish that determination, and continued afterwards to evade with great caution and knowledge in his profession, all those endeavours which were constantly used on the other side to bring on an action.

As night was near, and that general actions by sea are always to be avoided at that season, the British admiral only brought the fleet to, in a line of battle, leaving the option of attack to the enemy. A fresh gale, and a change of wind in the night, made some considerable alteration in the relative situation of the opposed fleets. The French had now gained the weather-gage, which afforded them the great advantage, of either bringing on an action, nearly in the time and manner they liked, or of avoiding it totally. Two of their line of battle ships had, however, fallen considerably in the night to leeward; and the admiral now seeing that they studiously avoided an engagement, and being sensible of the difficulty of forcing them to that decision, while the wind held in its present state, determined if possible to profit of this separation, and to reduce his opponent to the alternative, of either sacrificing two of his capital ships, or of hazarding a general action.

The French commander chose to submit to the risque of the former. Although the two ships were not taken, they were so effectually cut off from the rest of the fleet, that they were never able to rejoin them during the remainder of the cruize; and another ship, which had sustained some damage during the night in the gale, was exposed to such imminent danger of being taken, as to owe her escape merely to a sudden shift of the wind. By the cutting off of the two former vessels, the hostile fleets were placed upon an equality in point of number, with respect to line of battle ships.

For four successive days, the fleet continued constantly to beat up against the wind in pursuit of the enemy; who might have chosen any hour of that time to have come to a general engagement. This slackness with respect to action, is not, however, to be attributed to any want of spirit in Monsr. D'Orvilliers, the gallantry of that officer being unquestioned; but the motives which operated on both commanders, were as totally different as their conduct. Mr. Keppel had the strongest and most urgent reasons, for pressing on an engagement with the greatest possible expedition; and the same reasons operated, though in a lesser degree, upon his adversary, to abstain from that final issue. The greatest bodies of the British trade were then on their return home. Two East-India, and two West-India fleets, of immense value, were hourly expected. The French fleet, from their order of sailing, and the number of their frigates, spread over so vast an extent of ocean, that Mr. Keppel found it necessary to warn the admiralty in his letters, of the unavoidable danger to which any ships that attempted to join him would thereby be exposed. As the British fleet cut off that of France from their own ports, so the fleet of France was spread athwart that course,

course, which our homeward trade was likely to hold; and from the situation of both fleets, and the state of the wind, might have taken them in the British admiral's sight, without a possibility of his preventing it.

Nor was this state of things rendered less irksome, nor the apprehensions resulting from it qualified, by any well-founded confidence that it might not be of long continuance. On the contrary, our own naval histories record an example in the reign of King William, when the celebrated Admiral Russel was obliged to undergo for two months the mortification, of being almost in the daily view of the French fleet, without his being able in all that time to bring them to action. The admiral had also another motive for his anxiety to bring on an engagement upon any terms whatever. This motive was founded in his instructions. For although he did not for prudential reasons think fit to produce them on his trial, he made no scruple of declaring freely to the court, that his instructions went directly and absolutely to that point of fighting the enemy.

In this pursuit of the French fleet, the preserving of a regular line of battle, with any hope of bringing them to action, was evidently impracticable. That signal was accordingly hauled down from the 23d, and that for chacing to windward kept constantly flying. In this measure, the admiral was supported, not only by his own judgment, but by the practical example of some of the greatest names, who had ever supported or established the honour of the British flag. But the measure was of a nature, which rendered all precedent unnecessary for its justification. The assiduous and continual endeavours of the French admiral to avoid an engagement, afforded full cause for apprehending that he expected a reinforcement, and that, independent of all other motives, would have been sufficient for using every means to bring it suddenly on. By adhering to a line of battle, the French fleet would have been evidently out of sight in a very short time, and the probable consequence would have been, either the loss of our foreign convoys, or insult to the coast of England. The admiral accordingly continued the chace without intermission, keeping his fleet at the same time as much collected, as the nature of a pursuit would admit of, in order to seize the first opportunity which a change of wind might afford, of bringing the enemy to a close and decisive action.

On the morning of the 27th of July, the French fleet were at day-break, as much to windward, and at as great a distance, as they had generally been during the preceding days; and seemed also to avoid an action with as much industry as ever. The vice-admiral of the blue was then rather more to leeward than his station required, and having his mainsail up, it obliged the ships of that division to continue under an easy sail. This induced the commander in chief to throw out a signal, for several ships of that division to chace to windward. The enemy's fleet were then near three leagues to windward, and going off close by the wind with a pressed sail. The motive assigned for the signal was to collect as many of those ships to windward as could be done, in order to fill

up that interval between the commander in chief's ſhip and the vice-admiral, which had been occaſioned by the latter falling ſo far to leeward; and thus, by ſtrengthening the main body of the fleet, to be ready for any chance that might occur of bringing the enemy to action. And the reaſon why the ſignal was not made to the whole diviſion inſtead of particular ſhips, was, that they then muſt have chaced in a body, which would have retarded the beſt going ſhips, by an attendance on their immediate commander. Indeed the vice-admiral ſeemed ſo ſenſible of the object of the ſignal, that it produced an immediate effect in the conduct of his own ſhip, by a conſiderable augmentation of ſail.

Some changes of the wind, and a dark ſquall, which came on before 11 o'clock, produced ſeveral evolutions in both fleets, the nature and effect of which are not eaſily explained to the ſatisfaction of landmen. It ſeems upon the whole, that ſome ſudden ſhifts of the wind, together with the unexpected and unintentional effect produced by an evolution on the French ſide, being all improved upon by the moſt maſterly efforts on the other, brought the two fleets ſo cloſe, that they could not part without an engagement. But as this was a ſituation not ſought, and a deciſion not wiſhed by the French commanders, they endeavoured to evade its conſequences as much as poſſible; and accordingly, inſtead of ſhortening ſail, and lying to, in order to receive the Britiſh fleet in a line of battle on the ſame tack, by which every ſhip on either ſide, would have been fairly engaged with her adverſary in the oppoſite line, and the action could ſcarcely fail of being deciſive, they ſuddenly put about on the contrary tack. By this manœuvre, the heads and courſe of the ſhips in each fleet, being directed to oppoſite points of the compaſs with thoſe of the other, they could only engage as they paſſed, inſtead of lying ſide to ſide, ſo as to make an effectual impreſſion.

Thus it will be eaſily conceived, that in this courſe of engagement, any Britiſh ſhip that could fetch the head of the French fleet, would receive and return the fire of every ſhip from firſt to laſt in their line; which would have been ſtill kept up by thoſe that followed, until both fleets had totally paſſed each other. It neceſſarily followed of courſe, that thoſe ſhips which engaged firſt, would be the ſooneſt out of action; and that the continuance of each in it, muſt depend upon the part of the French line which ſhe was able to fetch, and the conſequent number of ſhips ſhe had ſtill to paſs. Although this mode of fighting did not at all prevent the loſs of men, or damage to the ſhips, yet it tended greatly to defer, if not totally to evade, the conſequences incident to thoſe circumſtances; as it prevented the ſucceſsful adverſary from being capable of immediately purſuing with effect, either the blow which he had given to a ſingle ſhip, or the general impreſſion which he had made in the enemy's line. The neceſſity which induced the Britiſh commander to bring on an engagement, and the determined perſeverance of the enemy in avoiding it, rendered him, of courſe, incapable of preſcribing the terms.

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The French began the engagement, by firing at a great diſtance at the headmoſt of Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, as they led up; who on the contrary, did not return a ſhot until they came within a very cloſe diſtance. The example was followed, or a ſimilar conduct purſued, by the fleet in general, as faſt as each ſhip could cloſe up with the enemy; and notwithſtanding their being neceſſarily extended by the chace, they were all ſoon in battle. As the fleets paſſed each other very cloſe on the oppoſite tacks, the cannonade was very heavy, and the effect conſiderable. The action laſted from firſt to laſt ſomething about three hours. As the French, in their uſual way, directed their fire principally at the rigging, ſeveral of the Britiſh ſhips were a good deal crippled, and ſuffered conſiderably in their maſts, yards, and ſails. The fire on their ſide, which was principally levelled at the hulls of the enemy, was not deficient in its effect of another kind.

As ſoon as the commander in chief had paſſed the rear of the enemy, and that the ſmoke was ſo far cleared as to admit of any obſervation, his firſt object was to look round to the poſition of the ſhips which were already come out of action, and to conſider of the beſt means of bringing on a cloſe and general engagement, as ſoon as the remainder of the fleets, which were ſtill fighting, had paſſed and cleared each other. He ſoon perceived, that the vice-admiral of the red, with part of his diviſion, had already tacked, and was ſtanding towards the enemy; but obſerved at the ſame time, that none of the other ſhips which were come out of action had yet tacked, and that ſome of them were dropping to leeward, and ſeemingly employed in repairing their damages. His own ſhip, the Victory, had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in the action, as not to be in condition for immediate tacking; nor, if it had been otherwiſe expedient, could he immediately wear, and ſtand back on the ſhips coming up aſtern of him out of the action, without throwing them into the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion.

This movement was, however, performed as ſpeedily as poſſible, and notwithſtanding the damages ſuſtained by the Victory, ſhe was not only the firſt ſhip that wore of the center diviſion, and that got round again towards the enemy, but it was ſome time before the example could be followed, and not above three or four, were then able to cloſe up with her. In this ſituation of the fleet, the admiral hauled down the ſignal for battle, which he judged improper to be kept abroad, until the ſhips could recover their ſtations, or at leaſt get near enough to ſupport each other in action; and in order to call them together for that purpoſe, he immediately made the ſignal to form the line of battle a-head, which is of all others, that conſidered by ſeamen as the moſt forcible, and as commanding the moſt prompt obedience.

At this time the Victory was a-head of all the center and red diviſions, and had time to unbend her maintopſail, (which had been rendered totally unſerviceable) while the ſhips aſtern were endeavouring to get into their reſpective ſtations. As the vice-admiral of the blue commanded the rear diviſion,

ſion, which was of courſe the laſt out of action, he was at this time a-head of the Victory, which was now become his proper ſtation; yet without regard to the ſignal, he, (on whatever motives, poſſibly juſtifiable ones) quitted his ſtation in the front of that line of battle for which it was flying, and paſſing his admiral to leeward on the contrary tack, whilſt he was advancing to the enemy, never came into the line during the reſt of the day.

The following is repreſented as being then the exact ſituation of the fleet. The Victory was the neareſt ſhip to the enemy, with no more than three or four of her own diviſion in any ſituation, either to have immediately ſupported her or each other in action; Sir Robert Harland, with ſix or ſeven ſail of his diviſion, was to windward, and ready for inſtant ſervice; the vice-admiral of the blue was on a contrary tack, and totally out of the line; other ſhips were far aſtern, and five that were diſabled in their rigging, at a great diſtance to leeward. Thus, the admiral could not at that time, which was about three o'clock in the afternoon, collect above twelve ſhips to renew the engagement.

The French had now got to leeward, and under the expectation of being immediately attacked, had huddled moſt of their ſhips haſtily together in a kind of cluſter, in the operation of wearing, from whence they were gradually ſtretching out into a line of battle; but upon obſerving the expoſed ſituation of thoſe Britiſh ſhips which had fallen to leeward to repair their damages, it induced ſome alteration in their movements, and they began to edge away, with an evident intention of cutting them off from the reſt of the fleet. The admiral inſtantly penetrated into their deſign, and the danger of thoſe ſhips obliged him ſuddenly to wear, and to ſtand athwart the van of the enemy, in a diagonal line, for their protection. At the ſame time, he diſpatched orders to Sir Robert Harland, to form his diviſion at a diſtance aſtern of the Victory, in order to cover the rear, and to keep the enemy in check, until the vice-admiral of the blue ſhould in obedience to the ſignal (which was kept conſtantly flying) come, with his diviſion, into his proper ſtation. Theſe orders were inſtantly obeyed by the vice-admiral of the red, who was accordingly formed in the wake of the Victory, before four o'clock.

It was this evolution, which was afterwards made the foundation of one of thoſe principal charges which were brought againſt the admiral, it being repreſented "as "carrying the appearance of a "flight, and bringing diſgrace "upon the Britiſh flag, by affording "an opportunity to the enemy "of claiming the victory, and of "publiſhing to the world that "the fleet had ran away." And it was alſo this movement, which ſome of the braveſt and moſt experienced officers in the Britiſh ſervice, and who were preſent at the time, declared upon oath, to have appeared, and to have been conſidered by them, both then and after, as a great and neceſſary manœuvre.

In the mean time, the admiral perceiving that he was nearing the enemy, by the courſe which he ſteered for the protection of the crippled ſhips, and that the vice-

admiral of the blue ſtill continued to lie to windward, and by ſo doing kept his diviſion back from joining him, and from ſupporting the fleet, he made a ſignal for all ſhips to windward to bear down into his wake. This ſignal was repeated by the vice-admiral, although he had not repeated that for the line of battle; but as he did not bear down himſelf, his repeating this ſignal ſeems to have been peculiarly unlucky; it having been interpreted, by the ſhips of his diviſion, as an order for coming into his own wake, and not for their going into that of the admiral.

Theſe appearances of neglect of duty in the vice-admiral of the blue, were attributed to the diſabled condition of his ſhip, to which ſeveral witneſſes were produced on his trial, and on the credit of which he was afterwards acquitted. The protection of the diſabled ſhips being accompliſhed, and the French fleet continuing to form their line, ranging up to leeward parallel to the center diviſion, it became the admiral's immediate and moſt urgent object, to form his as ſpeedily as poſſible, in order to bear down upon them and renew the battle, whilſt it could yet be done with full effect. He therefore, after having repeated the ſignal for ſhips to come into his wake with no better effect than before, ſent to Sir Robert Harland, to ſtretch away a-head, and to take his proper ſtation in the line; in which he was inſtantly obeyed, with the uſual promptneſs of that excellent officer; and ſeeing the vice-admiral of the blue ſtill to windward, with his foretopſail unbent, and without any viſible effort, either towards ſetting it to rights, or for obeying that ſignal which had been ſo long flying, he ſent Captain Windſor of the Fox frigate at five o'clock, with expreſs orders to him, to bear down into his, the admiral's wake, and to tell him, that he only waited for him and his diviſion to renew the battle. We muſt obſerve, that there is a conſiderable variation, with regard to the exact time at which this meſſage was delivered, in the evidence given upon the trials of Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliſer.

This order not producing the deſired effect, and having before hauled down the ſignal for coming into his wake, the admiral threw out that for all ſhips to come into their ſtations; and again, at ſeven o'clock, being wearied out with fruitleſs expectation, he made the ſignal for each particular ſhip of the vice-admiral of the blue's diviſion to come into her ſtation in the line; but before they had complied with this ſignal, night put an end to all further operations. It will ſcarcely eſcape obſervation, that no ſignal had been particularly thrown out to the Formidable, the vice-admiral of the blue's own ſhip: this the admiral afterwards attributed to a motive of delicacy, founded on the long ſervices of that officer, as well as a due compliment to his rank in his double capacity, both as a lord of the admiralty, and as the third in the preſent command; a delicacy which, whether juſtifiable or not, brought great inconveniencies on Mr. Keppel; poſſible crimination; and is not likely to be imitated on future occaſions.

Although the French, by their drawing up and forming a line parallel to the Britiſh fleet, ſhewed a

determination of ſuſtaining an engagement, if they had been attacked, they, however, ſhewed evidently, that they were not at all diſpoſed to urge matters to that final concluſion, by any act of their own; as they had it in their power to have renewed the engagement during every hour of the afternoon; and that with ſuch apparent advantage, from a ſituation of affairs which it does not ſeem could poſſibly have eſcaped their obſervation, that their miſſing the opportunity appears little leſs unaccountable, than the ſtrange circumſtance from whence it was derived. Their conduct in the night would have afforded a confirmation of their indiſpoſition to renew the engagement, if their preceding could have left any doubt upon the queſtion. Three of their beſt ſailing veſſels were ſtationed at proper diſtances with lights, to divert the attention of the Britiſh fleet, and to induce them to imagine, that the whole French line ſtill kept that poſition, in which it had been laſt ſeen at the cloſe of day. Under this deception, and the favour of the night, the reſt of their fleet withdrew with the utmoſt ſilence, without lights, and without any other ſignal, than the throwing up of ſome rockets, which appeared about ten o'clock, and made the beſt of their way to the port of Breſt, for which place the wind was directly fair, and where they accordingly arrived on the following evening.

At day-light, their fleet had got to ſuch a diſtance, as to be only viſible from the maſt-heads of a very few of the Britiſh ſhips, excepting the three ſail we have mentioned, which were ſtill within a few miles to leeward of ſome of the neareſt. The admiral threw out a ſignal for four ſhips to chace them; but ſoon perceiving that two of theſe were not able to carry ſo much ſail as would even countenance the purſuit, he ſoon recalled it. And taking into conſideration the crippled ſtate of his own ſhips, the diſtance which the French had gained in the night, their vicinity to their own coaſts, and alſo reflecting, that whatever they might have ſuffered in their hulls, they had not apparently received any great damage in their means of flight, he concluded upon the whole, that he had not the ſmalleſt proſpect of coming up with them, and that neither a general or partial purſuit, could have anſwered any wiſe or beneficial purpoſe. On the other hand, he conſidered, that a vain and fruitleſs purſuit of a diſtant and flying enemy on their own coaſt, with a large ſwell, and a freſh wind blowing full upon it, and a fleet of large and heavy ſhips, in the ſtate his own was, would not only have been wantonly expoſing it without end or object to great riſque and danger, but would alſo be a miſleading and defeating of its operations, by delaying the refitment which was neceſſary, for carrying on the future ſervice with vigour and effect.

It muſt be obſerved, that the account of this action and the preceding circumſtances, is taken from the printed trial of Admiral Keppel. The affair has been ſince agitated with violence and heat, between parties with whom we have no concern, and upon a ſubject of which we have not naval ſkill ſufficient to form any judgment. But as the evidence is that of the greateſt ſeamen, and men of the higheſt honour, upon oath, is for

the greater part uncontradicted, and received by competent and unimpeached ſworn judges, we could not, without the groſſeſt partiality or prejudice, receive it in any other way, than as it was received and decided on by that court in the trial. It is exceedingly rare for hiſtorians to be furniſhed with facts ſo eſtabliſhed.

The loſs of men in the Britiſh fleet, amounted to 133 ſlain, and 373 wounded. No officer was killed, and but very few wounded. Several private French accounts eſtimated the loſs on their ſide at 2000 in killed and wounded. Their gazette, publiſhed by authority, was very ſlow in giving any eſtimate of the loſs; they ſeemed to wait for the account from England; and at length fixed it at ſome ſmall matter more than that acknowledged by the Britiſh admiral on his ſide. Other accounts, and not ill ſupported, carried the loſs in killed and wounded on that ſide, ſo high as 3000 men. The French gazette, beſides claiming the victory, deſcribes with no ſmall degree of facetiouſneſs, the utter aſtoniſhment of the French admiral and of his fleet, upon finding themſelves, moſt unaccountably, and unexpectedly, in the harbour of Breſt, inſtead of being, as they imagined, many leagues out at ſea, and in full purſuit of the enemy towards his own coaſts. The publiſher, however, conſoles himſelf with the reflection, that ſuch miſtakes are, in certain caſes, by no means uncommon, and therefore afford no juſt ground for ſurprize in this inſtance. Whatever meaſures that nation have adopted or purſued for the improvement of their marine, it was obſerved with equal ſurprize and regret on that day, and by ſome of our braveſt and moſt experienced officers, that they worked and manœuvred their ſhips, with a degree of ſeaman-like addreſs and dexterity, which they never before perceived, in any opportunity they had, whether of war or of peace, of conſidering the maritime abilities of that people. Some have attributed this circumſtance to the number of American ſeamen, who are ſuppoſed to have ſerved on board the French fleet. We do not, however, know the fact to be at all founded, that there were any ſuch number of Americans, at that time, in the ſervice of France, as could have been in any degree equal to the effect.

However unwilling we are to enter into any diſcuſſion of the ſubject, the ſubſequent conſequences of this action render it neceſſary, that we ſhould here take ſome notice of that conduct in the vice-admiral of the blue, which has ſince been productive of ſo much public enquiry and judicial inveſtigation. It ſeems to appear from ſome of that fund of matter, which has ſince been communicated to all the world, that the conduct of that officer, in not obeying the ſignals or orders of his commander in chief, was ſo little conſonant to the reſolution which he had immediately diſplayed in the action, (which is admitted to have been equal, and by his friends ſtated to be even ſuperior, to that of any other officer) that it excited the moſt general aſtoniſhment throughout the fleet. But as this aſtoniſhment was mixed with, and a good deal founded upon, doubt and expectation, when theſe remained ungratified, and that no ſatisfactory explanation was afforded, that kind of friendly won-

der which was firſt excited, changed, by no very abrupt tranſition, into a very high degree of diſlike and reſentment.

The ſituation of Admiral Keppel was more trying and difficult, than any, almoſt, that man can experience. The event of the day, and the conſequent eſcape of the French fleet, were to him, matters intolerably grievous. As the reward of conſummate ſkill, and the moſt inceſſant induſtry, fortune, after five days purſuit of his enemy, preſented him with one of thoſe fair opportunities, which ſhe ſo ſeldom offers, of doing the moſt ſignal ſervice to his country, in its moſt critical exigency, and of raiſing his own name to the ſummit of naval renown and glory. To uſe his own words, he hoped to have made the 27th of July, "a proud day to England." All theſe mighty advantages to his country, and glorious rewards to himſelf, were, juſt when they appeared within his graſp, unaccountably raviſhed from it. The action of the day was honourable to Britiſh courage, and to Britiſh ſkill. But the fruits of both were loſt. The victory was not deciſive; and the whole French ſquadron was in ſafety in its own harbour. Murmurs began to prevail through the whole fleet. In Plymouth, the failure of a complete victory was attributed to the admiral's oldeſt and cloſeſt friend, the vice-admiral of the blue. In London his own conduct was criticiſed.

The admiral had ſeen too much of men and of ſervice, not to be diſpoſed to make great allowances, for thoſe ſudden, and often unaccountable, momentary weakneſſes and failures of the mind, to which all mankind, in a leſſer or greater degree, are at certain times liable. His veneration to his profeſſion, and to the honour of the navy, which he carried to a pitch bordering on enthuſiaſm, rendered him exceedingly tender, with reſpect to calling in queſtion the names of officers of diſtinction. Such charges or enquiries, however founded, are apt to leave a ſtigma behind: and in any caſe, he would have thought it hard, that the well-earned meeds and the fair character, obtained in a life of hard and painful ſervice, ſhould at once be blaſted, by the rigid conſtruction of a ſingle act, or the lapſe or weakneſs of a moment. He had no doubt of the bravery of his vice-admiral, and he did not think error or miſtake ſufficient grounds for ſubjecting him to ſuch an ordeal. His nature beſides, diſpoſed him to think favourably of others; and a modification of the ſame diſpoſition, rendered him intractable, in conceiving evil of his friends.

If on the other hand it might be juſtly ſaid, that no private conſiderations or motives whatever, were at all to be put in competition with thoſe public ties, which were to operate upon him, as a commander in chief, a ſtateſman, and a lover of his country; it ſeemed not difficult to ſhew, that in this inſtance, his public duty happily coincided with his natural diſpoſition; and that a temperate conduct was the moſt perfect policy. A great truſt, and no leſs public expectation, was repoſed in him. Untoward and unhappy as the preſent event was, it was ſtill the buſineſs of a wiſe man to conform himſelf to his ſituation; and it was no leſs the duty of a good citizen, than it muſt be the inclination of a man, who held

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the intereſts of his country dear at his heart, not to be warped by any bye motives, or by any perſonal reſentments, from uſing every means to convert that ſituation, ſuch as it was, to her greateſt poſſible benefit.

The great national object now before him was ſtrait and direct; and that conſiſted, in the uſing every poſſible exertion for rendering the fleet fit for immediate ſervice. This was only to be attained by temper and unanimity. A retroſpect into the conduct of the vice-admiral of the blue, muſt neceſſarily have ſuſpended the whole operations of the fleet; and that not only in the midſt of a campaign, but in one of the moſt perilous ſeaſons this country ever ſaw, and when every moment ſeemed liable to the production of the moſt extraordinary events. The high degree of power and favour in which that officer then ſtood, and the official, if not court ſupport, which it was well known he would receive on any queſtion, all tended to render the meaſure ſtill more ineligible, and to point out the pernicious conſequences with reſpect to the ſervice, and of courſe the public detriment which it muſt produce.

The commander in chief accordingly, with admirable temper, and no leſs prudence, conformed his conduct to the neceſſity of his ſituation; holding up the public ſecurity and intereſts, as the only objects of his direction. He made no charge againſt the vice-admiral of the blue; and what ſeemed much more ſingular, that officer, who could not poſſibly be ignorant of ſome conſiderable part of the general effect which it produced, and whoſe honour ſeemed to be particularly touched by the public meſſage delivered by Capt. Windſor, as well as by other circumſtances, did not offer any apology for, nor enter into any explanation of, any part of his conduct.

The public letter, giving an account of the action, which the admiral was neceſſarily to write to the Admiralty, and which was of courſe to be publiſhed in the Gazette, became, however to him, a matter of no ſmall difficulty. It was not indeed eaſy to write ſuch an account of that tranſaction, as would be fitting to meet the public eye, and to undergo its inveſtigation, without a recital of particulars, which it would have been contrary to the ſyſtem of conduct he was determined to purſue, to have brought into notice. He, however, choſe, rather to ſubmit a letter to the cenſure and criticiſm of the public, than to depart from that line of action which he had laid down. The letter was very ſhort, very general, and very barren of information. It ſtated facts ſo far as it went, threw no blame upon any body, and commended the bravery of the officers in general, and of the two vice admirals in particular.

This approbation was, however, afterwards obſerved to be only applied to the particular circumſtances, and to the immediate time of the action; the ſubſequent tranſactions of the afternoon, were, in general, thrown into the ſhade; and the cauſes that prevented a renewal of the engagement, were left in ſuch obſcurity, as drew no ſmall ſhare of public cenſure upon the admiral himſelf. Captain Faulknor, who was the bearer of

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this letter, was, however, entrusted with a verbal message from his admiral to the first lord of the admiralty, which seems evidently to have been intended to open the way for farther explanation, if the marine minister had required it; and which the obscurity and deficiency of the public letter seemed to demand. The message, (which the captain repeated twice to the minister, without its being productive either of observation or enquiry) was in the following words, viz. "Give my compliments to "Lord Sandwich, and tell him "I have more to say to him than "I think it proper to put in my "public letter; and if it is his "lordship's pleasure to ask me "any question, I am ready to wait "on him."

The admiral having left a proper force to protect the homeward trade, returned to Plymouth to refit. He soon experienced the benefit arising from the wise and temperate conduct which he had pursued. Unanimity prevailed among the officers, and every exertion was used in getting the fleet again ready for sea. To use his own words upon his defence, by using the *discretion* which he thought was in him, he preserved concord in the fleet, promptitude in the service, and dignity to the country. In the mean time a letter was received from the Admiralty, declaring in the most explicit terms, his majesty's full approbation of the admiral's conduct; accompanied with the congratulations of the lords of the admiralty upon his victory.

The fleet afterwards kept the sea, as long as the approaching winter season could admit. The French fleet had also got out of Brest; and still pursued the same principle of conduct in avoiding action, which they had hitherto manifested. Instead of directing their course where they were sure of encountering an enemy, they made their way to the southward, where they were as certain of meeting none; and where their cruize could answer no other purpose than merely that of parade. Thus whilst they were loitering about Cape Finisterre, their own coasts and the bay were totally abandoned to the British fleet, who were in vain endeavouring to obtain intelligence of them. And by this means, whilst our own trade arrived from the different quarters of the world, in a state of security, scarcely exceeded by that of peace, the French commerce became a prey to our cruizers, in a degree, which few former wars have equalled for the time.

The reception which the admiral met with upon his return from sea, both at court and at the admiralty, equalled the most sanguine expectations which he could form, from that approbation already expressed of his conduct. By his Majesty, he was honoured with the most gracious expressions of satisfaction, favour, and esteem; and the behaviour of the first lord of the admiralty, was not less flattering in its degree.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Speech from the throne. Amendment moved to the addreſs in the Houſe of Commons. Great Debates. Amendment rejected upon a diviſion. Oppoſition to the addreſs in general, in the Houſe of Lords, but no amendment propoſed. Addreſs carried upon a diviſion. Motion to addreſs the Crown, in the Houſe of Commons, for a diſavowal of certain paſſages in the late manifeſto iſſued by the Commiſſioners at New York. The motion, after long debates, rejected upon a diviſion. Similar motion by the Marquis of Rockingham, likewiſe cauſes much debate, and is rejected upon a diviſion. Proteſt. Circumſtances, which tended to the rendering the late action off Breſt, a ſubject of parliamentary diſcuſſion. Admiral Keppel, being called upon, gives ſome account of that buſineſs in the Houſe of Commons. Anſwered by Sir Hugh Palliſer. Reply. Court martial ordered for the trial of Admiral Keppel. Conduct of the admiralty cenſured and ſupported: Queſtion, relative to the diſcretionary powers of that board, much agitated. Bill brought in and paſſed, for the holding of the trial of Admiral Keppel on ſhore, (in conſideration of his ill ſtate of health) inſtead of its being held a board ſhip, as before preſcribed by the law. Receſs.

MANY circumſtances contributed to render the meeting of parliament, at the opening of the ſeſſion on which we are now to enter, an object of peculiar expectation to the public. The cloſe of the firſt campaign of a war with France, opened a wide field for diſcuſſion, as well as ſpeculation. The principal officers who had held commands in America, were now returned to their ſeats in parliament. The Commiſſioners appointed under an act of the laſt ſeſſion to ſettle the diſturbances in America, were likewiſe returned. And altho' the unfortunate event of the propoſitions was well known, much information, with regard to the military, as well as to the civil affairs of that country, was expected from the ability and ſtations of the gentlemen who were joined in the commiſſion. An opinion of certain differences between the commiſſioners and commanders, excited the curioſity of all men; people being ever ſure to look on with a peculiar intereſt, when the importance of public queſtions is enlivened by a mixture of perſonal anecdote.

Nov. 26th. 1778.

The ſpeech from the throne was replete with complaints, of the unexampled and unprovoked hoſtility of the court of France. With regard to the events of the war, it was ſhort and inexplicit. Grounding the hopes of ſucceſs on future exertions, on the ſtate of preparation, and on the ſpirit of the people, more than on the actions of the campaign; which were alluded to with a coldneſs, that might eaſily be conſtrued into cenſure. Notice was, however, taken of the protection afforded to commerce, and of the large repriſals made upon the injurious aggreſſors.

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The profeſſions of neutral powers were repreſented as friendly; but their armaments ſuſpicious—The failure of the conciliatory meaſures, was regretted—The neceſſity of active exertions by ſea and land, pointed out by the ſituation of affairs, was urged in general terms, without ſpecifying any plan of operations—With regard to the American war, a total ſilence was obſerved.

The addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, with the uſual profeſſions of attachment and ſupport, repeated, in nearly the ſame expreſſions, the ſentiments contained in the ſpeech. The oppoſition moved to ſubſtitute, in the place of part of the addreſs, the following amendment—"To aſſure his Majeſty, that with the trueſt zeal for the honour of the crown, and the warmeſt affection for his Majeſty's perſon and family, the Houſe was ready to give the moſt ample ſupport to ſuch meaſures as might be thought neceſſary for the defence of theſe kingdoms, or for fruſtrating the deſigns of that reſtleſs power, which has ſo often diſturbed the peace of Europe; but that they thought it one of their moſt important duties, in the preſent melancholy poſture of affairs, to enquire by what fatal councils, and unhappy ſyſtems of policy, this country had been reduced from that ſplendid ſituation, which in the early part of his Majeſty's reign, made her the envy of all Europe, to ſuch a dangerous ſtate, as that which had of late called forth our utmoſt exertions, without any adequate benefit."

It was contended on the ſide of oppoſition, that if the unanimity, ſo ſtrongly recommended by the propoſers of the addreſs, was indeed an infallible reſource in the ruin of public affairs, the miniſters, it muſt be owned, had uſed every means to induce the people to concur in its neceſſity. But, they ſaid, that the utility of a general concurrence in any meaſure, depended entirely upon the wiſdom of the meaſure in queſtion. That the approbation of meaſures muſt be either retroſpective, or proſpective. With regard to the firſt, no plans already executed, could be affected by any ſubſequent difference of opinion. With regard to the latter, as no plan for the conduct of the war was announced in the ſpeech, or even hinted at by miniſters, to agree to unanimity upon an object not yet propoſed, was perfectly abſurd. Then what was to induce the Houſe to unanimity, but the recommendation of a ſet of men, who were known to agree with each other in no one article, of diſpoſition, principle, council, or action? Unanimity, they ſaid, was a plauſible and ſpecious word, but the thing could hardly ever exiſt; becauſe the wiſe and the ignorant would always differ; and if it ever ſhould take place, infinite miſchief would enſue, as that could only happen through the prevalence of obſtinacy, which is the natural and conſtant companion of folly. That, in the preſent inſtance, it would ſerve only to give ſanction to the paſt, and energy to the future blunders of adminiſtration; and to commit the fate of the nation in a new and ſtill more dangerous war to the inability of the ſame men, who had in ſo wretched, and ſo ruinous a manner conducted the old. That, to concur in an addreſs, which conveyed

conveyed any idea of the ſlighteſt ſatisfaction in the preſent miniſters, inſtead of producing vigour in our own exertions, or terror in our enemies, would only ſerve to fill Engliſhmen with deſpair, and Frenchmen with joy and confidence, at ſeeing that the deliberative government was as abject as the executive was contemptible, and that the incapacity of the one, could only be equalled by the ſervility of the other.

Conſidering the ſpeech from the throne, merely as the words of the miniſter, it was inſiſted, that it advanced an abſolute falſehood. For the ſpeech aſſerted, that our arms had not been attended with the ſucceſs, which the juſtice of our cauſe, and the vigour of our exertions, ſeemed to promiſe. But they inſiſted, that the ſucceſs was far greater than could have been expected, conſidering the inferiority of our fleets, and the ſhameful tardineſs of our preparations. That, taking in theſe circumſtances, our eſcaping in any manner from ruin or diſgrace, might well be accounted as a very high degree of good fortune; and indeed, as far exceeding all rational expectation. And that conſequently, "the ſpeech not only aſſerted a falſehood, but that it alſo threw a falſe, unjuſt, and illiberal ſlander, on the commanders in the ſervice of the crown; loading them with a cenſure which ought to fall on the miniſters alone."

They further urged, that the ſpeech included no leſs than a direct libel upon parliament, in calling the late meaſures which had been taken to pacify America, the plans of parliament. That the arrival of the commiſſioners at Philadelphia, without any knowledge of the intention to evacuate that city, had ſaddled them from the beginning with the diſtruſt which was held of their immediate employers, and had taken away that appearance of openneſs, and that opinion of confidence and authority, which form the neceſſary foundation of every treaty and every pacification. It was aſked, whether the glaring abſurdity of that conduct was the plan of parliament? Or was parliament called together every winter for no other purpoſe, than to relieve the miniſters from the yearly burthen of diſgrace, which was the certain reſult of all their meaſures.

The conciliatory propoſitions themſelves were arraigned, as being at once, humiliating to England, and unſatisfactory to America. But, it was aſſerted, that notwithſtanding its defects and abſurdity, the adoption of that ſcheme could not be ſaid to be wholly uſeleſs—For it had cut up by the roots, every fallacious argument, by which miniſters had beguiled the nation into the fatal American war, by the univerſal ſurrender of all its objects.

With regard to the ſyſtem to be recommended in the conduct of the war, oppoſition ſeemed to hold no ſecond opinion, and to call out, as with one voice—Attack France—France, ſaid they, entered into alliance with America from motives of intereſt. When ſhe finds herſelf vigorouſly attacked, and feels the heavy impreſſions of war, with all their conſequences and diſtreſſes, in her own dominions, ſhe will grow weary of the proſpect of remote and uncertain advantages, and abandon an ally, from whom

whom ſhe receives nothing but a participation of war and calamity. —On the other hand, they ſaid, the ſpirit of America is ſuſtained by the powerful incentives, both of liberty and ſelf-preſervation. Every effort we make to ſubdue that ſpirit, drives our colonies ſtill more into the arms of France; who, in the mean time, feels no inconvenience from the protection ſhe affords. And conſequently, every drop of Engliſh blood which we ſhed in America, ſerves only to cement an alliance, fatal to the power and happineſs of the Britiſh empire.

On the other ſide, the friends of adminiſtration ſeemed rather to follow the example of the ſpeech, by declining to enter into a diſcuſſion of the policy of the American war: either, becauſe it was not thought prudent to avow the determination they had made in their own minds, or that they choſe to leave themſelves open, to embrace whatever ſyſtem of conduct, the neceſſity of affairs might hereafter require. But upon the paſt conduct of the war, and the preparation and diſtribution of the armaments employed in the ſummer, they entered into a detailed juſtification.

They ſaid, that if the fleet under Admiral Byron, had been ſent out earlier than it was, an opportunity would have been given to the fleet under M. d'Eſtaing, to have joined that at Breſt; and thereby, that France would have obtained a ſuperiority in the Channel. That ſuch a conduct would have left us in a ſtate of weakneſs at home, of which it would be impoſſible that the enemy ſhould not take advantage. That, by maintaining the ſuperiority in the channel, we prevented France from making our own ſeas, the ſcene of her exertions; and in a manner obliged her to detach and divide her forces. And, what nation would not, if ſhe could, keep the ſeat of war at a diſtance from her own territories?

It was likewiſe contended, that the evacuation of Philadelphia, was a meaſure dictated by the ſoundeſt principles of policy. For, they ſaid, that on the acceſſion of France to this war, the defence of our own iſlands, and the attacking hers, became an object, though not, as the oppoſition would have it, an excluſive object. That this of neceſſity drew off a conſiderable body of our troops; and the grand army being thus weakened, it had been judged neceſſary to diminiſh the extent of our line, in order to unite and compact our forces. That, it was too well known to require argument or proof, that the operation of a cloſely united force was far more efficacious, ſerving at once to impreſs terror, and to overpower reſiſtance, than if it had been weakened by extenſion and diſtance. That, to garriſon every town on the continent of America, was an undertaking for which no army could ſuffice; and that an attempt of the ſort, was certainly not the method, by which any man could hope to cruſh the preſent rebellion. It being therefore neceſſary to compact the forces, into one body, the only queſtion was, when one or the other muſt be adopted, whether New York or Penſylvania ſhould be abandoned? And, ſaid they, what reaſon could be aſſigned for collecting the whole army into Philadelphia? The ſituation is not near ſo central

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with regard to the colonies as New York; nor is it near ſo convenient in other reſpects, whether with regard to the co-operation of the fleet, the receiving of ſupplies, or to the general operations of the war.

Theſe arguments muſt be allowed to be ſatisfactory with regard to the meaſure in queſtion. But the oppoſers of adminiſtration were too acute, not to turn them to their own advantage. They accordingly aſſerted, that the juſtification of the individual meaſure, was the full condemnation of the whole ſyſtem from which it aroſe. That the advocates of the American war, had themſelves now fully demonſtrated the impoſſibility of ſucceſs. For they had ſhewn, that every advance which the army could make in America, reduced it to this alternative, either, by retaining the acquiſition to divide and debilitate its own ſtrength, or elſe to ſtand expoſed to the diſgrace and mortification, by treading back their own ſteps, to ſhew the inutility of all their labours. That no man could dream of conquering a continent, by ſitting down in a ſingle town. That therefore, while the nation perſiſted in carrying on an offenſive war in America, whether our army advanced, whether it retreated, or whether it ſtood ſtill, the effect would be the ſame; a fruitleſs, hopeleſs, expenſive, and cruel, becauſe unneceſſary, war.

Although the miniſters were obſerved to decline entering into a ſubject, which had already been ſo often, and ſo thoroughly debated, and upon which their adverſaries always ſhewed a deſire to preſs them, there aroſe from a new and unexpected quarter, an advocate for the continuation of the ſyſtem of coercion. One of the gentlemen employed in the late commiſſion to America, whether the information he received in that country induced him to confide in the operation of force, or whether a nearer view of the object, mixed with a ſenſe of diſappointment at the failure of one plan of pacification, had animated him with the hopes of conqueſt, in a long ſpeech, here and there interſperſed with ſome expreſſions of diffidence, ſtrongly urged the continuance of an offenſive war with America.

He ſaid his view had always been, that force ſhould accompany conceſſion, and that the Americans ſhould ſee in this country, a manly determined ſpirit of perſeverance: that thereby they might be moved to conſider well, between the evils of war in a dubious conteſt, and the immediate advantages of peace upon honourable and advantageous terms. He ſaid, it was neceſſary to confirm the minds of your friends, as well as to terrify your enemies; that he believed two thirds of the people of America, fully deſired to return to their antient connection with Great Britain; that nothing but a ſurrounding army, and the diffidence they had in the ſupport of government, prevented that ſpirit from breaking out into acts of hoſtility with the Congreſs. And, that therefore, the failure of the conciliatory plans, was to be imputed to the ſudden retreat of the army from Philadelphia, and not to the weakneſs of the Engliſh intereſt there.

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Notwithſtanding the general tendency of that gentleman's ſpeech in favour of the views of adminiſtration, he declared, that he did not imagine the preſent miniſters were able to draw forth the reſources which England afforded, or to apply them with ability ſufficient, to compaſs ſo important an object as the reduction of the diſobedient provinces. But on the other hand he was afraid, that thoſe who were likely to ſucceed them, although they might be poſſeſſed of greater capacity, and more of the public confidence, were too deſirous of ſurrendering all the objects of the conteſt, without any ſtruggle, at all equal to the antient reputation of England. That, he acknowledged the ſituation to be extremely perilous, and the danger great; but that on ſuch occaſions, the noble qualities of the human mind, perſeverance, fortitude, and the love of our country, ſhine in their greateſt luſtre.

After a very long and vehement debate, the Houſe at length divided, about half paſt two in the morning, when the amendment was rejected by a majority of 226, to a 107.

The addreſs in the Houſe of Lords, was neceſſarily ſupported upon much the ſame ground with that of the Houſe of Commons. The numerous public and private virtues of the ſovereign were largely expatiated upon, in order to place in the ſtrongeſt point of view, the obſtinacy, ingratitude, and baſeneſs, of his rebellious ſubjects in America; whilſt the royal good faith with reſpect to foreign nations, and his Majeſty's religious adherence to treaties, were no leſs ſtrongly contraſted with the perfidious conduct of France. The uſual arguments were uſed for unanimity, and perſeverance in the American war; for the firſt, from the national danger; for the ſecond, from the loſs of honour and ſafety which muſt be ſuſtained in abandoning that great continent to France.

On the other ſide, the lords in oppoſition propoſed no amendment to the addreſs; but condemning it entirely in all its parts, (as they did the matter of the ſpeech itſelf) would put an abſolute negative on the whole. Here too the topics were in general ſimilar to thoſe uſed in the other Houſe. Enquiry, they ſaid, full and complete enquiry, into the conduct of the war, and into the real ſtate of public affairs, was now the proper and immediate object of parliament. This was no ſeaſon for ſending the voice of adulation to the throne. It was now a matter of neceſſity, that the eyes of the Sovereign ſhould be opened to the real ſtate of his affairs; and it would be diſhoneſt to himſelf, as well as treaſon to the ſtate, to conceal any part of the dangers of his ſituation. The arguments uſed for promoting the addreſs, appeared to them to be cogent arguments for enquiry. The loſs of our honour, the danger of the nation, the diſcontents in every part of the Britiſh dominions, and the diſſentions in the navy and army, originating in the ill conduct of government, called for diſcuſſion and remedy. They did, and could only originate, from a weak and a wicked ſyſtem of government. A ſyſtem founded upon falſe principles; upheld by obſtinacy, folly, and error, if

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not by malice; and inevitably tending by its own nature to ruin and deſtruction. This ſyſtem, they ſaid, muſt be totally effaced: new men and new meaſures muſt be adopted, before any ſucceſs can be rationally expected in war, or ſecurity or honour in peace.

The lords in adminiſtration could not refrain from expreſſing their aſtoniſhment at the new and extraordinary meaſure, of attempting to reject the whole of the addreſs to the throne, without a ſubſtitution of any other in its room. An amendment, they ſaid, of any of the parts, might have been expected; or if it had even extended to an alteration of the whole, both as to matter and purpoſe, it would not have excited ſurprize; but the attempt to put a direct and unqualified negative upon the whole addreſs, without offering or intending any other in its room, was a meaſure, probably unequalled in the hiſtory of parliament. It was fitting, they ſaid, to examine, what degree of conſequence the import of this unconditional negative would amount to. His Majeſty comes to parliament to ſeek the aid of his people, for repelling and defeating the perfidious and dangerous deſigns of France, openly leagued with our own rebellious ſubjects, for the ſubverſion of his ſtate and government. What anſwer does the propoſed negative make to this requiſition. It will ſubſtantially declare to all Europe, that we are determined to afford him neither aid nor ſupport againſt his treacherous enemies; and that his dominions are to lie at the mercy of France.

The grounds of the conteſt between this country and America, were now, they ſaid, totally ſhifted; it was no longer a queſtion, as formerly, whether that continent was worth the riſque and expence of recovering, as a part of the Britiſh dominions; but the queſtion now was, whether we ſhould ſink without reſiſtance, under the joint force of France and America, and ſubmit to whatever terms they were pleaſed to dictate, or whether we ſhould endeavour by the moſt vigorous exertions, at once to puniſh our traiterous and perfidious foes, and by diſſolving their unnatural conjunction, to reſtore the former unity, power, and ſplendour of the empire. For as affairs now ſtood, it was impoſſible, they ſaid, to ſeparate France and America, even in idea, as to any purpoſe or conſequence of the war; and thus, every conceſſion made to the latter, would either afford a direct and ſubſtantial aid, or convey a baſe ſubmiſſion to France.

It was by no means a fair inference, they ſaid, that becauſe from adverſe accidents, and circumſtances not foreſeen or provided againſt, we had not yet met with that degree of ſucceſs, which our exertions afforded reaſon for expecting, all coercion was therefore impracticable, America irretrievably loſt, and this country incapable of longer ſupporting the war. The real facts would be found in the direct reverſe of theſe propoſitions. America was yet far from being invulnerable; the reſources of this country were ſtill great; and her ſpirit was in no degree broken. They ſaid alſo, that it was equally illiberal and unjuſt, to charge

thoſe accidents and misfortunes, to which all military events are ſubject, to the want of judgment or ability, in the deſign or conduct of the war.

Upon this part of the ſubject, they entered (as the miniſters had done in the Houſe of Commons) into ſome detail, and ſome defence, of paſt meaſures and conduct. The firſt Lord of the Admiralty directly denied the fact, as to that fallen, and almoſt annihilated ſtate of the navy, which had been ſo ſtrongly urged by a noble lord (in his profeſſional line) on the other ſide. He acknowledged, that we had been much too ſlow both in our naval and military preparations; but this tardineſs he attributed, partly to the nature of our government, partly to a miſtaken lenity, and partly, to the affording a greater degree of credit to the aſſurances of other powers, than the event ſhewed they were entitled to.

The lords, on that ſide, ſaid, that they had no objection to enquiries, provided that they were properly founded, ſpecifically directed, and brought on in a proper ſeaſon. But they likewiſe obſerved, that enquiries into the conduct of men in high ſtations, were matters of a ſerious nature; and as they neceſſarily implied ſome foundation for cenſure, ſhould not be lightly taken up, nor wantonly played with. They concluded, that the ſpeech imported no more, than a communication to parliament of the danger of the kingdom from the perfidy of France; the addreſs went no further, than a general declaration to ſupport his Majeſty in a war againſt France; a direct and unqualified negative to the whole, would not only amount to a refuſal of that ſupport, but would likewiſe include a ſubmiſſion to all the machinations, claims, or injuries, to be framed or offered by that inſidious power. Could it then be a queſtion with that Houſe, whether they ſhould aſſure his Majeſty of their ready ſupport under the preſent alarming circumſtances? If a war with America, ſhould be involved in a reſiſtance to the perfidious and inſolent demands of France, that was not imputable either to the miniſters, to parliament, or to the nation at large. The war was juſt; and it was now become a matter of abſolute neceſſity.

To this the lords in oppoſition replied, that refuſing to addreſs conveyed no negative to the ſupport of any ſyſtem of war or politicks. But it conveyed, what they meant it ſhould convey, their fulleſt determination, not to give the ſmalleſt degree of credit or ſupport to the preſent Miniſters, of whoſe incapacity for the conduct of any ſyſtem, they were already (as they ſaid) convinced, by the moſt concluſive and the moſt melancholy experience.

The addreſs was carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 67 lords, who ſupported the motion, to 35, who propoſed a total negative to the whole.

A copy of the late valedictory manifeſto and proclamation iſſued by the Commiſſioners in New-York, having appeared in one of the public papers ſoon after the meeting of parliament, ſome of thoſe paſſages in that piece, which we have already had occaſion to take notice of, drew the attention of

of the oppoſition in both Houſes, and induced the Marquis of Rockingham in the one, and Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, in the other, to move for authentic copies of the original inſtrument, as a foundation for an enquiry into the ſubject.

Dec. 4th. A copy of the proclamation of the 3d of October being accordingly laid before the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Coke moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty, expreſſing the diſpleaſure of parliament at certain paſſages of the manifeſto, which, being pointed out as particularly exceptionable, were recited in the body of the propoſed addreſs; and declaring it, to be the ſenſe of the Houſe, that the Commiſſioners had no authority whatſoever, under the act of parliament, in virtue of which they had received their appointment, to hold out any ſuch declaration: nor could that Houſe be eaſily brought to believe, that they had derived any ſuch authority from his Majeſty's inſtructions. That thoſe Commiſſioners were ſent only to make peace, and not to declare the mode of making war; even if the mode itſelf had been leſs contradictory to the whole purpoſe of their appointment.

It was therefore requeſted, "that "ſo much of the manifeſto as "contained the ſaid declaration, "be forthwith publickly diſa-"vowed by his Majeſty, as con-"taining matter, inconſiſtent with "the humanity and generous "courage, which, in all times, "have diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh "nation; ſubverſive of the max-"ims which have been eſtabliſhed "among chriſtian and civilized "communities; derogatory to the "dignity of the crown of this "realm; tending to debaſe the "ſpirit, and to ſubvert the diſ-"cipline of his Majeſty's armies; "and to expoſe his innocent ſub-"jects, in all parts of his domi-"nions, to cruel and ruinous re-"taliations."

The motion was ſtrongly ſupported by the oppoſition in general, as well as by the mover, upon the ground of good policy and ſelf-preſervation, as well as on the principles of humanity, civilization, and religion. They ſaid, that if we intended to ſet the example, of overthrowing all the rules and compacts, which civilization and chriſtianity had eſtabliſhed among mankind, for leſſening the horrors and alleviating the calamities of war, by the introduction of a new and cruel ſyſtem of hoſtility, it was abſolutely neceſſary, that we ſhould be armed at all points, and every where prepared, to abide the iſſue, and to repel the conſequences. They aſked, if this was the caſe at preſent?

They ſtated, that the northern coaſts of England, and all thoſe of Scotland, were expoſed to the ravages of the moſt contemptible enemy. That the kingdom of Ireland, was on every ſide open and defenceleſs. That ſingle American privateers had already ſucceſsfully landed on our coaſts; and that even the Houſes of our nobility had not eſcaped their depredations. Theſe were armed with all the powers neceſſary for carrying the "extremes of war and deſolation" into their ſevereſt degree of execution; but even theſe freebooters, who are of an order generally conſidered as being in a great meaſure

lawleſs in war, felt themſelves bound by thoſe compacts eſtabliſhed between nations, and reſpected thoſe laws and rights of humanity, which this once great and civilized nation, not only intends to violate, but threatens, by the mouth of her commiſſioners, ſo far as in her lies, totally to annihilate. They, however, found themſelves happy, they ſaid, in having an opportunity of declaring to their country and to poſterity, that they had no ſhare in bringing forward the calamities, which an avowal of the inhuman and barbarous principles of the manifeſto muſt draw upon the nation.

This war, they ſaid, had been inſidiouſly and conſtantly called by Miniſters the war of Parliament; but was parliament to be loaded with the obloquy of conducting it in a manner, which could only fit the ideas of a Cherokee or Onondago ſavage. Parliament had held forth the mild terms of peace; but ſurely it muſt be equally falſe and unjuſt, and conſidered as a libel of the bittereſt nature, to charge it with calling to its aſſiſtance the tomahawk and ſcalping-knife, as inſtruments of reconciliation; or of threatening death and deſolution to the innocent multitude in America, if they did not perform impoſſibilities. For ſuch, they ſaid, were the conditions, annexed to the threats held out to them. The multitude, if they would eſcape the extremes of war, were immediately to abandon home, country, property, all the natural connections, and all the commodities of life, and emigrate from the remoteſt parts, through roads which they would not be allowed to paſs, and countries which they would not be permitted to enter, until, in deſpite of theſe inſuperable bars, they had arrived at New York, (where they could find neither room nor entertainment) there to accept conditions of peace from Commiſſioners, who were themſelves actually enduring ſome of the evils of war, being ſhut up within the limits of a garriſon, beyond which they durſt not ſhew their faces.

An officer, of high family, rank and diſtinction, who had lately returned from America, expreſſed his condemnation of the meaſure in queſtion, as well as of the Miniſters, with whom he charged it to originate, in terms of unuſual vehemence. He ſaid he could not bear with an even temper the indignity offered to his profeſſion, by an attempt to convert ſoldiers into butchers, aſſaſſins, and incendiaries: He liked honeſt open war againſt his enemy; but he could not endure the abominable idea, of ſheathing his ſword in the bowels of age or innocence; ſtill leſs would he tarniſh the luſtre of the Britiſh name by acts of barbarity, in obedience to the mandates, or in fulfilling the deſigns, of the moſt infamous adminiſtration that ever diſgraced a free country. As a Britiſh ſenator, and ſtill more particularly, as the repreſentative of a great manufacturing, trading, and maritime county, which was peculiarly expoſed to the retaliation of an enemy, he ſhould think he ill diſcharged his duty, if he did not with his utmoſt power oppoſe a ſyſtem, which would not be more diſgraceful than ruinous in its effects; a ſyſtem, which would invite all the renagadoes of France and

and America, to ravage our coasts, burn our towns, and destroy our manufactures; and which would justify them in every act of enormity and cruelty, even to the butchering in cold blood of our helpless women and children.

It was pretty generally, and strongly asserted on that side, that no peace could ever be derived from the present Ministers. That they had already poisoned and polluted all the sources of conciliation. And that, as they had long since forfeited all confidence and opinion with the world, so there seemed to be a common union of mankind, in shutting them out, from all negociation, treaty, or connection.

On the other side, the Ministers, and their immediate friends, expressed the utmost astonishment, at the forced and unnatural construction which was put upon the words of the declaration, and the unaccountable manner in which its plain sense was attempted to be perverted. They declared, that they had never seen a more innocent, humane, sober, conscientious, piece of writing in their lives. They considered it merely, as a sensible well-meaning address to the Americans, warning them of the dangers which they must necessarily incur by an obstinate perseverance in their rebellion, and particularly in their unnatural connection with France. That they were not to expect that lenity in future, which they had hitherto experienced during the course of the war, while we still considered them as fellow-subjects, whom we wished to reclaim by the most singular mildness, clemency and indulgence. That nothing more could be fairly inferred from those words which were tortured into so unaccountable a meaning, than that America, in consequence of its leaguing with our inveterate enemy, should no longer be treated as a British country, but as a part of the dominions belonging to France; as the Americans, were by their alliance become French, it could afford no cause of surprize or complaint that they should be considered and treated as Frenchmen.

The Ministers denied in express terms, their intention of introducing or encouraging any new species of war in America, which should differ from the general practice in Europe; and declared that they reprobated with as much detestation, as those gentlemen who seemed so much alarmed, every idea of hostility that militated against humanity, or which went to the subversion of those laws of civilization, that had been calculated to smooth the rugged face of war. Wanton cruelty, they said, could neither be patronized by the crown, nor encouraged by any Briton: No British Minister would dare to send such orders to a British army; nor no British army ever would, or ought, in any case, to obey them, in the commission of acts of wanton barbarity. But they would not admit, that the burning of a warehouse converted into a battery, or the destruction of houses or towns, that were become repositories of military stores, or used as places of arms, could at all come within the description of

cruelty or barbarity. Such acts had been always practiſed by the moſt civilized nations in Europe; and every thing that could be attempted with a proſpect of ſucceſs, in order to diſtreſs an enemy, and to diſable him from injuring his adverſary, had at all times been held juſtifiable by the laws of war, and had been confirmed by the practice of all nations. Even at home, did not the laws of England allow us in caſe of invaſion to waſte and deſtroy our own country, wherever the enemy directed his progreſs, in order to prevent his obtaining proviſion or forage? and can a doubt then be entertained, as to the juſtice or right of exerciſing the ſame authority, in deſtroying the country of our open and avowed enemy?

On the other ſide it was inſiſted, that as there was no miſtaking the words, ſo there was no poſſibility of explaining away the obvious ſenſe of the declaration. The Commiſſioners had declared, that the mode of war was to be totally changed; that it was now to be conducted with a degree of rigour and horror before unknown; "they had hitherto refrained from the extremes of war and the deſolation of the country;" the change denounced could be no other, than the carrying of theſe to their utmoſt extent. It could not be pretended, with any face or appearance of truth, that the rigours of hoſtility had not hitherto been carried on our ſide to the utmoſt limits, which the laws and rights of war authorize among civilized nations. We had even already acquired an ill name throughout Europe, under the imputation of having exceeded theſe limits. If we had hitherto forbore nothing that the practice and rights of war could authoriſe, the plan now to be proſecuted muſt go directly to cancel thoſe rights. The laws of war were laws of limitation; for war was conſtantly to be limited by neceſſity, and its calamities and ravages were to be meaſured and bound in upon that principle. But the extremes of war, and the deſolation of countries, went beyond all limitations; and as no neceſſity could warrant them, they could neither be juſtified or excuſed, upon any ground of reaſon or argument. They ſuppoſed a caſe, to ſhew the line between the extremes and limitations of war. It would, for example, be right and defenſible, becauſe it would be neceſſary, to deſtroy any fort, garriſon, or town, which afforded immediate ſtrength to the enemy, and enabled him to annoy you in the purſuit of your object; it would be proper to burn any houſe from which the enemy fired on you; the neceſſity juſtifies the meaſure; but it would not be lawful, right, or pardonable, to burn any houſe or town becauſe it might happen, at ſome future time, to afford ſhelter or ſtrength to the enemy. They concluded, that although the extremes of war, and deſolation, were well-ſounding words, they were dreadful in their meaning and effect; and went to no leſs than the murther of man, woman, and child, the deſtruction of countries, and the final annihilation of humanity, or they meant nothing. Nor would the conſequences be leſs fatal to thoſe who introduced ſo odious and inhuman a ſyſtem, than to the people

people againſt whom its effect was directed; as all mankind would naturally combine againſt a nation, which throwing away every ſhadow of principle, would venture to recal into the world, all the forgotten cruelties of barbarous ages, and all the horrors of uncivilized war.

While the oppoſition were thus contending, that the words of the declaration clearly contained that certain and preciſe meaning which they aſſigned to them, and that the Miniſters as ſtrongly denied their bearing or conveying any ſuch ſignification, juſtified the Commiſſioners, as well as themſelves, from the imputation of holding or avowing ſo horrid a doctrine, and reprobated, in terms no leſs ſtrong than thoſe uſed by their antagoniſts, the principle upon which it would have been founded, the debate ſuddenly took a new turn, from a circumſtance, which was probably as little expected on the one ſide as the other.

This was an open acknowledgement, by the only Commiſſioner who had yet returned from America, that every charge made by the oppoſition againſt the proclamation, were fully founded in point of fact, both as to principle and doctrine; at the ſame time that he defended and juſtified the meaſure as well as the principle in all their parts, upon the ground of ſound policy and neceſſity. He ſaid the proclamation certainly did mean a war of deſolation; it meant nothing elſe; it could mean nothing elſe; but the meaſure was right and neceſſary; regretted he was not on the ſpot to give it his ſanction; and after a violent condemnation of the Congreſs, declared that no mercy, ought to be ſhewn to them; and that if the *infernals* * could be employed againſt them, he ſhould approve of the meaſure.

This avowal of a doctrine and fact, which the Miniſters and their friends had ſo totally diſclaimed and denied, and confirmation of an interpretation, which they had ſo poſitively charged to the virulence of party, and the ingenious malice of their adverſaries, could not but produce ſome little embarraſſment. It was impoſſible to ſupport a principle which they had ſo recently and ſo totally reprobated. They accordingly abandoned both that, and the gentleman by whom it was avowed and juſtified to the mercy of the oppoſition, without the ſmalleſt interference in behalf of either.

Both the generals who had returned from the American ſervice, voted for the addreſs, and condemned the ſuppoſed cruelty charged to the proclamation. But this debate was particularly diſtinguiſhed, by the unexpected and direct attack made upon the American Miniſter, by the late commander in chief upon that continent. That general, after ſeeming to attribute the attacks made upon his reputation and character, to the lenity which he had practiſed in the proſecution of the war, and obſerving, that if theſe did not originate from Miniſters, they, at leaſt, were not diſcouraged or contradicted by them, al-

* A ſort of machines uſed for the deſtruction of towns in the wars with France towards the cloſe of the laſt century.

though they had thoſe means of information in their hands, which fully ſhewed their injuſtice and falſehood, entered into a detail of various matters of complaint, which he laid againſt the noble lord at the head of the American department, relative to his conduct with reſpect to himſelf, and to the command with which he was entruſted in America. To theſe he charged his reſignation of that command, and ſtrongly urged, (as did likewiſe his noble brother) that a parliamentary enquiry ſhould be inſtituted, in order that the conduct both of the commanders and the miniſter ſhould be fully examined, juſtice done on all ſides, and the nation acquainted with the true cauſe of that failure of ſucceſs, which it had hitherto experienced. He concluded his ſpeech with a free declaration of his own private opinion, amounting to no leſs in import, than that neither a happy reſtoration of peace, nor a ſucceſsful proſecution of the war, could ever be hoped for, while the conduct of American affairs, was continued in the hands of the preſent noble ſecretary for that department.

The noble Miniſter ſeemed aſtoniſhed at this unexpected attack, and entered into a vindication of his conduct with reſpect to the general, ſo far as his memory could admit upon ſo ſudden an occaſion; totally diſclaiming all intention of injury, and all deſign of neglect. As to the conduct of the war, if it had not been as ſucceſsful as might have been wiſhed, it was not only doing him an injuſtice to ſuppoſe him the cauſe of our miſcarriages, but it was ſuppoſing him of much more conſequence than he really was, by attributing to him the ſole management of the war; he was only an humble ſervant of the crown; and if he had not the greateſt abilities to recommend him, he had, however, thus much to offer with truth and confidence in his defence, that he had ever acted ſince his coming into office, according to the very beſt of his judgment. He had no wiſh, he ſaid, to prevent any enquiry, that might be neceſſary to reſcue the character of any gentleman from obloquy; and he truſted, that if ever a parliamentary enquiry ſhould take place into his own conduct, he ſhould be ſo well prepared to meet it, that his honour and character ſhould come off in triumph.

The queſtion being put, after long debates, the motion for the propoſed addreſs was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 209, to 122.

The Marquis of Rockingham, in a ſpeech which laſted upwards of an hour and a half, introduced and ſupported his motion, with a great diſplay of knowledge and ability. That nobleman, and the lords on his ſide, called upon in the moſt preſſing terms, and particularly applied themſelves, to the reverend bench of biſhops, to exert that charity, humanity, and abhorrence of blood and cruelty, which were the leading tenets, and diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of Chriſtianity, upon a ſubject, which not only came directly within their cognizance, but in which they ſeemed bound by their character, to take an unequivocal and decided part. They obſerved, that all the avowed original motives and objects of the war, 7th.

were

were now done away or abandoned, and its nature and principle totally changed. That right reverend body, had hitherto supported the measures of government in the contest with America, under the firm hope and persuasion, founded upon the faith and repeated assurances of Ministers, that the recovery of our colonies was not only practicable, but easily to be attained. So far, the motive of the war might possibly be honourable, and its object fair; the questions of fact, or of policy, did not absolutely lie with them. But they were now informed by an authority which they could not question, that of those very Ministers declared to all the world in their manifesto, that a new system of policy was adopted, and the nature of the contest totally changed. That America was relinquished, and the advantages of a connection with our colonies abandoned. And a new species of war was denounced, tending merely and avowedly to revenge, slaughter, and universal destruction.

It could not be even supposed, that they would afford their countenance to so odious, so barbarous a system. They were called upon to exert in their legislative character, the peculiar and most exalted principles of Christianity, in preventing the wanton effusion of human blood, and the destruction of mankind. It could not be imagined, that their natural disposition, would not tend equally with their religious principles, and their professional duty, to the condemnation of all measures of blood, and the utter detestation of all new and cruel aggravations of the horrors of war. Their interference was required in preventing the destruction and sparing the blood, not only of men or of Christians, but of Englishmen, and of Protestants like themselves; and of crushing in the outset an abominable system of warfare, which would, in its progress and consequences, bring ruin and desolation home to their flocks and their doors.

It happened fortunately, they said, that the legal powers, with which they had been invested by the constitution for such pious purposes, would be found in the present instance, fully equal to the duty and emergency. They were the Moderators ordained by the wisdom of the constitution, to check the rage, restrain the passions, and controul the violence, of mere temporal men. Their simple votes upon this occasion, would at once fully express their detestation of the inhuman system in question, and, joined with those of the temporal lords who held the same principle, fully cure its effects. And thus they would afford a new and striking evidence to the world, of the sanctity of their order, the wisdom of its legislative institution, and the unsullied purity of their profession.

On the ground of retaliation, besides the danger and mischief to Great Britain and Ireland, the irretrievable destruction, which the full, and undoubted, adoption of that system by France and America, would bring upon our West India islands, was strongly urged. And they argued, that from the nature of the sugar plantations and works, and the great capital necessarily lodged in them, the desolation caused by a single privateer

vateer upon that ſyſtem, could ſcarcely be recovered in an age.

But they particularly reprobated, and indeed their powers of argument, and utmoſt acumen of cenſure, ſeemed principally directed, (as well in the debate, as in the ſucceeding proteſt) againſt thoſe new political principles or maxims, which they charged to the manifeſto, viz. That "what we have no intereſt in preſerving, we are called upon by neceſſity to deſtroy," and that, "motives of ſelf-preſervation, not growing out of any ſtate of circumſtances, now in actual exiſtence, but founded upon a policy directed to future uncertain events, ſhould be ſuppoſed to authorize or juſtify, a preſent general deſolation." Theſe principles, they ſaid, would afford a full juſtification of all the cruelty and deſtruction of mankind, recorded of the moſt bloody tyrants, and of the moſt barbarous nations. They would juſtify Herod in the murther of the Innocents. Upon this ground, they ſtated the following cauſes of diſſent in the proteſt.—viz. "Becauſe the public law of nations, "in affirmance of the dictates of "nature, and the precepts of re"vealed religion, forbids us to "reſort to the extremes of war, "upon our own opinion of their "*expediency*; or *in any caſe* to "carry on war for the purpoſe of "deſolation. We know that the "rights of war are odious, and "inſtead of being extended upon "looſe conſtructions, and ſpecu"lations of danger, ought to be "bound up and limited by all "the reſtraints of the moſt ri"gorous conſtruction. We are "ſhocked to ſee the firſt law of "nature, ſelf-preſervation, per"verted and abuſed into a prin"ciple deſtructive of all other "laws; and a rule laid down, "by which our own ſafety is ren"dered incompatible with the "proſperity of mankind. Thoſe "objects of war, which cannot "be compaſſed by fair and ho"nourable hoſtility, ought not "to be compaſſed at all. "*An "end that has no means, but ſuch "as are unlawful, is an unlawful "end.*"

The Lords on that ſide concluded by obſerving, that no great force of argument ſeemed neceſſary for the condemnation of ſo ſhameful a public inſtrument, which ſpringing from a commiſſion under the great ſeal of the kingdom, would otherwiſe become a ſtanding record, and monument of national diſgrace; which went to the indiſcriminate maſſacre and extermination of a numerous and widely extended people, two thirds of whom, were ſaid by its framers, to be our warm friends, and inviolably attached to our government. That ſuch a public diſavowal was abſolutely neceſſary, leſt it ſhould appear in Europe, that a Britiſh parliament had given its ſanction to the revival of that ferocity and barbariſm in war, which a beneficent religion, enlightened manners, and true military honour, had ſo long baniſhed from the chriſtian world.

On the other hand, the lords in adminiſtration, or office, who were thoſe only, that took any part on that ſide in the debate, totally denied (as the miniſters had done in the Houſe of Commons) the interpretation put upon the words, and the conſtruction upon the meaning

meaning of the manifeſto, by the oppoſition. At the ſame time they utterly diſclaimed, and reprobated even in ſtronger terms, the bloody principles which were charged to, or ſuppoſed to dictate the manifeſto. But this charge they attributed ſolely, to a diſpoſition for decrying, however unjuſtly, all the meaſures of government, and a deſire of creating unfounded alarms and uneaſineſſes among the people. To obviate this deſign, and to prevent the effects which the ſtrong repreſentations and colouring uſed on the other ſide might produce in the Houſe, they entered pretty deeply into a critical diſquiſition of the words, and what they deſcribed to be the fair conſtruction of the proclamation, as well as into a juſtification of the meaning and intention, and a vindication of the conduct and character of the commiſſioners. They concluded by hoping, that the lords would not ſuffer themſelves to be led away, by a ſtudious and laboured appeal to their feelings and paſſions, and a forced and unnatural miſconſtruction and miſinterpretation of plain and obvious language, into the paſſing of a haſty and unjuſt cenſure, not only upon the meaſures of government, but upon a noble lord and gentleman, who were abſent in the ſervice of their country, and conſequently incapable of vindicating themſelves.

On this occaſion, the new Lord Chancellor had an opportunity of diſplaying in that Houſe, thoſe abilities which had been ſo conſpicuous in another. A great law lord, who has been long out of office, and a right reverend prelate, who is ſcarcely leſs diſtinguiſhed, by his oppoſition to many of the meaſures of adminiſtration, than by his eloquence, were no leſs conſpicuous on the other ſide, in their ſupport of the motion, and in their unqualified condemnation of the terms, principle, and ſpirit of the proclamation. Both theſe noble lords took occaſion to reprobate, in ſtrong terms, the circumſtances attending the deſtruction of ſeveral parts of America, particularly of the ſettlement of Wyoming, and the cruelties exerciſed by Col. Butler.

The queſtion being at length put, the motion for an addreſs of cenſure was over-ruled upon a diviſion, by a majority of 71, including proxies, to 37.

Thirty-one names appeared to the proteſt, which, if compared with the number of the minority on the diviſion, was above the uſual proportion. That proteſt was penned with uncommon ability.

As the naval action of the 27th of July, was now to become a ſubject of parliamentary diſcuſſion, as well as of public attention, it will be neceſſary to take notice of ſome intervening circumſtances relative to that buſineſs, before we enter upon the ſubſequent detail. It will ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, that the temper and ſilence which had been ſo ſtrictly obſerved by the commander in chief, relative to the diſagreeable and unfortunate circumſtances which were charged to that memorable day, could operate in any conſiderable degree upon the conduct of thoſe, who did not look to remote motives of public utility for their guide of action; or that ſo many thouſand ſeamen, and ſo great a number of officers,

officers, who were eye witneſſes of a conduct, which had in its nature a queſtionable appearance, could be induced, by any motives of diſcretion, or power of example, totally to reſtrain their words and ſentiments upon the ſubject.

A general murmur accordingly ſpread thro' the fleet, and the loſs of a complete and glorious victory, was attributed to the miſconduct, and diſobedience of orders, of the blue diviſion; inſomuch, that ſome of the officers belonging to that diviſion, whoſe conduct on that day, as on all others of ſervice, had been highly exemplary, could not avoid ſeeming to feel their honour wounded, through the generality of the imputation. It would have been impoſſible in this country, that ſuch a ſtate of things, and ſuch a matter of charge or cenſure, could eſcape becoming an object of newſpaper diſcuſſion. But this was probably accelerated in the preſent inſtance, by the conduct of thoſe public prints which had been notorious for their attacks on the commander in chief, becoming no leſs induſtrious in their unbounded panegyrics upon the vice-admiral of the blue; whoſe general merits, as well as his ſingular bravery and high ſervices in the late action, (in which he was repreſented as bearing away the whole palm of honour) were emblazoned in ſo high a ſtile of colouring, as could not otherwiſe be accounted for, than by ſuppoſing the piece to be intended merely as an invidious contraſt, to that degrading picture which they had already drawn of his commander.

Such ill-judged and invidious ſatires and panegyricks in newſpapers, have frequently done much miſchief in this country; and never more than upon the preſent occaſion. The panegyrics juſt mentioned, drew out comments and obſervations. A letter (which, without a real ſignature, was attributed to an officer who had been in the action of the 27th of July) appeared in one of the papers, in which, the eſcape of the French on that day, was directly charged to, and circumſtantially laid againſt, the vice-admiral of the blue, by his diſobedience of the ſignals and the orders of his commander in chief. In this piece, ſeveral matters were ſtated as facts, with which the public had hitherto been unacquainted, and ſome of which were afterwards, in a very conſiderable degree, legally and publicly eſtabliſhed by evidence. In particular, the meſſage ſent by Captain Windſor of the Fox, from the admiral to the vice of the blue, was now firſt announced. The vice admiral was likewiſe charged with continuing the whole afternoon, with his diviſion, to windward, notwithſtanding the repeated ſignals that were made, and the meſſage ſent, for his coming down to his ſtation in the line.

This anonymous publication occaſioned a direct application, in London, from the vice-admiral of the blue to the commander in chief, requiring from him a public juſtification of his conduct, and an expreſs contradiction of thoſe foul aſperſions, which, he ſaid, had been propagated to injure his honour and character. And in order, the more completely to effectuate this purpoſe, he preſented a written paper, which he required to be ſigned and publiſhed by the admiral, containing a ſtatement of parti-

particulars, to all of which he was to give the ſanction of facts by his name. In particular, Admiral Keppel, by ſigning the paper, was to aſſert as a fact, that his calling the vice-admiral of the blue, and Sir Robert Harland's diviſions, into his wake, on the evening of the 27th of July, was not for the purpoſe of renewing the battle at that time, but to be in readineſs for it in the morning. It was hardly to be ſuppoſed that any expectation was formed of the admiral's compliance with ſuch a demand.

This propoſal being peremptorily rejected by the admiral, and poſſibly, not without ſome apparent marks of ſurprize or diſguſt, the vice admiral of the blue, Sir Hugh Palliſer, immediately publiſhed in one of the morning papers, a long ſtatement of particulars relative to the action of the 27th of July, together with an introductory letter ſigned with his name. This piece teemed with direct or implied cenſure againſt the conduct of the commander in chief. It alſo ſtated ſeveral particular circumſtances as facts, which in the courſe of the ſubſequent judicial enquiry, were either not properly ſupported, or were overthrown by direct evidence. Among the latter of theſe, the vice-admiral's diviſion was ſaid to have been ſo ſcattered and ſeparated by the ſignal for chacing, that his own ſhip, the Formidable, engaged and paſſed the French line alone, without her having any ſecond, either a-head, or a-ſtern. And the meſſage by the Fox frigate, was ſaid to have been delivered at night, and in the dark, and to amount to no more, than, "That the admiral wanted the ſhips of that diviſion to come into his wake;" but poſitively denying, and declaring the aſſertion to be an abſolute falſehood, that Capt. Windſor had ſaid, that the admiral only waited for him to renew the attack.

This extraordinary publication, ſtriking directly at the character and honour of the commander in chief, and tending to render him odious to his country, without any viſible cauſe, (excepting that an anonymous paragraph in a newſpaper could be admittted as ſuch) no charge or accuſation whatever having been laid againſt the vice-admiral of the blue, could not fail of exciting the greateſt public aſtoniſhment. Upon this occaſion Admiral Keppel declared, and likewiſe thought it fitting to communicate the import of his declaration to the firſt Lord of the Admiralty, that without a full and ſatisfactory explanation from that officer, he could not, conſiſtently with his honour, ever go upon any ſervice, or act in conjunction with the vice-admiral of the blue; for that nothing leſs than a mutiny could be expected in the fleet, where the writer of ſuch a letter held any command.

As theſe matters took place juſt before the meeting of parliament, they naturally became ſubjects of obſervation in both Houſes, and were taken up on the firſt day of the ſeſſion by the Earl of Briſtol, who having taken notice of the letter in queſtion, called upon the firſt Lord of the Admiralty for an enquiry into the conduct of the naval officers on the 27th of July, founding his demand more particularly on the declaration made to him

him by Admiral Keppel, that he would never resume the command of the western squadron, nor could he ever think of going upon any service with the vice-admiral of the blue, until the transactions of that day were thoroughly enquired into, and sifted to the bottom.

The naval minister expressed the utmost disapprobation of the proposed enquiry. He said the action off Brest, excepting merely the destruction of the enemy's ships, had produced all the consequences, and all the benefits, which could have been derived from the completest victory. Our trade had been fully protected, that of France ruined, and our fleet rode triumphantly masters of the sea during the remainder of the campaign, whilst the enemy dared not venture to shew their faces. On the other hand, he said, that the proposed enquiry, would draw on consequences no less mischievous than a defeat; it would split the navy, both seamen and officers, into cabals and factions, than which, nothing could be more pernicious in its effects, or ruinous to the service; such an enquiry would besides take up a great deal of time; and would require the attendance of all the principal officers, either as witnesses or judges, from their proper duty, at a season, when their presence and services against the common enemy might be most wanted; and would in a great measure retard, and perhaps defeat, all the measures of the ensuing spring and summer. Such an enquiry would besides raise a kind of commotion in the nation, as almost every person would become interested on one side or the other; and at its conclusion, it could neither afford the smallest satisfaction to the public, nor answer any one good purpose whatever.

Whilst he expressed his regret, that any misunderstanding had risen between the two commanders in question, he declared himself fully convinced and satisfied, that they had both performed their duty with the greatest bravery and honour. He said, that no man living had a higher opinion of the admiral than he had, respecting his ability and gallantry as a seaman, and his veracity as a man. Upon the same ground, arising from a like degree of knowledge, he was justified in a similar opinion respecting the vice-admiral. He farther observed on that ground, that the admiral, in his official letter, had expressed the highest approbation of the conduct of all the officers of the squadron, among whom the vice-admiral must of course be included; and that the commander in chief's letter, if no other ground of justification existed, would be, with him, a sufficient reason for not calling for an enquiry.

The House of Commons being in a committee of supply on the 2d of December, this subject was called up in the debate that arose upon the voting of 70,000 seamen for the service of the ensuing year. On this occasion, a gentleman, in the course of a long train of strictures upon, and some severe charges against the naval department, both with respect to œconomy and conduct, observed to the committee, that the business of the 27th of July loudly demanded an immediate enquiry, either there or elsewhere; that as Admiral Keppel had

had declared he could not sail again with the vice-admiral of the blue, it was become a matter of the utmost national importance, and most eagerly expected by the people, that the affair should be speedily and thoroughly investigated: that if either officer deserved censure, it was fitting that it should be passed; or if their difference proceeded from any ill-founded jealousy, that it should be removed or accommodated; but, however it might be, it was essentially and absolutely necessary, in this season of danger, that we should not lose the services of our best and greatest officers, and that if unanimity was not to be hoped for any where else, no differences should, however, prevail among our military commanders. He concluded by observing, that as the admiral and vice-admiral were then present in their places, he hoped, one, or both of them, would afford the House some satisfaction on the subject, as well for the sake of their own honour, as for that of the public tranquility.

The minister stood up, probably with a view of qualifying matters, at the very instant in which Admiral Keppel arose to answer the call upon him; but the eagerness of the House to hear the latter prevailing, he proceeded with giving some general account of his conduct, from the time of his being called to the command; and in answer to an observation which had been thrown out on a former occasion, not immediately relative to the subject, "that if Admiral Keppel were to go through the business of that day again, he would not fight the French in the same manner," he called upon the gentleman who had made the observation, to take notice, that he was himself then speaking, and that he declared in his proper person, that if he was again to go over the business of the 27th of July, he would conduct himself in the same manner he then had. He said, every thing he could do against the enemy, had been done; he was happy to say the British flag had not been tarnished in his hands; he was perfectly easy on that head, and should never disavow, or be ashamed of his conduct on the day in question. But, he said, that the oldest and most experienced naval officers, would discover something in every engagement, with which they were before unacquainted; and he acknowledged that, that day had presented to him something new. He impeached no man, he said, of a neglect of duty, because he was satisfied the officer who had been alluded to, had manifested no want of courage, which was the quality most essential to a British seaman.

He declared that nothing could exceed his astonishment, when he saw that an officer under his command had made an appeal to the public, signed with his name in a newspaper, and tending to render himself odious and despicable in the eyes of his country, when no accusation whatever had been laid against the officer thus acting; and confessed he had been at first so much shocked, as to have determined never to set foot aboard ship again; as he could not but from thence conclude, that there was an end to all discipline and command in the navy. When the

first

firſt emotions, however, ſubſided, he, upon cooler reflection, only acquainted the firſt Lord of the Admiralty, that he could never fail with the gentleman in queſtion, until matters were thoroughly explained. He did not believe, he ſaid, the vice admiral to be a ſtranger from whence the anonymous attack upon him came. He had himſelf been the ſubject of much and frequent newſpaper abuſe; yet he had not appealed to the public, nor refuſed to ſerve his country, when his ſervices were demanded. He did not charge miniſters with being the authors or promoters of the abuſe againſt him; they, on the contrary ſeemed to be his friends, and careſſed and ſmiled upon him: or if any miniſters were capable of endeavouring to cut his throat behind his back, of villifying and ſecretly aſperſing him, he did not think they were then near him; but if they were, he was perfectly indifferent as to their ſmiles or their frowns, and regardleſs of every conſequence which might follow from either; and was ſtill ready to ſerve his country, with the warmeſt zeal, and to the utmoſt extent of his abilities.

This neceſſarily called up the vice-admiral to an explanation. He ſaid the honourable admiral ſeemed to ſpeak with a kind of reſerve, as if there was ſomething behind; he heartily wiſhed him to ſpeak out, that knowing fully what was imputed to him, he might have an opportunity of fairly anſwering the charge; he held all low inſinuations and affected tenderneſs in the utmoſt contempt. If there was any real ground of accuſation, why not make it fairly and openly? If not, why inſinuate that he had been wanting in point of conduct, at the ſame time that a teſtimony was given in favour of his courage? An officer's honour was not leſs tender with reſpect to imputations of miſconduct, or diſobedience of orders, than to thoſe which related merely to the article of courage. Dark and indirect inſinuations, were more difficult to be reſiſted or cured, and accordingly more prejudicial to the character of an officer, than any direct terms of accuſation. It was under ſuch circumſtances, that he had been obliged to make that appeal to the public, which ſeemed to afford ſo much matter of diſſatisfaction to the admiral. It had been inſinuated, that he was a hindrance to renewing the action with the French fleet on the 27th of July; feeling his honour thus attacked, he waited upon the commander in chief to have the matter ſet to rights, the imputation wiped away, and his honour cleared. But finding that he could not obtain that redreſs, which he had a right to claim and expect, he was under a neceſſity of appealing to the public; he had ſtated facts to them, and by thoſe facts he would ſtand or fall. It was undoubtedly the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance in nature, to a man of ſenſibility, to be under a neceſſity of ſaying any thing againſt a friend; but where an officer's reputation was at ſtake, the removal of an unjuſt ſtigma, was certainly an object that ſuperſeded all other conſiderations. He declared in the ſtrongeſt terms, that the report of his not obeying ſignals, was a direct falſehood; but

but that if it had been even true, conſidering the circumſtances of that day, the public ſervice could not have been affected by it. That however unadviſeable the meaſure might be at preſent with reſpect to the public intereſts or ſervice, it was much his intereſt to wiſh for a public enquiry or trial, as he was certain it would then come out, that he had done his duty in every reſpect, both as an officer and a man. He concluded by again aſſerting, that he had neither been guilty of neglect of duty nor of inactivity; that he was by no means inſtrumental in preventing a re-action with the fleet of Monſ. d'Orvilliers; that he deſpiſed all the means reſorted to, both within and without doors, to vilify and traduce him, as a profeſſional man; and that, conſcious of his innocence, he feared neither reports nor aſſertions, a parliamentary enquiry, nor a public trial.

Admiral Keppel replied, that he did not underſtand what was meant by indirect charges and inſinuations; he had made none; his charge was ſingle, open, direct, and confined to its object; it went fully and fairly, to a letter ſigned, Hugh Palliſer, in a public newſpaper; that publication, excluſive of what related to the defence or juſtification of the vice-admiral, contained ſeveral matters, ſo objectionable in their nature, as ſufficiently juſtified his adhering to his determination, of never again going to ſea with that officer. He had made no other charge againſt him; but as the vice-admiral had now entered upon the ſubject of ſignals, and declared it to be no fault of his, that the fleet of France was not re-attacked, he muſt ſay, as to that, that he preſumed every inferior officer, was bound to obey the ſignals of his commander; and, as he was now called upon to ſpeak out, he would inform the Houſe and the Public, that the ſignal for coming into the Victory's wake, was flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening, without being obeyed. At the ſame time, he ſaid, that he did not charge the vice-admiral with actual diſobedience; and he doubted not, that if an enquiry ſhould be thought neceſſary, he would be able to juſtify himſelf, as he was fully perſwaded of his perſonal bravery. He concluded, that as his country's friend, he was ready to do every thing in his power to promote its intereſt, and advance its honour; but them were his objects; he had nothing to do with adminiſtration, and was little ſolicitous about any matter, but what related to the due performance of his own duty.

The fixing of ſo material a point of charge, induced Mr. T. Luttrell, who had been the means of bringing the ſubject forward, immediately to ſtand up, and to move an addreſs to his Majeſty, for an order to bring Sir Hugh Palliſer to his trial; but he was called to order by another Lord of the Admiralty, for deviating from the ſubject of debate; another motion being yet undecided, and that buſineſs not properly before the committee. By this means, the matter was deferred for the preſent; but the gentleman who had intended the motion, gave notice that he would revive it on the following day.

Partly from the intervention of other matters, and partly from a lack of attendance on ſome days, which prevented the doing of any buſineſs, this lay over for above a week without farther notice. At length, Mr. Luttrell having ſtated the grounds on which he founded his motion, moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give directions for a court martial to enquire into the conduct of Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer, in and relative to an action off or near Uſhant, on the 27th of July laſt, between his Majeſty's fleet and the fleet of France; it appearing to this Houſe, that the ſaid vice-admiral did not obey the ſignals of his ſuperior commander, when preparing to re-engage the ſhips of the enemy.

11th.

The motion being ſeconded, the vice admiral, in a ſpeech full of paſſion and vehemence, complained bitterly of the injurious treatment which he had received from the commander in chief, who inſtead of juſtifying his character, when perſonally applied to for that purpoſe, ſeemed rather to countenance the villainous inſinuations which ſome dark aſſaſſins had thrown out againſt him. That his conduct ſince had been no leſs unbecoming and injurious. For without venturing to come forward in a fair and manly manner, with any open and direct accuſation brought formally againſt him, he had ſtill endeavoured to ſupport the aſperſions thrown upon his character, by ſubſtantially charging him, in that Houſe, with diſobedience, and by ſeeming to lay the want of ſucceſs on the 27th of July at his door. But theſe were infinuations which he had determined not to lie under; he was conſcious of having performed his duty; nor would he from any motives of convenience, expedience, or public opinion, father the faults of any man. The truth, he ſaid, was, that the admiral wanted to load him with the public odium ariſing from the miſcarriage of that day, and compel him to ſubmit to bear the blame of his own palpable miſtakes and incapacity.

The violence of this language having occaſioned the friendly interpoſition of a gentleman on the court ſide, who was apprehenſive of diſagreeable conſequences from its continuance, the vice-admiral proceeded with leſs vehemence to inform the Houſe, that under the circumſtances he had deſcribed, finding that he could not obtain juſtice by any perſonal application, and that no public motives could induce the admiral to bring forward any charge againſt him, which might afford an opportunity for the vindication of his character, he had been driven by neceſſity, (not having a right to demand a trial on himſelf) in order to repair the injury done to his honour, to lay ſeveral articles of accuſation againſt Admiral Keppel, tending to ſhew, as he would hereafter demonſtrate, that the failure of ſucceſs on the 27th of July, with the ſubſequent conſequences and diſappointment to the nation, were owing to the miſconduct and fault of that commander; and that he had alſo demanded a court martial on that gentleman, which the admiralty accordingly granted. He concluded, that the meaſure he had taken was dictated by ſelf-defence; that he had taken it with

with the utmoſt pain and reluctance, as there were few men living he had a higher eſteem and veneration for than the honourable gentleman, as a friend, and intimate acquaintance, whom he had known for many years, and whoſe intimacy and friendſhip he had hitherto looked upon as one of the happieſt circumſtances of his life.

Nothing could now exceed the mixed appearance of ſurprize, concern, and diſapprobation, which prevailed in every part of the Houſe; and the vice-admiral had the mortification to hear his conduct, both with reſpect to the newſpaper publication, and the demand of a court martial againſt his admiral, openly, and without reſerve condemned, by every gentleman, of whatever ſide or party, who ſpoke upon the occaſion. This was ſtill increaſed by the diſapprobation which appeared from his own profeſſion, which was no leſs general or explicit; ſeveral gentlemen of rank and diſtinction in the navy, who were then preſent, although they expreſſed great reſpect and eſteem for the vice-admiral, and ſhewed the greateſt tenderneſs for his character, could not, however, refrain from an abſolute condemnation of his conduct in thoſe reſpects. Nor was he defended or ſupported in any degree, either on the ſide of the miniſters, or even by his brethren on the admiralty bench.

It ſeemed, however, ſtill to be the general hope as well as wiſh, on all ſides, that ſome means might yet be adopted, to prevent the matter from going any farther; and by healing the differences between the two officers, to evade thoſe fatal diſſentions in the navy, and conſequences to the public, which they otherwiſe apprehended. In this ſtate, the riſing of the gentleman, who was himſelf the immediate object of concern, could not fail of drawing all eyes and attention, any more than of commanding the moſt profound ſilence. Admiral Keppel, thanked the gentlemen on every ſide of the Houſe for their friendly partiality in his favour, and for their wiſhes to prevent an enquiry, which carried in its very face, as well as nature, an implication of cenſure to his character. But, their friendly endeavours, he informed them, were now too late. His accuſer had laid ſpecific charges of criminality againſt him, which not only ſtruck directly at his life, but at what was infinitely dearer to him, his honour; and in a few hours after theſe charges were laid, the admiralty, without farther enquiry, ſent notice to him to prepare for his trial by a court martial. However diſagreeable ſuch an event might ſeem, as the conſequence of forty years ſpent in the ſervice of his country, he ſhould not only meet it with good will, but with great inward ſatisfaction; he was under no apprehenſion, that the iſſue would afford any cauſe of concern to his friends, or bring any diſgrace upon himſelf; his heart acquitted him of all guilt, and he made no doubt that his country would. He obſerved, that he was in a ſituation different from every other man in that Houſe, and ſuch as he had never experienced before; that he ſhould therefore take no part in the preſent queſtion, nor ſtay any longer than while he was ſpeaking. He concluded a ſhort, but exceed-

ingly affecting and pathetic ſpeech, by thanking God, that he was the *accuſed*, and not the *accuſer*; and then immediately quitted the Houſe.

The Houſe ſhewed an unuſual, and an affecting degree of ſympathy during this ſpeech; and at every pauſe, as well as its concluſion, thoſe plaudits, which parliamentary forms will admit of, were almoſt generally beſtowed. Upon his departure, the ſituation of his accuſer became by no means pleaſant; as he was under a neceſſity of hearing ſuch direct and unqualified cenſure, and general condemnation of his conduct, as few men have experienced in that Houſe, and as he certainly little expected at the time of making his late ſpeech. This was carried to ſuch a length, that a gentleman in his place declared, the whole buſineſs carried the appearance of a preconcerted ſcheme for the ruin of the admiral; and pointed his ſuſpicions directly to the firſt lord of the admiralty; conſidering the vice-admiral, and the other members of that board, as merely inſtrumental. And notwithſtanding violent and repeated calls of order from the admiralty bench, ſo much was heard upon this ſubject, that the vice-admiral thought fit to ſubmit to the neceſſity of declaring upon his honour, that no perſon whatever had any previous knowledge of his intentions.

A naval commander of diſtinction, not higher in rank than in public eſtimation, gave the higheſt teſtimony to the numerous public and private virtues of the honourable admiral who had juſt departed. He ſaid, that in forty years acquaintance and mutual ſervice, he did not know a ſingle inſtance of his conduct in all that time, whether as a private or a public man, as a gentleman or a ſeaman, which did not redound to his own honour, in many caſes called forth the applauſe and gratitude of his country, and in all, merited the approbation of every good and honeſt man. He took notice, that the only accuſation againſt the vice-admiral, was laid by himſelf in a newſpaper publication ſigned with his name. For in anſwer to an anonymous charge, he brought forward and agitated a matter, but little known and leſs attended to, which was the point of not obeying his admiral's ſignals; and having, in that defence againſt nothing, acknowledged that he had not obeyed them, he thereby eſtabliſhed the fact, and became ſubſtantially his own accuſer. And the fact being thus admitted, it became impoſſible for the admiral, if he had been even ſo inclined, to weaken or explain it away; the proof being of that ſpecies, which no man could pretend to controvert. Nor could the admiral, he ſaid, conſiſtently with his own honour, or with the public ſervice, have again ventured to ſea with an officer, who had in a public newſpaper cenſured his conduct, and on the day of battle treated his ſignals with contempt.

He obſerved with reſpect to the preſent accuſation, that the vice-admiral was preſent on the 27th of July; that he was a witneſs to the pretended incapacity and miſconduct of his admiral; that he was not only ſilent as to faults of ſuch magnitude and importance to his country, but laviſh in his praiſes; that he returned with him to port, corre-

correſponded with him, continued on terms of the greateſt intimacy with him; went to ſea again under his command, returned again to port, and in all that time, and during ſo many different tranſactions, not a ſingle ſyllable of fault or complaint had been heard. But now all at once, when five months are elapſed, when the vice-admiral conſiders himſelf as publicly accuſed in the newſpapers, and when a motion for bringing him to trial, had been announced and intended in that Houſe, the accuſed ſuddenly becomes the accuſer, and out ſtart five articles of accuſation, each tending directly to affect the life or honour of that man, whoſe intimacy and friendſhip he acknowledges to have conſidered as the greateſt happineſs of his life.

But while this gentleman ſeemed equally to condemn and regret the conduct of the vice-admiral, he declared he could not refrain from the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at that of the admiralty; and totally regardleſs of his military or profeſſional ſituation, proceeded with no leſs freedom in its cenſure. He ſaid, that in the moſt favourable conſtruction that could be put upon the conduct of that board, it could not but be acknowledged, that they had, at leaſt, acted precipitately and raſhly in this buſineſs. That in a matter of ſuch national importance, and where the life and honour of a commander, ſo high in character, and of ſuch diſtinguiſhed ſervice, were at ſtake, a greater degree of caution and deliberation would ſcarcely have been more neceſſary, than it would have been becoming the character of a board entruſted with ſuch powers. That in the preſent critical ſituation of public affairs, this caution was the more neceſſary, as it was well known, that Admiral Keppel poſſeſſed the confidence and affection of the navy in ſo eminent a degree, that he was little leſs than idolized by all Britiſh ſeamen. Under ſuch circumſtances, he ſaid, that board ſhould have been exceedingly nice in their conduct, and circumſpect in their proceedings; and not the leſs ſo, for the vice-admiral being one of their own body. Before they received his complaint; or at leaſt before they acted upon it, by taking a ſingle official ſtep againſt Admiral Keppel, they ſhould have thoroughly conſidered the grounds of difference, the circumſtances which produced them, and the length of time before the accuſation was laid; they ſhould have recollected that the accuſer was himſelf accuſed; and that he ſtood in a ſtate, which could ſcarcely be conſidered as ſhort of avowed perſonal enmity with his principal, and which might well be ſuppoſed, to be even under the immediate influence of paſſion, at the very inſtant of his laying the charges. They ſhould have acted as moderators upon the occaſion; they ſhould have given paſſion time to cool, and have interpoſed their influence in healing the differences between two brave and valuable officers, at a time when their ſervices were ſo much wanted, inſtead of blowing up the flame, by raſhly and haſtily receiving a raſh, haſty, and paſſionate accuſation; and thereby drawing on thoſe fatal diſſentions in the naval ſervice, and thoſe numerous evils to the public, which they had themſelves declared, muſt be the

inevitable conſequences of ſuch a trial as the preſent. But as things actually were, he would ſpeak out, and could not but ſay, that their thus eagerly ſnatching at an occaſion, which affected the profeſſional character, the life and the honour, of a gentleman ſo high and ſo dear in the eſtimation of his country, more eſpecially conſidering the ſituation, and the particular degree of favour in which his adverſary ſtood, carried ſuch ſtriking marks of the moſt glaring partiality, as excited his utmoſt aſtoniſhment.

This direct and profeſſional charge againſt the conduct of the admiralty, opened a new ſource of debate, which was warmly agitated on both ſides. The commiſſioners of that board ſtrenuouſly inſiſted their conſtitution to be ſuch, that in all matters of accuſation, they were obliged to act miniſterially; they had no judicial power; but when a complaint was preferred, they were, as a matter of courſe, and in diſcharge of their office, not only compelled to receive it, but to give the neceſſary directions for proceeding to trial. Under ſuch circumſtances the board had no option; the accuſation being once made, they could not reject; they could not qualify; they muſt have acted juſt as they did. Being, however, afterwards hard preſſed in argument, they acknowledged in the courſe of the debate, that if the accuſation was looſely or inaccurately drawn up; if it was frivolous and vexatious in its tendency; or if it was deſtitute of ſpecification; then, indeed, it might have been the duty of the admiralty to look to the tendency and conſequences of ſuch a looſe indefinite charge; to which, from its inaccuracy, or want of ſpecification, no proper defence could be made, and from whence, conſequently, no definitive iſſue could be obtained. But none of theſe matters held in the preſent inſtance. The vice-admiral had preferred an accuſation, conſiſting of five ſeparate articles, or charges, properly drawn up, and ſpecifically pointed. What then could the admiralty board do? They muſt either take upon them to prejudge the truth of thoſe charges; or they muſt admit them to be ſuch as were fit to be ſent to the conſideration of a court martial. The firſt, they could not, dared not do, being totally ignorant of their truth or falſehood; the ſecond, they were compelled to comply with, becauſe the matter admitted of no alternative.

But neither this doctrine, nor the ground of defence to which it was applied, paſſed without queſtion and cenſure in the preſent inſtance. The oppoſition inſiſted, that the admiralty were not only endued with diſcretionary powers competent to the purpoſe; but that the exerciſe of them was one of their great and principal duties; it was among the moſt uſeful purpoſes of their inſtitution; and they repreſented their omiſſion of it on the preſent occaſion as highly culpable. They ſaid, that the reſtrictions by which they pretended to be bound, and the doctrine they founded upon that pretence, were not only the moſt ridiculous that could be conceived, but they led to the moſt ruinous conſequences. They would

eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh a principle, which would go to the deſtruction of all naval ſervice, and to the leaving of every ſuperior officer at the mercy of his inferior. If the whole fleet of England was upon the point of ſailing, upon the moſt ſudden and critical emergency, whether for our immediate defence againſt invaſion, or for the preſervation of our moſt valuable foreign intereſts, it would, under this doctrine, be in the power of the moſt petty officer, in ſo great a multitude of men and variety of characters, whether through malice, folly, or treachery, to put a ſtop to the whole deſign and operation, only by laying ſome villainous charge againſt the commander in chief, which would neceſſarily keep back all the principal officers, either as witneſſes or as judges. And thus, in effect, the whole direction of our naval operations, would either be conſigned over into the hands of the enemy, or committed to the diſcretion of folly, of malice, or of madneſs at home.

But they obſerved, that the commiſſioners, finding themſelves unable to ſuſtain that monſtrous doctrine in its full extent, had, though apparently much againſt their will and intention, and diſguiſed under looſe and vague terms, virtually given it up. For what leſs did their acknowledgement amount to, that if accuſations were frivolous, vexatious, or unimportant, the board might, and would reject them, than to thoſe very diſcretionary powers which were contended for on the other ſide? Either the board is not competent, in any inſtance, to judge; or, if competent, the board, in every ſuch act, exerciſes a diſcretionary power. The concluſion is clear either way; every thing which malice, rage, or folly, can ſuggeſt, is a proper ſubject to be ſent to be enquired into by a court martial, or the admiralty board have the right contended for; that of judging of the magnitude, extent, and probability of the charge, the circumſtances which brought it into exiſtence, and every other matter connected with it, which might enable them to be the means of promoting general and particular juſtice.

It ſeemed undoubtedly to be a new and ſingular circumſtance, that a great department of the ſtate, ſhould, to all appearance, endeavour to narrow its own conſtitution, rights, and authority; whilſt on the other hand, its adverſaries in the oppoſition, were endeavouring to demonſtrate its being endowed with thoſe powers, which it totally diſclaimed and denied. The different ſtatutes relative to the admiralty, were quoted, examined, and applied on both ſides. In effect, the great crown lawyers being hard preſſed by their adverſaries, ſeemed rather to employ their time and abilities in making a defence for the firſt lord of the admiralty, than in ſeriouſly denying the powers of the board at which he preſided.

Although ſome gentlemen ſtill declared their opinion, that the original motion of addreſs for the trial of Sir Hugh Palliſer, ſhould, for the ſake of public juſtice, be carried forward, as it was concluded, that motives of delicacy would ever prevent Admiral Keppel from becoming his accuſer, yet it was more generally concluded on

that ſide, to let it lie dormant for the preſent; and to prevent its receiving a negative, it was diſpoſed of by moving for the order of the day, which operated as a previous queſtion, and was carried without oppoſition.

It was juſt at the approach of the receſs, when Admiral Pigot, who had during the courſe of this buſineſs, on every occaſion, exerted himſelf with the greateſt warmth, zeal and activity, in favour of Admiral Keppel, made a motion, that on account of the exceeding bad ſtate of health, under which that gentleman had long laboured, and the extreme danger to which his life muſt be expoſed, by the confined air, and the want of neceſſary room on board a ſhip, during the length of time that his trial would probably laſt, and conſidering the great number of people with which it muſt be neceſſarily attended, he might have leave to bring in a bill, to enable the admiralty to order his trial to be held at ſome convenient place on ſhore, inſtead of its being held aboard ſhip, which was the mode preſcribed at preſent by the law. Dec. 16th.

Notwithſtanding the modifications and alterations which this bill underwent in both Houſes, and that it was neceſſarily brought back from the lords in conſequence of their amendments, it was carried through with wonderful diſpatch and facility, and received the royal aſſent on Chriſtmas Eve. Nor did it meet with the ſmalleſt oppoſition with reſpect to its particular principle, as tending to its direct object, in either Houſe; while the elogiums on Admiral Keppel which it drew out in its progreſs through both, eſpecially the lords, would have been deemed by a vain or ambitious man, as more than a compenſation for all the hardſhips and dangers of his trial.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Debates arising on questions of supply, previous to the recess. Augmentation of 14,000 men, to the land service. Trial at Portsmouth. Admiral Keppel, honourably acquitted. Receives the thanks of both Houses. Vice-admiral of the blue resigns his employments, and vacates his seat in the House of Commons. Memorial, signed by twelve admirals, presented. Great discontents in the navy. Resolution of censure moved by Mr. Fox, on the conduct of the admiralty. Motion, after long debates, rejected upon a division. Second motion, of a similar nature, by Mr. Fox, rejected upon a division. Two great naval commanders, declare against acting under the present system. Resignation of naval officers. Sir P. J. Clerke, brings in a bill against the contractors; first question carried upon a division; but the bill rejected upon another. Bill in favour of Dissenters brought in and passed. Affairs of Ireland. Various attempts and proposals for affording commercial relief to that country, prove at length ineffectual.

ALTHOUGH the great questions of supply had been carried through by the ministers, previous to the recess, without any marked opposition, yet they were productive, as has been usually the case of late, of much discussion, enquiry, and observation, relative to the specific services to which they were to be applied, and the nature and amount of the respective demands. The mode of conducting the war was a general ground of objection with the opposition, who contended, that our force by sea and land should be directed against the foreign settlements, or home possessions of our natural enemy, instead of being wasted and spent in fruitless and hopeless exertions on the continent of America.

That party insisted much on what they considered as the ruinous policy, of persevering in the vain attempt of subjugating America by force, supported as it now was by a formidable and dangerous alliance, when we were already taught by a dear bought experience, which had at least afforded conviction to all the rest of mankind, that it was extremely doubtful whether we were capable of executing the task, even if America stood single-handed. Our only rational mode of conduct, and ground of hope, now was, they said, to press our natural foe, with such vigour and force, as would compel him to renounce his American system; and then to renew, upon fair and equitable terms, such a communion of interests with that people, as our past injustice and madness would still afford room for obtaining. But no hope of this sort (they said) could ever be entertained upon any rational principle, while we exhausted our force, and squandered our treasure in America. On the contrary, victory and defeat, in that fatal war, produced similar consequences to ourselves, and equally furthered the views of the

the common enemy. And every year of its continuance, went to eſtabliſh the ruin of both countries; nor would it require a long ſucceſſion of ſuch years, to render our own deſtruction inevitable, whatever might become of America.

On the other hand the miniſters contended, that America was reduced to the loweſt ſtate of weakneſs; that her armies were annihilated; that ſhe had already contracted a debt of fifty millions in the proſecution of the war; that her credit was ſo totally ſunk, that the congreſs bills were ſold for one ſortieth of their nominal value; that her people were ſtarving, and in want of all the neceſſaries of life; and that in this ſtate of diſtreſs, when they were enduring all the moſt preſſing calamities of war, and every degree of domeſtic miſery, they were alſo ſuffering the moſt intolerable political oppreſſions, from the tyranny of their uſurped powers of government. That a very great majority of the people abominated the French alliance, and execrated the congreſs on that account; that the latter had exceeded and abuſed their powers in that inſtance; and that the political and hoſtile connection with France had not been conſtitutionally ratified; that is, it had not yet received that ſpecies of aſſent, which was fundamentally, and eſſentially neceſſary, to conſtitute a real and binding compact on the people of America.

They aſked, whether ſuch a ſtate of things, when oppoſed by the bleſſings of peace, and theſe accompanied with conſtitutional freedom and ſecurity, did not afford the moſt probable cauſes, and the beſt founded reaſons for expecting, that the colonies, either ſeparately or conjunctly, would co-operate in meaſures for removing their public and private diſtreſſes; for getting rid of their oppreſſions, and diſſolving ſuch a ſyſtem of uſurpation and tyranny? The probabilities were ſo ſtrong in our favour, they ſaid, as to amount to little leſs than actual proofs; and to ſtop ſhort, and ſlacken our exertions, at the very moment that ſo fair a proſpect was opened, would be ſuch a degree of political abſurdity and madneſs, as no people had ever before exhibited.

As to withdrawing the troops, or changing the object and direction of the war, it would amount to no leſs, they ſaid, than a dereliction of America for ever. Nor would the evil be confined to the loſs or independence of the revolted colonies merely. Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Rhode Iſland, New York, and the Floridas, muſt follow of courſe. Our Weſt India iſlands could not ſtay long behind, nor could they afford any benefit while they remained in our hands. And yet, dreadful as theſe conſequences ſeem, even in idea, the abſolute loſs to ourſelves, would not be the worſt part of the evil. But all theſe vaſt acquiſitions; theſe unequalled ſources of naval dominion, wealth and power, would be thrown into the balance againſt us. They would become additions to the power and ſtrength of our natural and mortal enemy.

The oppoſition anſwered, that it was to prevent thoſe fatal conſequences, and to avoid that dreadful ſtate of public affairs, now too faith-

faithfully deſcribed, that they had conſtantly oppoſed the meaſures which led to the loſs of America, and endeavoured at all times to heal the differences with our colonies. But the event, which they ſo much dreaded, and endeavoured to prevent, had already taken place. America was loſt. It was to little purpoſe to waſte time in cavilling about the term independence. She was independent in fact, whether we allowed it or not; nor was it in our power to render her otherwiſe. Were we then to perſevere to the laſt in our folly, and acting the part of a mad and deſperate gameſter, to throw away the remainder of our fortune, in a fit of vexation for the loſs of that which we had already ſquandered?

They ſaid, that the ſame deluſive picture of American affairs which was now preſented, had, with ſome occaſional alterations in the colouring, been exhibited at the opening of every ſeſſion ſince the beginning of the troubles. The object was, however, at all times the ſame. It being merely intended to lead the nation, from year to year, ſtill farther on in error and ruin. The Americans had been alternately repreſented as cowards, as beggars, as an undiſciplined mob, as being not only without arms, and all military proviſion, but being deſtitute even of the common means of exiſtence, and in that laſt ſtate of wretchedneſs, exceedingly well diſpoſed to cut each others throats. And as if there were no bounds ſuppoſed to our credulity, nor limits intended to our wonder, they are repreſented as being in general loyal ſubjects, and firmly attached to the government of this country; and we are informed, that the many are not only moſt unaccountably kept in bondage by the few, but that they are compelled to take arms in their hands, and totally contrary to their inclination and will, to fight the battles of a vagrant congreſs, and of a handful of factious leaders, whom they equally hate and deſpiſe, againſt us, whom they regard and conſider as their beſt friends.

To theſe repreſentations, they oppoſed a view of the prodigious force by ſea and land, ſupported at an expence of treaſure unknown in any former warfare, which had been ſo long and ſo ineffectually employed for the reduction of ſuch a country, defended by ſuch wretched ſoldiers, and acting under ſuch a feeble and odious government. A force and a treaſure, they ſaid, which, under a wiſe and able direction, might have aſpired, and not unſucceſsfully, to the ſubverſion of ſome one, among many, of the oldeſt and beſt eſtabliſhed ſtates in the univerſe. And yet, thoſe ſoldiers, and that government, have ſucceſsfully reſiſted this mighty force by ſea and land; and have, for a ſucceſſion of years, and through a variety of hard and bloody conflicts, baffled the utmoſt efforts, of one of the beſt provided, beſt diſciplined, and braveſt armies that ever exiſted.

The motion for an augmentation of 14,000 men to the land ſervice, which was made by the ſecretary at war on the 14th of December, although it was agreed to, yet brought out much of this ſort of diſcuſſion. It alſo afforded an opportunity for a revival of thoſe

thoſe complaints, which had been before introduced upon other occaſions, of the undue and glaring partiality, which, it was ſaid, had been diſplayed, in the raiſing of new regiments. The whole tide of favour and preferment, the oppoſition contended, had been directed to a certain part of the united kingdom, and to a certain deſcription of men, without regard to military rank or ſervice, and to the prejudice of many of the braveſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed Engliſh officers. While, on the other hand, they ſaid, that ſome of our nobility; men of the firſt rank, fortune, family, and diſtinction; men alſo high in military ſervice and knowledge; who had offered to raiſe regiments at their own expence, for that public defence in which they were ſo deeply intereſted, were not only rejected; but, in order to put a ſtop to all ſuch offers or applications, care was ſtudiouſly taken, that the mode of rejection ſhould amount to direct inſult.

During the receſs of parliament, and for ſo long after as the occaſion continued, the attention of the nation was drawn, and the minds of the people agitated, in a degree which we have not before known, by the trial of Admiral Keppel; which commenced at Portſmouth on the 7th of January, 1779, and was not cloſed until the 11th of the following February. In the mean time, the peculiar circumſtances relative to that affair, the conduct of the admiralty, and the new doctrine (as it was charged to be) which they endeavoured to eſtabliſh, that they held no diſcretionary powers of acting in ſuch caſes, ſerved all together, to open that general ground of diſcontent in the navy, which we have ſince ſeen unhappily ſpread to ſo fatal an extent, as to exclude ſeveral of our firſt and greateſt officers from the ſervice of their country, at the time of her greateſt diſtreſs and moſt imminent peril.

This naval diſapprobation began early to appear, in a memorial to the King, ſigned by twelve admirals, including the oldeſt or moſt diſtinguiſhed officers then at home, with the revered name of Lord Hawke at the head of the liſt, ſtrongly condemning the conduct of the accuſer through every part of the tranſaction, and being little leſs explicit with reſpect to that of the admiralty, ſo far at leaſt, as they thought it fitting to pronounce a direct opinion on a mere queſtion of law; and alſo ſtating to his Majeſty, in ſtrong colours, the prejudice and ruinous conſequences, which the eſtabliſhment of the precedent and principle now introduced would inevitably bring upon all naval ſervice and diſcipline.

On the mere point of diſcretion, theſe naval commanders expreſs themſelves in the following terms: We, who are not of the profeſſion of the law, cannot poſitively aſſert, whether the board of admiralty hath by law any ſuch diſcretion; "but if we had "conceived that this board had "no legal uſe of their reaſon in "a point of ſuch delicacy and "importance, we ſhould have "known on what terms we "ſerved. But we never did ima-"gine it poſſible, that we were "to receive orders from, and be "accountable to thoſe who, by "law,

"law, were reduced to become "passive instruments to the pos- "sible malice, ignorance, or trea- "son, of any individual, who "might think fit to disarm his "Majesty's navy of its best and "highest officers. We conceive "it disrespectful to the laws of "our country to suppose them ca- "pable of such manifest injustice "and absurdity." — The piece concludes in the following manner: "We therefore humbly re- "present, in behalf of public or- "der, as well as of the discipline "of the navy, to your Majesty, "the dangers of long concealed, "and afterwards precipitately a- "dopted charges, and of all re- "criminatory accusations of sub- "ordinate officers against their "commanders in chief; and par- "ticularly the mischief and scan- "dal of permitting men, who are "at once in high civil office, and "in subordinate military com- "mand, previous to their making "such accusations, to attempt to "corrupt the public judgment, "by the publication of libels on "their officers in a common news- "paper, thereby exciting mutiny "in your Majesty's navy, as well "as prejudicing the minds of "those who are to try the merits "of the accusation against the said "superior officer."

This memorial was presented in the closet to his Majesty, on the last day but one of the old year, by the Duke of Bolton, who had demanded an audience for the purpose, and was himself one of the subscribers. It seemed strongly to mark the general dissatisfaction of the navy, that, at least, two thirds of the admirals who signed this piece, were known not to be in any habits of connection, or communion of interests, with the parties in opposition; and that on the contrary, several of them had at all times been considered, from their sentiments, conduct, connections, or particular obligations, to be warmly attached to the present administration.

The trial at Portsmouth, seemed not much less to affect the proceedings of Parliament, than it did the minds of the people at large. Nothing material was done, or even brought forward in either House during its continuance. The Commons met on the 14th of January, and excepting the preparation of a new recruiting bill, (brought in by the secretary at war) which went to the repeal, and was perhaps in some respects an improvement on the former, did little more than meet from day to day to adjourn. The Lords met on the 20th of January, but no public business was brought forward until the middle of the ensuing month. Indeed some of the most distinguished names, and most active characters in both Houses, attended the trial, during the whole, or the greater part of the time that it lasted.

The event, as well as the circumstances of the trial, are too well and too generally known, to render our entering into any detail of the subject necessary. It will suffice to observe, that the court-martial, after a long sitting of thirty days upon actual business, and a patient hearing and investigation of the almost endless detail of evidence which it naturally afforded on both sides, at length acquitted the Admiral of every charge laid against him, in the fullest, clearest,

reſt, and to him moſt honourable terms; farther declaring, that he had behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer. And that at the ſame time, conſidering themſelves as a court of military honour, as well as of criminal juriſdiction, they marked the conduct of his accuſer, in the body of the ſentence, with the ſtrong and ſevere condemnation, "that "the charge was malicious and ill "founded." It was ſuppoſed to be upon the ſame principle, that the court did not cloſe the trial, and immediately proceed to ſentence, as ſoon as the proſecutor's evidence was finiſhed; it appearing then evidently, that the Admiral muſt have been fully acquitted, upon the very teſtimony which was intended to operate againſt him. But it was generally thought, that the court deemed it a reparation due to the Admiral, to hear the evidence in his favour; and that the world ſhould be acquainted with that unparalleled weight of teſtimony to his conduct, honour, and character, which was afterwards given by ſo great a number of diſtinguiſhed, brave, and experienced officers. The addreſs of the preſident of the court-martial, upon reſtoring his ſword to the Admiral, was no leſs flattering to the latter, than the ſentence was honourable.

Feb. 12th. 1779. On the day after theſe tranſactions at Portſmouth, the ſentence, and the ſhort ſpeech made by the preſident, being read in the Houſe of Commons, a motion was made, and carried, with only one diſſenting voice, "That the thanks of this "Houſe be given to the Honour-"able Admiral Auguſtus Keppel, "for his diſtinguiſhed courage, "conduct, and ability, in defend-"ing this kingdom in the courſe "of the laſt ſummer, effectually "protecting its trade, and more "particularly, for his having glo-"rioufly upheld the honour of the "Britiſh flag on the 27th and "28th of July laſt." The thanks of the Lords, in nearly the ſame terms, were agreed to in four days after, with every external appearance of the moſt perfect unanimity.

The general, public, and unuſual rejoicings, which took place in ſuch various and remote parts of the kingdom upon this occaſion, ſeemed to afford a ſtrong preſumption, that the people in general conſidered this buſineſs, to be at leaſt as much a public as a private concern; and indeed the whole manner of celebrating this event, ſeemed rather as if it had been a great national deliverance, than that merely of an individual. The rejoicings and illuminations in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, were of ſuch a magnitude, as has ſcarcely been exceeded upon any public occaſion whatever. The exceſſes committed by the populace in the latter, which were directed againſt the houſes or perſons of thoſe, whoſe ſuppoſed ſhare in this tranſaction had drawn on them the odium of the multitude, are freſh in every body's memory. They were indeed furious, and had a tendency to ſhock and diſguſt many of thoſe who partook the moſt heartily in the general joy. Even the iron gates and paliſades of the Admiralty, were not ſufficient to preſerve that building, from receiving ſtrong marks of the popular indignation; nor were

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ſome of the great officers of ſtate free from ſufficient cauſe of alarm, until the troops were brought forward to their protection.

The prevalent ſpirit was now ſo ſtrong, as to ſeem to operate more or leſs every where. Nobody was ſo hardy as to attempt to juſtify the late proſecution upon its own proper ground. For a conſiderable time, the Admiralty was only defended upon the plea of official neceſſity; and the conduct of the proſecutor ſeemed wholly abandoned by all his friends.

Admiral Keppel had received an early letter from the admiralty, acquainting him that the ſuſpenſion was taken off in conſequence of his acquittal, and requiring him accordingly to reſume his command; although he complied with this requiſition, yet from the cold official terms in which the letter was couched, as well as a maimed quotation it included from the ſentence, in which the clauſe moſt to his own honour, and that which leaned moſt upon his adverſary, were both equally omitted, it ſeemed upon the whole to indicate, and was underſtood accordingly, that that board was no ſharer in the general ſatisfaction which attended the event of his trial. Nor was his reception at court, ſaid to be much more pleaſing. Theſe circumſtances being followed up by others of the ſame nature, the line of conduct was underſtood to be ſo marked and apparent, that it afforded a ſubject of open diſcuſſion at different times in both Houſes; the oppoſition contending, that it tended ſtrongly to ſpread and confirm an opinion, already too generally received, than which, nothing could be more ſcandalous or diſgraceful to government, namely, that the attack upon the admiral's life and honour, was rather the effect of a combination, and of a concerted ſcheme, framed under and ſupported by the ſanction of authority, than the caſual reſult of private pique, envy, or malice.

On the other hand, the unfortunate officer, who was now become the object of general odium, was compelled, beſides the loſs of public favour and opinion, to ſubmit to that of honours, of authority, and of ſubſtantial emoluments. On the very day that the ſentence of the court martial was diſcloſed in the Houſe of Commons, a noble Lord, one of his late brethren in office, after expreſſing ſome doubts as to the propriety of the notice, he, however, ſaid, that in order to quiet the minds of the people, he would inform them, that Sir Hugh Palliſer, had no longer a ſeat at the Admiralty Board; his reſignation having been accepted that morning. In this manner things continued for about a week longer; the oppoſition waiting, as they ſaid, to afford an opportunity to the crown, to expreſs its utmoſt reprobation of the late conduct, and therein vindicate its own honour, by totally diſmiſſing the vice-admiral of the blue from its ſervice. At length, when one of the moſt active leaders of the oppoſition, was on the point of moving an addreſs for that purpoſe, information was given, that Sir Hugh Palliſer had reſigned his lieutenant-generalſhip of the Marines, and his government of Scarborough Caſtle; that he had alſo vacated his ſeat in parliament; and only retained his vice-admiral-

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ſhip, as a qualification for his trial by a court-martial, which the admiralty had ordered to be held upon him.

The ſtrong intereſts, which were thus agitated, and the ſpirit of enquiry raiſed by the paſt and the depending courts-martial, were not eaſily laid or qualified, and naturally directed the attention of parliament to the affairs of the navy. This ſubject was almoſt the only one in which parties ſeemed to engage. The members of oppoſition, directed their attacks almoſt entirely againſt the firſt lord of the admiralty, whom they conſidered, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, as the moſt efficient, and conſequently as the moſt immediately reſponſible, of any of the King's ſervants.

No leſs than three motions of cenſure, relative to the ſtate and diſpoſition of the navy, and one for the removal of the Earl of Sandwich from his Majeſty's ſervice, were made during the preſent ſeſſion in the Houſe of Commons. In conſequence of an addreſs for the purpoſe, ſeveral extracts of letters relative to the equipment of the Breſt fleet, having been laid before that Houſe, Mr. Fox moved the following reſolution.—

March 3d.

"That it appears to this Houſe, that the ſending Admiral Keppel, in the month of June laſt, to a ſtation off the coaſt of France, with a ſquadron of twenty ſhips of the line, and four frigates, at a time when a French fleet, conſiſting, as there is great reaſon to believe, of thirty-two ſhips of the line, and certainly of twenty-ſeven, with a great number of frigates, was at Breſt, and ready to put to ſea, was a meaſure greatly hazardous to the ſafety of the kingdom, without any proſpect of an adequate advantage."

Mr. Fox introduced his motion by a very able and animated ſpeech; in the courſe of which he acknowledged, that if the preſent was carried, he would follow it with another for the removal of the firſt lord of the admiralty: and it would then reſt with that Houſe, whether the facts ſtated in his motion, would not furniſh matter ſufficient to found upon it a parliamentary enquiry. He began with ſome obſervations, on the advantages reſulting from thoſe ſort of enquiries which he propoſed; and which are peculiar to free governments. He ſaid, that ſubſequent inquiſitorial controuls, were a ſubſtitute for that ſecrecy and diſpatch in which arbitrary ſtates are thought to excel, and that it more than compenſated for the want of them; as was fully proved, by the irreſiſtible exertions, and the almoſt inexhauſtible reſources, of free ſtates. That, vigour of exertion, and attention to duty, are always found where the final account is inevitable; and where no favour, no court cabal, can ſecure neglect and incapacity from detection and puniſhment.

The propriety of entering into the reſolution propoſed, was ſupported by the following very embarraſſing dilemma. When Mr. Keppel ſailed from Plymouth on the 9th of June, with 20 ſhips, under orders to cruize off Uſhant for a certain number of days; the admiralty board muſt have known that there were then thirty ſail of the line ready to proceed to ſea in Breſt water, or elſe that board was

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ignorant of the fact. If the former, it was ſaid to be an act of the higheſt criminality, to riſque the fate of this country in ſo great a diſparity of force. Had an engagement happened, which muſt have been inevitably the caſe, had not the moſt conſummate wiſdom and love for his country, induced Admiral Keppel, in a caſe of ſuch infinite importance, to diſregard the orders of the miniſters, the conſequences might have been fatal to the naval power of this country. Our trade might have been ruined, our coaſts inſulted, and in the deſtruction of Portſmouth and Plymouth, the ſeeds of all future navies, for ever exterminated.

On the other hand, preſuming that the firſt lord of the admiralty was ignorant of the real naval force of France, would not the conſequences to the nation be the ſame? And therefore, it was aſked, was not his conduct equally criminal? For negligence in men, entruſted with the ſafety of nations, was very different from the negligences of ordinary perſons. In ſuch men, negligence was criminality. And, that men high in office, and in reſponſible ſituations, did in effect acknowledge guilt, when they pleaded ignorance in juſtification of miſconduct and neglect.

On the other ſide it was anſwered, that before ignorance was ſuffered to imply criminality, it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the fact in queſtion ſhould be eſtabliſhed; that it ſhould be aſcertained beyond a poſſibility of doubt. That the fact which was produced, as the foundation of the reſolution now propoſed, viz. "That there "were 27 ſhips of the line in Breſt "water," was ſo far from being proved, that it was not even grounded on probability. If the papers found on board the Pallas and Licorne, were adduced as proofs of the fact, nothing could be more vague, indefinite, and inconcluſive. For firſt, ſuppoſing the import of thoſe papers to have been ever ſo preciſe, it was to be remembered, that they were entirely without date; and in the next place, that they contained nothing more than an order to provide anchorage for ſuch a certain rate and number of ſhips. It therefore contained evidence, not that the ſhips were ready for ſea, but that anchorage was ordered for them when they ſhould be ready. If the written evidence, they ſaid, was defective, the parole evidence, given by Admiral Keppel (who had been examined in his place, relative to the verbal information he received by the capture of the two French frigates) muſt be no leſs defective, for it was founded entirely upon the written.

But the evidence, they ſaid, was not more defective in ſupport of the preſumption on which the reſolution was founded, than the circumſtances were ſtrong, which went directly to its overthrow. For it appeared, that a number of French merchantmen had been ſuffered to paſs through the Britiſh fleet, ſo late as the 23d or 24th of June. The ſtrength or weakneſs of the Britiſh fleet muſt have been known to them. And if the Breſt fleet had ſuch a ſuperiority as was aſſerted, what reaſon could be given, why they did not inſtantly proceed to ſea, in order to meet, and to cruſh ſo inferior an enemy? But although M. D'Orvilliers was in

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poſſeſſion of that information from the 23d of June, he did not leave Breſt harbour until the 8th of July; a full proof that, contrary to the words of the reſolution, there was no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that there were 32, or even 27 ſhips of the line in Breſt water *ready to put to ſea.*

It was aſſerted on the ſame ſide, that when Lord Hawke was ſent to watch the motions of the French, upon the rumour of an invaſion in the year 1758, the board of admiralty, upon hearing the enemy had a ſuperior force out, ſent him orders to return: although he did not receive the orders until the ſervice was ended, that gallant and able officer anſwered the board in his letter, that he ſhould never relinquiſh his duty, or return into port, from any trifling ſuperiority of the enemy. They farther obſerved, that if the evil, which was ſuppoſed or apprehended, had really happened, and that Admiral Keppel had been defeated, was it probable, or could it even be ſuppoſed, that a conflict with a Britiſh fleet of 20 ſhips of the line, ſhould have left the enemy in a condition to purſue their victory to the deſtruction of all our naval magazines? The only victory, they ſaid, which France ever obtained over England at ſea, was that over Lord Torrington in the reign of King William. Then, inſtead of purſuing the advantage they had gained, inſtead of burning Portſmouth or Plymouth, inſtead "of "exterminating the ſeeds of all "future navies," the French fleet, contented with its honours, retired into the ports of France to repair the damages which it had unavoidably ſuſtained. And ſuch, they ſaid, muſt have been the conſequences of a victory, if they had obtained one, in the preſent inſtance.

On the other ſide it was replied, that M. D'Orvilliers continuing in port after the arrival of the merchantmen who had paſſed through the Britiſh fleet, was by no means a proof, nor did it even amount to a preſumptive evidence of any weight, that he was not then, with the force which had been ſtated, in actual condition for proceeding to ſea. For it would have been a meaſure extremely hazardous for that commander, and which, without expreſs orders from his court he could not have ventured, to have truſted himſelf to ſea with 27 ſail of the line, before he had received the moſt undoubted information of Admiral Byron's departure from the channel. For, until he was perfectly ſatisfied that the Britiſh fleet was divided, he could have had no aſſurance, that inſtead of twenty, he ſhould not have encountered Admiral Keppel, with a fleet of 35 ſhips of the line; which was the force he had cauſe to apprehend, including Byron's ſquadron, and three ſhips, which were ready for ſea, and which he had therefore a right to conſider as part of the fleet. For the French merchantmen could report no farther than they ſaw. They ſaw three flags, and they might perhaps count 20 ſail of the line; but they could not poſſibly anſwer that there were no more in company.

That this was the ſcale by which the French regulated their conduct, was evident from what followed. For as ſoon as Admiral Byron's deſtination was known in Paris, orders were ſent to Breſt for the fleet,

fleet to proceed to sea; and M. D'Orvilliers instantly weighed anchor; which affords a strong evidence, that nothing had retained him in Brest, but the difficulty which the French court, as well as their commander, found in believing it possible, that any set of men, should so far abuse the confidence of the nation which they served, as, to commit in a desperate contest that naval power, which it had cost their country so much blood, so much treasure, and so much labour to acquire.

They also said, that nothing could be more egregiously misstated or misrepresented, than the evidence acquired by the capture of the French frigates, had been by the ministers. It was not true, that Admiral Keppel had regulated his conduct by vague written or unwritten evidence; nor that the latter was founded upon the former. That gentleman had testified in his place, that the evidence which he had obtained from several of the French seamen, who were newly come out of Brest, and whom he had separately examined, all went in the most direct and strongest manner, to corroborate that of the written paper; and that they all agreed in the great circumstances, as to the number, force, and situation of the French fleet, with such a degree of exactness, as would have afforded weight to the most doubtful testimony. It would have been curious, they said, if it had not of late become so common as to lose the effect, to hear those men, who have the audacity to refuse all means of information to parliament, repeatedly call upon the opposition for those direct and positive proofs in support of their charges, which they themselves openly and avowedly keep back. It was only the other day that the opposition had moved for all those documents, which would have established their charges, with even the strongest degree of legal evidence; and those very ministers, who now have the effrontery to call for proofs, were themselves the persons, who under the most frivolous and shameful pretences, had procured, in that House, a negative to their motion. It was, however, fortunate, they said, that those papers on the table, which ministers could find no pretence or colour for keeping back, would, along with the testimony given by the honourable admiral, afford sufficient evidence for the House to proceed on, and sufficient ground for all the purposes of the motion.

The question being put after one o'clock, the motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority only of 34, the numbers being 204 to 170.

This was an unusual division on the side of the minority. And the minister shewed a degree of passion and vehemence in different parts of this debate, which was not at all customary with him. It has been observed by some, who from long experience think they may form an opinion on the appearances of things in that House, that the question would probably have been carried in the affirmative, if the noble lord at the head of administration, having equally perceived the same indications, had not immediately applied himself to prevent their effect. For that minister, observing strong marks of defection, particularly among that

part of the country gentlemen who support administration, recalled both them and his other wavering friends to the standard, by openly declaring, that the motion of censure against the first lord of the admiralty, went directly to himself, and to all the other ministers; that there could be no discrimination; as they were all equally concerned in the conduct of public affairs, they were all equally liable to answer for the consequences; there could be no separate praise or censure; whatever reached one, must reach the whole.

Notwithstanding this defeat, Mr. Fox did not abandon, he only shifted his ground; and keeping his object still steadily in view, brought the business forward under another form a few days after. As he had given early notice of his intention, administration rallied all their forces, and the House was even more full than it had been on the preceding debate.

March 8th.

He observed in opening the grounds of his intended motion, that notwithstanding the general resemblance, and the principle being the same in both, it differed from the former in one respect; that being particular and specific, whereas this went to a general proposition. It included only matter of public and universal notoriety; matter as well known without that House as within; and as fully in the possession of all Europe, as it was of the British parliament or ministers. It called for no specific proofs. He should not trouble one gentleman to state our weakness at home; another to shew our inferiority in North-America; nor would he appeal to the whole world for the proof, that we had totally abandoned our commerce, our consequence, and our fortresses in the Mediterranean. Those forms, so necessary to substantiate charges, where there was the smallest room for doubt, suspence, or hesitation, were in this instance totally needless. He well foresaw what other grounds of objection would be taken against his propositions, but he had the satisfaction of knowing, that not a syllable of their contents could be controverted in point of fact; his hardiest opponents must acknowledge them to be literally and substantially true. He would therefore trust his motion to the feelings and conviction of his hearers; he would rest it on that testimony, which every thinking man must secretly submit to, and every honest man avowedly declare; he would appeal to no other tribunal.

He, however, thought it necessary by way of illustration, and of bringing so great a variety of matter within some moderate compass of view and remembrance, to trace the round of public affairs and transactions, both at home and abroad, from the beginning of the troubles. In this course he took a clear and comprehensive view, of the direction, management, operations, and consequences of the war; of the state and conduct of the naval department; he shewed what ministers had done, and what they had neglected; he recalled, with precision, their declarations, professions, avowed views, and promises, at different periods; he shewed the ample means which that House and the nation had put into their hands, and the sanguine expectations which they had rationally

tionally formed, upon such means, and such assurances; and then stated, in what manner those expectations had been answered, and those promises fulfilled. But he did not confine himself to assurances, or to declarations in either House. The great question at issue was, whether our preparations, and the state of our navy, were adequate to the vast sums which had been granted for those services? This was a matter in which there was no occasion for promises to fix the public responsibility of ministers. And it was a matter, he said, in which there was not, nor could not, be a second opinion, either within or without the House.

In taking a view of naval affairs under the present marine minister, he drew up a comparative estimate, of the state, condition, and expences of the navy, during certain periods, and under equal circumstances, of that administration, and of former times. By this estimate he would make it appear, that our peace establishment for the navy, had cost the nation nearly double the money, during the five years previous to the present troubles, which it had done in those immediately preceding the late war; and from similar calculations he endeavoured to demonstrate a great excess also in our present war establishment; particularly that the expenditure of the navy in the year 1778, exceeded that of 1756, by full half a million. He then entered into a strict enquiry, whether our naval preparation and effective strength in the present instance, bore that proportional superiority over the former, which the nation had a right to expect from the expenditure. And having on this ground, as he said, not only clearly demonstrated the contrary, but that the navy was, in every sense and respect, greatly, and most alarmingly inferior; he from thence inferred just and full cause for the censure of that House, and for the well-founded resentments of the people at large.

He summed up the whole of a long and severe scrutiny into the conduct of public affairs, the operations of the war, with the management of the marine department, and the state of the navy, in the following conclusions:—Either, that ministers acted under the dominion of the grossest and dullest ignorance, or that they were actuated by sinister, corrupt, and dangerous motives; and that they were therefore, in either case, unworthy of public trust or confidence. From this dilemma, he said, there was no escape. Ignorance or treachery, was the only alternative.—His motion was conceived in the following terms: "That it appears to this House, "that, the state of the navy, on "the breaking out of the war "with France, was very unequal "to what this House and the nation had been led to expect, as "well from the declarations of his "Majesty's ministers, as from the "great sums of money granted, "and debts incurred for that service; and inadequate to the "exigencies of the various services, for which, it was the duty "of the ministers to have provided "at so important a crisis."

On the other side it was insisted, that the terms of the motion were not supported by the facts stated. That it was exceedingly unfair and irregular to refer to matters which

fell in former debates, and much more ſo to any thing which might have been ſaid in the other Houſe; but that the abſurdity as well as injuſtice, of paſſing a vote of cenſure, founded upon ſuch looſe and uncertain grounds, was ſo palpable, as not to require obſervation. They denied the facts, as to what, they ſaid, were the main grounds of the motion; namely, the ſuperiority attributed to the French in the channel, and in America; and with reſpect to the Mediterranean, they ſaid, that it was utterly impoſſible to provide a ſuitable defence, to every part of poſſeſſions ſo widely extended as thoſe of Great-Britain; ſome muſt be neglected; and in ſuch circumſtances, miniſters muſt exerciſe their diſcretion and judgment, in attending particularly to the ſecurity of thoſe places, which were either of the greateſt importance, or the moſt immediately expoſed. No fair or direct inference, they ſaid, could be drawn, from the comparative ſtate of the money granted for naval ſervices, in the two interims, previous to the breaking out of the laſt and the preſent war; nor from that of the fleets, in the year 1756, and 1778. It was well known that the ſhips were larger now than at the former period; we had then a number of ſmall ſixtys and ſixty-fours; none on that ſmall ſcale are now retained; that rate has not only been greatly improved in point of ſize and ſtrength; but its place has been in a great meaſure ſupplied in the navy, by a number of new ſeventy-fours, which are built on ſo large a conſtruction, as to be nearly equal in point of tonnage to our old ſecond rates. So that upon the whole, fairly comparing the exertions at both periods, it was not doubted, but that our force, in 1778, would be found ſubſtantially equal, to what it had been in 1756.

The contradiction given to the facts ſtated by Mr. Fox, along with the reference to matters in which they were themſelves immediately concerned, called up the two great naval commanders, who lately had the conduct of our fleets, on the home, and on the American ſervice. The noble lord who was newly returned from the latter, and who ſeconded the motion, (Lord Howe) obſerved the difficulty he was under in ſpeaking, leſt it ſhould be ſuppoſed that what he ſaid, might tend to any gloſs, or undue explanation, of the affair which he had himſelf to ſettle with the miniſters, and which he was pledged to that Houſe to bring forward. But being on the other hand apprehenſive, that his total ſilence might be conſidered as an approbation of meaſures which he totally condemned; meaſures, which, he was fully perſuaded, were weak, incapable, and, if longer permitted or purſued, which muſt terminate in the deſtruction of the naval power of this country, and conſequently of the country itſelf, he held it incumbent on him, as a public duty, to prevent ſuch an opinion from prevailing. Among other profeſſional matters, which he accordingly entered upon, he declared, that he thought the means put into the hands of adminiſtration, were ſuch as enabled them to have a much more reſpectable navy on foot; that above all things, the Mediterranean ought to have been provided for; he being thoroughly convinced, that it would

would be impoſſible for this country at any time to preſerve its naval ſuperiority, while that ſervice was neglected; but much more, when, as in the preſent inſtance, it was apparently abandoned.

He concluded, by informing the Houſe of the motives which induced him to retire from the American ſervice. He ſaid, that he had been deceived into his command; that he had been deceived while he retained it; that, tired and diſguſted, he had required permiſſion to reſign; that he would have returned as ſoon as he had obtained it, but that he could not think of quitting the Britiſh fleet in a ſtate of danger, whilſt it had a ſuperior enemy in the American ſeas to encounter; that on the whole, his ſituation was ſuch, that he had been compelled to reſign; and that a thorough recollection of what he had felt, and what he had ſuffered, induced him to decline any riſque of ever returning into a ſituation which might terminate in equal ill treatment, mortification, and diſguſt. That the ſame motives and ſentiments which operated with reſpect to America, muſt carry equal force, in inducing him to decline all future ſervice, ſo long as the preſent miniſters continued in office; for that he was ſufficiently convinced, by a full and deciſive experience, that beſides riſquing his honour and profeſſional character in ſuch an attempt, he could not, under ſuch counſels, render any eſſential ſervice to his country.

Admiral Keppel reprobated, in terms of the utmoſt ſeverity, the daring aſſertion, as he called it, made in the face of that Houſe, and in defiance of a fact known to all Europe, by a noble member of the admiralty board, "that the "Breſt fleet conſiſted of only ſe-"venteen ſhips of the line," at the time, that under the apprehenſion of a ſuperior force, he had returned from his cruize off that port. Among other curious particulars relative to naval affairs, which came out in his ſpeech, he obſerved, that in the years 1765, and 1766, when he ſat at the admiralty board, a ſcheme was propoſed and adopted, for keeping at all times, eighty ſhips of the line of battle, with a proportionable number of frigates, ready for actual ſervice; he likewiſe ſtated, that if that determination had immediately after been totally abandoned, and even ſuppoſing, that the whole navy had been annihilated, at the time that the preſent firſt lord of the admiralty came to preſide in that department, it appeared evidently from the papers before them, that the grants of parliament for the naval ſervice, within his adminiſtration, had been ſo ample, and unuſually great, that a fleet of eighty ſhips of the line, might have been conſtructed from the keel, and in actual ſervice at ſea, without any additional charge to the nation, by the cloſe of the year 1777; whereas, by that noble lord's own account, we had not at that period, in all ſtations at home and abroad, quite fifty, that were in condition for ſervice; and he believed that he ſhould be juſtified in ſaying, that we had not forty, fit for real ſervice. He farther declared, that the deficiency in number, was not, at that time, the moſt alarming circumſtance with reſpect to the navy; for, that he was well warranted in affirming,

that the ſhips in general were not in good condition, nor fit to bear long or difficult ſervices. He alſo ſtated, the great loſs which the naval ſervice had ſuſtained, from the want of a ſufficient number of frigates; ſaid, that when he had been adviſed with in November 1776, as well as upon a prior occaſion, when foreign preparations were likewiſe ſo formidable as to excite an alarm, he had ſtrongly preſſed the neceſſity of ſpeedily ſupplying the deficiency of frigates; notwithſtanding which, and the obviouſneſs of the matter, that eſſential part of the ſervice had been entirely neglected; one conſequence of which, among a number of bad ones, was, that great ſhips were obliged to be ſent out upon every petty occaſion, where frigates would anſwer the purpoſe equally, if not better; whereby the nation was not only put to an immenſe and unneceſſary expence, in the repairs of thoſe capital ſhips; but what was ſtill worſe, when they came to be wanted for actual ſervice, they were found crippled, and in a great meaſure unſerviceable. He concluded his ſpeech, by declaring the admiralty board to be totally negligent, uninformed, and in every way unequal to the adminiſtration of the naval affairs of this country.

It was not eaſy to withſtand, upon their own ground, ſuch profeſſional charges and opinions, coming from ſuch authorities. In effect, the motion was principally oppoſed, upon the general allegation of its not being ſupported by any ſufficient evidence, and the conduct of the admiralty defended, by a flat, direct, and unqualified contradiction, to almoſt every fact ſtated by the oppoſition, whether with reſpect to the preſent, or to any paſt ſtate of the navy. Facts and aſſertions ſo diametrically oppoſite, preſented ſuch an apparent opening for doubt, that a gentleman, well underſtood to be a friend to adminiſtration, though ſeemingly, in certain caſes, rather doubtful or eccentric in his conduct, made that uncertainty his ground of argument, why the Houſe could not in conſcience come to a vote of cenſure; but, as he alſo ſaid, that appearances were ſo ſtrong, as to juſtify an opinion, that the miniſters were culpable in ſome inſtances, he would therefore move the previous queſtion, in order to leave the matter open for further enquiry.

The fulneſs of the Houſe, however, afforded ſuch a confidence to the miniſter in his ſtrength, as prevented his being content to get rid of the buſineſs by a previous queſtion. He ſaid, that the facts and charges which had been ſtated, were ſo direct and important, as to admit of no medium; they muſt be either eſtabliſhed or overthrown; and as they were not yet ſupported by a ſingle tittle of proof, the moſt regular and parliamentary mode of proceeding, he ſaid, for the preſent, was to meet them with a direct negative; which, he contended, would not by any means prevent a future enquiry into the ſubject, if any ſufficient evidence could be found for its ſupport.

The queſtion being to be put after twelve o'clock, Mr. Fox aroſe, and requeſted that no perſon would give a vote in favour of his motion, who was not perfectly ſatisfied, that the general facts ſtated in it were fully proved; both literally

literally and substantially, and that the ministers had failed in their repeated assurances to that House and to the nation.

The motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 246, to 174. Although 18 gentlemen, who had not been present at the former division, now voted with the minority, and that they had likewise made one convert from the majority, (a gentleman who acknowledged in his speech the force, of that universal notoriety, and internal conviction, which were not generally admitted as evidence) yet we see that these additions, were so nearly ballanced by the present absentees, that the increase of number on that side was trifling.

The discontents in the navy now appeared in the most alarming degree. We have seen in the present instance, the determination of Lord Howe. In the preceding debate, Admiral Keppel declared in his place, that after what he had already experienced and suffered at their hands, he could never think of resuming a command, under the present naval administration; that besides its being inconsistent with a due regard to his honour, and exceedingly hazardous with respect to his professional character, he was fully convinced in his mind, that he could not, under their influence or conduct, promote in any essential degree the interests of his country; which was the only motive that could induce him to undertake its service. About this time also, or soon after, Sir Robert Harland, Captain Leveson Gower, Sir John Lindsay, and some other officers of high name and distinguished merit, either quitted the service, or declined acting under the present system. And so general was the discontent and defection, that it was reported and believed, that no less than twenty, of the most experienced and distinguished captains in the navy, were on the point of throwing up their commissions on one day in a body. Nor was it supposed, that the prevention of this alarming event, was to be attributed, either to official management, or to governmental influence. Thus had the nation, the mortification and grief to behold, some of her greatest and most popular naval commanders, and of her bravest officers, declining her service, in a season of no small danger.

The success with which Sir P. J. Clerke, had carried his bill for excluding the contractors from Parliament, through that House, in the preceding session, seemed, so far, to afford some reasonable ground of expectation of success, for the present year; and perhaps he thought it probable, that after so much time for cool recollection, the lords would not think it fitting, to persist in their rejection of a bill, and their interference in a business, which seemed so peculiarly appropriated to the Commons, as tending merely to the independence and purity of their own body. And this opinion seemed the more feasible, as the lords had, a few years since, seemed to lay it down as a doctrine not to be departed from, that they should not at all interfere in any measure of regulation, adopted by the House of Commons for their own internal government.

However that was, the gentleman in question had moved on the 12th of February, for leave to bring in a disqualifying bill, on the

the ſame grounds with thoſe formerly propoſed. As nothing could poſſibly be more mortifying and vexatious to miniſters, than the continual renewal or introduction of this ſubject; which, however it might finally be diſpoſed of, frequently called forth troubleſome defences, or humiliating acknowledgements, and always afforded means for the ſtirring up of ſome diſagreeable or odious matter, ſo they were now, as uſual, exceedingly tender and irritable upon the occaſion, ſeeming to conſider the attack, as if it were no leſs perſonal to themſelves, than to thoſe who were its avowed and immediate objects. The motion was, however, carried upon a cloſe diviſion, by a majority of 158 to 143; having brought out in its way, no ſmall portion of the uſual matter of charge and defence.

Notwithſtanding this gleam of ſucceſs at the outſet, the mover had ſoon the mortification to diſcover, that his favourite bill, was not likely to prove again troubleſome to the lords, for that ſome conſiderable change of temper and opinion had taken place in that Houſe upon the ſubject, ſince the period of its being canvaſſed there in the preceding ſeſſion. Whether it were, that the gentlemen immediately concerned, had found means, in the intermediate time, to juſtify the purity of their conduct and principles, and to ſhew the innocence and public utility of their purſuits, in ſuch a manner, as ſerved to convert and bring over any part of their opponents, or from whatever other cauſe it proceeded, ſo it was, that the bill was loſt upon the motion for referring it to a committee, after the ſecond reading; when March 11th. the queſtion was rejected upon a diviſion by a majority of 41, the numbers being 165 to 124. After which the miniſter moved that it might be laid by for four months, which was carried without farther trouble.

It would have appeared ſtrange, if that ſpirit of toleration, which, within a very few years, has ſpread ſo wonderfully, though in different degrees, through, almoſt, every country in Europe, ſhould have paſſed this alone, which had ſo long valued itſelf for its enlightened views and liberal diſpoſition, in all caſes whether of civil or religious government, without diſpenſing any ſhare of that influence which it ſo freely communicated to others.

But they muſt have little attended to ſuch ſubjects, who do not know the difficulty of ſhaking off the trammels of ſuperſtition, and the inveteracy of prejudice, amongſt a people at large; and the ſtill, perhaps, more arduous taſk, to cure laws and ſyſtems of government of thoſe habitual vices, which have been ſo long grafted into their conſtitution, as to appear a part of their original nature. In fact, the number of penal and criminal laws relative to religious doctrines and opinions, which, in deſpite of a manly, and liberal philoſophy, ſtill ſubſiſted in our code, would have diſgraced that of a nation far behind us, in arts, ſcience, and civilization.

Although a law had been paſſed ſome years ago, for removing ſome of thoſe legal reſtrictions, which had more particularly affected our diſſenting

diſſenting proteſtant brethren; yet more ſtill remained to be done in their favour; and that bill was conſidered, rather as an opening towards future indulgence, as the ſpirit of the times ſhould ripen to a higher degree of liberality in religious matters, than as immediately curing all their preſent grievances. The relief granted to the Roman Catholics in the preceding ſeſſion, had laid the ground fairly open for a preſent application to parliament for redreſs; and the liberal opinions known to be held, and profeſſions made, by ſome of the Biſhops on that ſubject, ſeemed to obviate the apprehenſions of an oppoſition in that quarter where it was moſt to be expected and dreaded. Indeed the public loſſes, calamities, and dangers of the times, ſeemed to render it now a matter of neceſſity, as it had at all times been of duty and wiſdom, to unite the intereſts and affections of all orders and denominations of men in one common bond of union, and to concentrate into one maſs, all the ſtrength that could yet be found in the remaining parts of the empire.

In theſe circumſtances, Sir Henry Hoghton, having on the 10th of March opened the way by an introductory ſpeech, concluded by moving, that the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, in order to conſider of granting further relief to proteſtant diſſenting miniſters and ſchoolmaſters. The motion being very generally agreed to, Mr. Frederic Montague, by whom it was ſeconded, was appointed chairman of the committee, and the bill accordingly framed and carried through, under his auſpices. It however brought out ſome conſiderable debate in its courſe, it being eagerly oppoſed by a few gentlemen, who ſtill continued wedded to antient high church doctrines and principles. But this oppoſition, was, in effect, confined only to debate; it being ſo weak in point of number, that a motion which was made on the 17th of of March by Sir William Bagot, and ſeconded by Sir R. Newdigate, for putting off the conſideration of the bill for four months, was ſupported upon a diviſion by only ſix voices, to a majority of 77. The bill was likewiſe carried through the lords with great facility; and received the royal aſſent in the courſe of the ſeſſion.

The unhappy conſequences of the American war, had, by this time, affected our ſiſter kingdom and iſland in the moſt ruinous degree. For although the whole amount of her immediate loſſes, conſidered merely as a ſpecific ſum in point of calculation, could hold no compariſon with that ſuſtained by England, yet the leſſer loſs, was more ſeverely felt by the poorer country, than the greater, had hitherto been, by that ſo vaſtly exceeding it in wealth, and which ſet out with ſo immenſe a capital in every ſpecies of commerce. Other cauſes, than thoſe loſſes immediately ſuſtained, and directly proceeding from the American war, concurred in accumulating the grievances and diſtreſſes of Ireland to a moſt alarming pitch. Beſides the antient reſtraints upon her commerce, an embargo had been continued from the year 1776. Thus, their great ſtaple commodities of beef and butter, were ſhut up and periſhing in their warehouſes, at the very time that their great, their only free, and conſequently only valuable

valuable manufacture, the linen, was contracted under the deſtructive and fatal blight of the American war.

Although nothing could add to the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the embargo, yet the circumſtances attending it, or which were ſuppoſed to attend it, ſerved to render that meaſure more intolerably grievous to the people. It was ſaid, and ſeemingly upon good grounds, that it anſwered no beneficial or uſeful purpoſe whatever. It neither appeared then, nor ſince, that the French armaments were deferred or laid by, through the want of Iriſh proviſions; and their Weſt India iſlands were ſo far from being ruined upon that account, that it was well known that they were ſupplied upon as good terms as our iſlands with many articles.

So far, they alledged as to the point of benefit. On the other hand, the Iriſh beheld with grief and diſmay, that the northern parts of Germany, and other countries adjoining to the Baltic, were with great avidity preparing to graſp at that beneficial trade, which was ſlipping out of their hands. They had already begun the experiment; were ſparing no induſtry or expence, in procuring proper ſalt for the purpoſe, and proper perſons for inſtructing them in the art of curing and packing their beef, and had even ſent ſome conſiderable quantities of it to the French market. Although theſe ſamples could not come in any degree of competition with the Iriſh beef in point of goodneſs, yet the attempt, or even the idea, was exceedingly alarming. The vaſt profits which the ſupply would afford, through the lowneſs of rents, and the cheapneſs of cattle in thoſe countries, would induce great improvements both in the articles of feeding and curing; and there are few ignorant, that a branch of trade once loſt or transferred, is ſcarcely ever recoverable. To render all theſe circumſtances of loſs and apprehenſion the more vexatious and grievous, it was univerſally ſaid in that country, and not without ſome conſiderable concurrence both of words and opinions in this, that the ſource of all theſe miſchiefs was nothing more or leſs than a job, which owed its creation, or at leaſt its continuance, merely to the deſign of throwing immenſe fortunes into the hands of ſome favourite contractors. Nor was it of any avail, how unfounded this opinion might poſſibly be; the effect was the ſame, as if it had been eſtabliſhed by the firmeſt authority.

Such an unhappy combination of things, muſt have generated diſcontent in any people; but there were ſome local and peculiar circumſtances relative to Ireland, which, excluſive of the internal weakneſs, proceeding from vices in her government, and the former ſhackles on her trade, ſerved to render the calamity more ſudden and concluſive, than it might have been perhaps in ſome others.

The rent of lands in Ireland, within the laſt thirty years, had been very much increaſed. Although this riſe in the rents, muſt have been generally ſupported by the prices given in thoſe markets which took off the produce of the lands; yet it was aſſerted by thoſe who were acquainted with that country, that competition, and the ſpirit of ſpeculation, which had lately produced ſuch pernicious effects,

fects in both kingdoms, had their ſhare in the riſe. This ſpeculation failing, and the competition along with it, lands fell; the land owner was diſtreſſed, the farmer ruined; and a very general failure of all credit enſued.

Under theſe unhappy circumſtances, the exceedingly numerous populace of that country, (where the middle rank of life is but thinly ſcattered) conſiſting of the labouring and manufacturing part of the community, were turned adrift, without employment, and conſequently deſtitute of all the neceſſaries of life. Although all the means were uſed, which great and numerous acts of private charity, and liberal public ſubſcriptions, could poſſibly reach to, for alleviating this dreadful calamity, and that 20,000 poor, were ſaid to have been daily and charitably fed, for ſome conſiderable time, in the city of Dublin only, yet all theſe efforts could only cover a ſmall part of the evil, and it was evident, that nothing leſs than employment could procure that ſubſiſtence, which their daily labour had hitherto ſo uſefully provided.

It is probable that much of the extremity of this diſtreſs, had ariſen from that fluctuation in the ſtate of commerce, which happens in the beſt of times. But the effects of this fluctuation, being ſuperadded to the peculiar calamities of the time, ſunk deeply into the minds of the people of that kingdom. Of courſe, it called on the attention of many in this; though not ſo early, nor with ſo much ſyſtem on the part of government, as could be wiſhed. The buſineſs was, however, in ſome degree brought forward before the holidays, by three members of the Houſe of Commons, who derived their titles from, and whoſe fortunes principally lay in that kingdom. They ſtated in ſtrong colours the diſtreſſes of that people, and ſhewed the neceſſity to ourſelves of affording them ſpeedy and ſubſtantial relief, which could, as they aſſerted, only be done, to any effect, by removing thoſe impolitic reſtrictions on their trade, which owed their riſe merely to the narrow ſpirit of monopoly, operating upon miſtaken notions of all true commercial principles; theſe reſtrictions being, in reality, as contrary to the real intereſts of this country, as they were abſolutely ruinous to Ireland. They accordingly gave notice, that they would after the holidays move for a bill or bills, for granting commercial relief to that country.

Notwithſtanding this opening, ſeveral things ſeemed to be wanting to afford a proſpect of ſucceſs to the propoſed meaſure. It was to be lamented that no regular plan had been formed, either with reſpect to the preciſe nature, or to the extent, of the relief which was to be propoſed or expected. The miniſter took no part in the buſineſs. Thoſe of the oppoſition who ſupported the relief to Ireland in a former ſeſſion, ſupported the preſent bill.

We ſhall bring together in one point of view, without regard to time or occaſion, a few of the reaſons that were urged at the different periods in which this buſineſs was agitated, whether in ſupport or oppoſition to the propoſed meaſure. It was contended on the one ſide, that leaving all ideas of liberality

liberality and of juſtice out of the queſtion, we were now impelled by abſolute neceſſity—by a regard to our own preſent ſecurity, and future preſervation, to cheriſh and preſerve the remaining parts of the empire, and to concentrate all the people, in one common bond of union and defence, which could only be done, by a general communion of intereſts, and participation of benefits. That the people of Ireland expected, and had the ſtrongeſt right to expect relief. That this was no time, after the heavy loſs of our colonies, and of our American commerce, to hazard that of our ſiſter kingdom, whether by invaſion or ſeparation, one of which was already threatened, and the other equally to be apprehended, if we did not ſpeedily afford that relief which was expected, and now propoſed.

For, they ſaid, that however exemplary and invincible the loyalty of Ireland had hitherto been, and however ſingular her long enduring ſufferings, patience, and forbearance, there were certain fixed limits to thoſe qualities and diſpoſitions of the mind, beyond which human nature was utterly incapable of paſſing; and was even liable to the danger of recoiling with great violence in the attempt. But if neither of thoſe dreaded events, of ſeparation or conqueſt, ſhould take place, and that we ſhould ſtill retain the inglorious and unprofitable boaſt, of remaining the ſole tyrants of the ſoil, we ſhould even in that caſe, infallibly loſe all that could ſtamp any value upon it,—we ſhould loſe the inhabitants. For it was evident, that as ſoon as a peace took place, if our oppreſſion, and their miſeries conſequently ſtill continued, the people of Ireland would inevitably, under the impulſe of the firſt law of nature, emigrate to America; whither they would convey their manufactures, arts, and their induſtry. It was already too well known, that the American armies were principally recruited, and their beſt troops in a great degree compoſed, of thoſe unhappy emigrants from Ireland, who being driven from their country by want and oppreſſion, were compelled, under an equal neceſſity, to take up arms in a quarrel, in which they had no natural intereſt, and to ſhed their blood in a conteſt with their friends and brethren.

They ſtated that the Iriſh were our beſt cuſtomers in many great articles of our merchandize and manufactures; they ſhewed the great wealth, with the additional ſtrength and power which we had ſo long derived from that country; they endeavoured to demonſtrate, the infinitely greater advantages of every kind which ſhe was capable of affording, under a wiſe and liberal ſyſtem of government; and inſiſted, that the fruits of every benefit we afforded to her in commerce, would come back to ourſelves with accumulated intereſt. To juſtify their various aſſertions, and eſtabliſh their facts, they had moved for various papers, from which they ſhewed, That the exports from England to Ireland, on an average of ten years, amounted to 2,057,000l. yearly.—That the exports from Ireland into England, upon an average of the ſame time, did not exceed 1,353,000l. by the year.—That conſequently, the balance of trade in favour of Eng-

England, exceeded ſeven millions ſterling in that time.—That this was excluſive of the immenſe ſums drawn from that country every year under the following heads—viz. Rents to abſentees—Penſions, and the emoluments of places to thoſe who never ſaw the country—Appeals in law and equity—Buſineſs and pleaſure.

They alſo ſhewed, that the decreaſe of the exports from England to Ireland, during the laſt two years of calamity in that country, amounted, upon an average, to no leſs than 716,000l. per year. From thence they argued the prodigious loſs to the revenue, as well as to the trade and manufactures of this country, which muſt proceed from a continuance, and a conſequent increaſe, of the diſtreſſes of that country. They concluded by aſking, whether ſuch a country, and ſuch benefits as we derived from it, were to be wantonly played with, and committed to unneceſſary danger and riſque? If it admitted of a doubt, whether it were better to afford a juſt and reaſonable indulgence, or to hazard the loſs of a nation?—Whether to have the trade, manufactures, and inhabitants of Ireland, transferred to America, or rendered a conſtituent part of our body politic, of our common ſtock of wealth, ſtrength, and defence? And whether a kingdom ſhould be ſacrificed to a ſingle town, to the monopoly of a particular diſtrict, or to the ill-judged clamours, and abſurd prejudices, of any body of manufacturers whatever? Gentlemen were requeſted to profit by experience; to recollect the ſmall condeſcenſion, which, a few years ſince, would have preſerved and gratified all our American colonies.

On the other ſide, it was not believed that the diſtreſſes of Ireland were ſo great as they had been repreſented; but if the melancholy deſcription was really true, it was not ſo much to be attributed to the trade-laws here, as to mal-adminiſtration there; to faults in the internal conſtitution of their government, and to general miſmanagement in the conduct of their affairs. Theſe were matters which ſhould be enquired into and redreſſed; and without that, no ſubſtantial relief could be afforded. They ſaid, that the unhappy conſequences of the American war were equally felt in both countries; that Ireland bore no more than her ſhare of the calamity; that if her people were famiſhing, our manufacturers were ſtarving: for that the plenty or cheapneſs of proviſions were of no avail to thoſe who wanted the means to procure them, and who were rendered incapable of obtaining the means, through the general lack of employment which now prevailed. That in this ſtate of common diſtreſs, however our feelings might be affected with reſpect to our brethren in Ireland, our ſympathy was more ſtrongly, and more naturally attracted, by thoſe ſufferings which were immediately within our knowledge; and that however alarming a rebellion in Ireland might be, it could not ſurely be ſo much a matter of apprehenſion as one at home; an event which was to the full as probable, if any addition was made to the ſufferings and grievances which our manufacturers already endured, by a ſurrender

render of thoſe advantages in trade, which they conſidered as their birthright.

The firſt propoſitions held out in favour of Ireland, although not ſpecifically applied or moved for, went to the granting of her a general exportation, in all matters, except with reſpect to her woollens, (that article being reckoned too ſacred, to be yet meddled with)—The eſtabliſhment of a cotton manufactory, under that right;—with a liberty of trading to and from America, the Weſt-Indies, and the coaſt of Africa. But theſe being thought, on the other ſide, too general and extenſive, as well as too alarming to the manufacturers here, they were by degrees narrowed, until at length, Lord Newhaven, who conducted this buſineſs in the detail, entered into a kind of compromiſe, on the 15th of February, to give up the general outline of relief, and to confine himſelf to ſome particular and ſpecific propoſition. He accordingly moved, on the 10th of March, that the Houſe ſhould (on a given day) reſolve itſelf into a committee, to take into conſideration the acts of parliament relating to the importation of ſugars from the Weſt Indies into Ireland.

The object of this motion, was to repeal that clauſe in the act of navigation, by which all ſhips laden with ſugars, were compelled to bring their cargoes directly to England, from whence the quantity neceſſary for the conſumption of that country, was afterwards to be re-exported to Ireland. As the miniſter had ſtill kept himſelf clear of the buſineſs, the queſtion was fairly and coolly debated on both ſides, without any other appearance of party, than what merely aroſe from the locality of repreſentation; and after a full diſcuſſion, was carried by a majority of 47 to 42.

In the mean time, the clamour without doors had been much fainter, and the oppoſition from the manufacturing diſtricts weaker, than they had been in the preceding ſeſſion, and than had been now expected. Glaſgow and Manchester, however, petitioned; and the miniſter's late warm partizans in both, began now to accuſe him of the duplicity, which they charged to his preſent ſyſtem of neutrality. This clamour and reproach ſuddenly brought him to a determination; and ſetting his face totally againſt the propoſed relief, it was accordingly rejected upon a cloſe diviſion; the queſtion for the ſpeaker's quitting the chair, in order that the Houſe might, on the day appointed, reſolve itſelf into a committee, being loſt only by a majority of 62 to 58. March 18th.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Debates on the army extraordinaries. Motion for printing the eſtimates rejected upon a diviſion. Committee on Eaſt India affairs. Reſolutions moved for and carried, relative to the violence committed on the late Lord Pigot in his government. Motion for proſecuting certain members of the late council at Madraſs, agreed to. Mr. Fox's motion, for the removal of the firſt lord of the admiralty from that department, is, after long debates, rejected upon a diviſion. Committee of enquiry into the conduct of the American war. Amendment moved to the motion for the examination of Earl Cornwallis, by the miniſter, and carried upon a diviſion in the committee. Amended motion then put, and rejected upon a diviſion. Third motion rejected. Tranſactions in the committee, diſcuſſed in the Houſe, and reſcinded. Committee revived. Earl Cornwallis, and other witneſſes examined, in behalf of Lord and Sir William Howe. Counter evidence propoſed, and agreed to. In the interim, General Burgoyne's evidence brought forward and examined. Counter evidence examined. Committee ſuddenly diſſolved.

THE large amount of the army extraordinaries in the preceding year, which exceeded two millions, and, was ſaid, to have about doubled the charge under the ſame head, during any year of the late glorious war, when our military operations were conducted with ſuch vigour and effect, in every quarter of the world, occaſioned much complaint and cenſure on the ſide of the oppoſition, and a motion from Sir P. J. Clerke, that the account ſhould be printed for the uſe of the members. He obſerved in ſupport of the motion, that from the great length of the eſtimate, the ſingle copy on the table could not be read, much leſs examined or comprehended, by one tenth of the members, until the queſtion was brought before them in debate, and a reſolution propoſed to be paſſed blindfold upon it. He ſaid farther, that in a matter of ſuch importance to the public at large, in which every man without doors as well as within was immediately concerned, it was fair and neceſſary, that they ſhould know the manner in which ſuch immenſe ſums of their money were diſpoſed of.

March 22d.

The miniſter oppoſed the motion, as new, unprecedented, and directly contrary to the practice of the Houſe. The eſtimate was a matter which undoubtedly concerned the public; but he could by no means admit, that it was therefore to be ſubmitted to the diſcuſſion of the populace, and of the coffee-houſe readers of newſpapers. The real public, were the repreſentatives of the commons of England in that Houſe; they had a right to information; but he would never allow, that the people without doors had any ſuch right. He alſo ſaid, that although he was not prepared to anſwer it preciſely, he was fully perſuaded and confident, that the

assertion was not founded, of the present account of extraordinaries, exceeding that of any year of the late war. But it was, however, to be remembered, that the vast distance of the seat of action, must necessarily enhance the expences of the present war.

On the other side, the noble lord was desired to recollect, that if the motion was new and unprecedented, so were likewise the nature, the conduct, and the consequences, so far as the latter had yet appeared, of that war to which the requisition related. They said, that the present enormous account of more than two millions, was a matter not only of the most alarming nature, but which went directly home to every man in England; it as materially affected those without, as those within that House. The whole body of the people of England, whom the noble lord politely refrained from calling a mob, but whom he designated under the terms of *populace*, and *coffee-house readers*, were the very identical persons, who were to pay this enormous account of extraordinaries, and who seemed therefore to have some right to be informed, and even satisfied, as to the expenditure of their own money. They said, that the extraordinaries charged on this account, amounted to very near 40l. a man, exclusive of the standing pay, clothes, arms, and ammunition, of all who had served in the American army, during the year 1778; and that this enormous expence was incurred in a year, not only distinguished either for inactivity, or ill success; but in which this country had not near so many soldiers to maintain in America, as she had in the two preceding, when the charge under this head, did not reach to within a million of the present account.

The minister, and his friends, controverted some of the facts and calculations made on the other side. He observed particularly, that the vast distance of the field of action, placed him under a necessity of answering the bills drawn upon him when they came; as without that degree of confidence on the side of government, with respect to those who were entrusted with the care and supply of the army, it would be impossible to conduct so vast and complex a business. He allowed, that he could not possibly answer for the specific application of the extraordinaries; but he had no doubt that they were properly applied; and if it should happen in any particular instance to be otherwise, the error, imposition, or peculation, would be readily discovered, and speedily redressed, when the particular accounts were, in due time, received and examined.

He still persisted in objecting to the printing of the estimates; and the question being put, the motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 130 to 104.—The subject of the extraordinaries was, however, productive of much subsequent discussion, as well with respect to particular articles of the charge, as to the magnitude of the whole, and the indecency, which was charged in very severe terms, of passing so enormous a sum in the lump, by a single vote, without examination, and that done at a late hour, and in a thin House.

The

April 16th. The House being in a committee on East India affairs, soon after the Easter recess, Admiral Pigot entered into a detail of the causes which led to, and the circumstances which attended, the appointment of his brother, the late Lord Pigot, to the government and presidentship of Madrass. Having stated, that the great objects and views of the company in that appointment, were, in the first place, the restoration of the King of Tanjore to the throne and dominions of his ancestors;—in the second, the pursuit of such measures as would restrain the rapacity and ambition of the nabob, from breaking out into such future acts of violence and injustice;—and in the last, to endeavour to counteract and remedy that undue, alarming, and dangerous influence, which that nabob had so successfully and glaringly established, in the English council and government in that settlement.

He then proceeded in a connected and regular detail, to shew the measures pursued by the late lord, for answering the purposes, and attaining the objects, proposed by his appointment; as also the consequences of those measures; taking in, of course, the restoration of the King of Tanjore, the approbation of the council to that measure, the subsequent revolution at Madrass, the violent seizure and confinement of Lord Pigot's person, under a great and unusual military guard, those marked and striking circumstances which attended his long imprisonment, and his death finally, in the hands of the conspirators.

While he shewed the greatest sympathy in describing the sufferings and death of his brother; the affection and warmth with which he vindicated his conduct and character, and stated his uncommon public and private virtues, was no less laudable. On that ground, to shew the clear uprightness and immoveable integrity of the late lord, he stated, that he had been offered ten lacks of pagoda's, to withold, only for a short given time, the reinstatement of the King of Tanjore; that upon his refusal, an additional offer of five lacks more was made and refused; the whole bribe, amounting in value to about six hundred thousand pounds in English sterling money. As a farther proof and illustration of this cleanness of hand and integrity of heart, and how far the late lord was superior to that general corruption, which (he said) saps the whole foundation of the company's trade and government at Madrass, he shewed that he died so little enriched by his then government, that his son-in-law, Mr. Monckton, had been under a necessity of selling all his houses and effects in India, in order to discharge the debts which he had contracted there. And yet, said he, what was the return he received for this singular conduct? for having no single object in view while he was in India but the interests of the company, and a punctual compliance, at all hazards, with their instructions? His personal freedom was violently and disgracefully invaded; and after he had been first deprived of his liberty, and that his life seemed for many months to have been suspended only by a single hair, he was at length de-

prived of that alſo.—Would any man pretend to ſay how?

Although the countenance of the committee did not ſeem to indicate any doubt, with reſpect to the facts or circumſtances relating to the late tranſactions at Madraſs, the admiral deſired leave to call a ſingle, but eſſential evidence to the bar, in order to afford a clear demonſtration of the glaring attempts which were made to influence and corrupt the council, and to bring them over to ſupport the nabob in his deſigns, in direct oppoſition to the orders, as well as to the intentions of the company.

The gentleman brought forward upon this occaſion was a Mr. Dawſon, who was one of the council of Madraſs, previous to, and during the time of the revolution in that government. His evidence went directly to perſonal applications made to him at different times by the nabob's ſon, and, as he underſtood and preſumed, on the part of his father. That on one of theſe occaſions, he had been offered by him a ſpecific bribe, amounting to a conſiderable ſum of money, only for ſtaying away for one particular day from the council, on which a queſtion of conſequence relative to Tanjore was to be agitated. And, that the commander in chief of the forces, who was likewiſe high in the council, had adviſed him to abſent himſelf on that day, as was deſired. He ſaid, at firſt, that his memory did not ſerve him to fix exactly the preciſe ſum which had been offered as a bribe; but that he was ſure, it was at leaſt a lack of rupees; (which amounts to about 12,000l.) Towards the cloſe of his examination, he, however, declared poſitively, that the ſum offered was a lack of pagodas, (about 40,000l.) and not a lack of rupees.

Admiral Pigot then moved three reſolutions, ſtating the matters of fact, relative to the violence firſt committed, and afterwards continued to his death, on the perſon of George Lord Pigot, a member of that Houſe, in his arreſt and confinement by and under a military force.—The names of the ſelf-created council, the revolution they effected, and the orders they had iſſued to the military on that occaſion.—And, the orders iſſued by the company from hence, for the trial by courts-martial of thoſe officers, who had arreſted and confined, under a military force, their governor and commander in chief, the late lord.

Although on a former diſcuſſion of this ſubject, the miniſter had ſeemed little diſpoſed to countenance any thing ſimilar to the motions now made, yet on the preſent occaſion, he appeared ſo ſenſible of the fixed opinion, and general diſpoſition of the Houſe upon this ſubject, that he made no direct oppoſition to the reſolutions; and only objected to thoſe words in the firſt,—"being a member of "this Houſe," which, he ſaid, as no breach of privilege was complained of, might better be omitted. This objection was not, however, liſtened to; and the three reſolutions were ſeparately carried, nemine contradicente.

The admiral then made his concluding motion for an addreſs,—"Praying his Majeſty, that he "would be graciouſly pleaſed to "give directions to his attorney-"general,

" general, to profecute George " Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles " Floyer, and George Mackay, " Eſquires, for ordering their go- " vernor and commander in chief, " George Lord Pigot, to be ar- " reſted and confined under a mi- " litary force; they being re- " turned to England, and now " within the juriſdiction of his " Majeſty's courts of Weſtminſter " Hall."

It was remarkable, that the firſt gentleman named in the addreſs, and who had been the principal mover and actor in the revolution at Madraſs, was, at this critical inſtant of time, perſonally preſent in his place, as a member of the Houſe of Commons, to which he had been lately returned; thereby verifying the prediction which had been thrown out by a celebrated member of the oppoſition, at the time that this buſineſs was formerly agitated in parliament. That gentleman, accordingly entered into ſome defence and juſtification of his own conduct, as well as that of his colleagues; reſting principally upon the neceſſity of the meaſure, through the violent and arbitrary acts which he attributed to Lord Pigot; and ſtating the approbation which it received from the governor and council of Bengal, as evidence of its propriety. This vindication produced, however, ſo little effect, that the preſent motion was carried as unanimouſly as the preceding; and the Houſe being then reſumed, the report was immediately received from the committee, and the reſolutions without any delay confirmed.

Notwithſtanding the conſtant rejection, which the various reſolutions of cenſure upon the conduct and government of the naval department, propoſed by Mr. Fox, had hitherto met with, that gentleman ſeemed determined not yet to abandon his purſuit, and to bring forward the aggregate of thoſe facts, real or preſumed, contained in all the former, as the foundation of a new motion, which ſhould be rendered concluſive by going directly to its object. Having accordingly given the uſual preliminary notice before the Eaſter receſs of his intention, he moved an addreſs to the throne, for the removal of the Earl of Sandwich from his Majeſty's preſence, councils, and ſervice, on account of miſconduct in his office, as firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, and of the general ill ſtate of the navy at the moſt critical ſeaſons under his adminiſtration. April 19th.

As the mode of proceeding ſeemed new, and lay open to the following difficult train of objection and reaſoning, viz. Have not the preſumed facts, the motives, and circumſtances, which are now laid down as firm ground to proceed on, been already urged, and already rejected, by as many diſtinct negatives when they were ſeparately propoſed? Shall we now agree to come to a general vote of cenſure upon an accuſation, which has been negatived in all its conſtituent parts? And ſhall we, as judges, proceed to a direct cenſure, and conſequent puniſhment, of the party accuſed, after we have already declared to all the world, that not one of the allegations againſt him is true?—Mr. Fox endeavoured with his uſual ability to combat theſe objections, and to leſſen their future effect, by taking

them up before they were directly applied.

He argued, that although the House did not concur in a vote of censure on any one of the separate grounds of accusation, it might well concur upon the whole charge collectively taken. The great waste of the public money, the imposition on the nation, and the loss and danger which it had sustained, through the misrepresentations, and delusive promises held out by the noble lord in question, our inadequate state of defence in the preceding month of June, the neglect of reinforcing Lord Howe, at a time when the fate of our American fleet, army, and of our share or hope in that continent, nearly depended upon it, with the abandoning of our trade and fortresses in the Mediterranean, might none of them singly, any more than of the other articles of accusation which had been brought forwards, contain sufficient cause of removal, in the opinion of a majority in that House: but taking them in the aggregate, they would furnish matter well worthy of the vote of censure which he proposed, on the clear ground, of wilful neglect, or of gross incapacity.

The reason of such a mode of determining upon a complex charge, he said, was obvious, and came plainly and fully within the inquisitorial power of the House. The House was competent to enquire, to examine, and to censure. They might accuse, but could not punish. When criminal charges, reciting specific offences, were made, they could only be decided upon in courts of criminal justice. On these occasions the House of Commons, upon impeachments, act as the grand inquest of the nation. The present proceeding was of a different nature, and not having a shadow of criminality attending it, did not call for that specification and certainty, which the law justly and wisely requires, when a man is questioned in a court of public judicature, and put upon a trial, on the issue of which may depend his honour, his property, and his life.

He stated precedents to shew the usage of the House upon similar occasions, particularly with respect to complex and aggregate charges; and drew the line accurately between removal and punishment—Criminal accusation, and charges only of censure. He then went progressively through the various charges of misconduct, incapacity, ignorance, or wilful negligence, which he laid against the admiralty, as arising merely and directly from those uncontroverted parts of their conduct, which he pointed out, and which were publicly known. He said the business referred to them for their consideration might be comprized within a very narrow compass. The whole might be included in a few short questions, and an answer of no great length. — Was the first lord of the admiralty equal to discharge the functions of his office, with safety to the state, and with honour to the nation? Had he hitherto done so? What reasons are there for supposing, that he who has failed in the performance of every part of his past duty, shall act more wisely or capably for the future?—The only answer, he said, that could be deduced from fair and impartial reasoning, supported by common sense and experience, must

be, that it would be the laſt degree of folly and madneſs to expect, that a perſon, who by his ignorance and groſs miſconduct, had brought or ſuffered this country to fall from the higheſt pinnacle of fame, and naval glory, to the laſt ſtage of national degradation, weakneſs and diſgrace, and that rapid fall, contrary to every principle of public opinion and experience, ſhould nevertheleſs become at once ſo ſuddenly illumined, as to prove equal to the arduous taſk of redeeming her from that calamity and danger, and of reſtoring her to her former reputation and proſperity.

It cannot be expected, after what we have already ſeen upon this ſubject, that any new ground of argument, excepting merely as ariſing from ſome new charge, could have been opened in the preſent debate. Notwithſtanding the diſtinction ſo ingeniouſly ſtated of the ſeparate and collective matter, it was evident, that the real merits of the cauſe had been diſcuſſed and decided before; and that this was no more than a new mode of bringing the ſame ſubject before the Houſe, without the violation of parliamentary rules. The houſe had already paſſed its judgment; and the public had paſſed theirs.

The great injury to the nation in loſing at this critical ſeaſon the ſervices of her beſt naval officers, and the danger to which ſhe was expoſed through the alarming and general diſcontents which now prevailed in the navy, afforded the only new matter that was brought in ſupport of the motion; for as theſe misfortunes were charged in the moſt direct and unqualified terms to the firſt lord of the admiralty, it was from thence inſiſted, that if the other parts of his conduct were even laudable, and that no other cauſe exiſted for his removal, that alone was of ſuch importance and magnitude, as to render it a matter not only of expedience and wiſdom, but, in the preſent circumſtances, of abſolute neceſſity.

This brought out much direct or implied cenſure on the conduct of Lord Howe, and of Admiral Keppel, who were charged with ſetting that example, and ſpreading that diſcontent in the navy, which were ſo pernicious to their country, and ſo dangerous to the ſtate. For although the miniſters thought it convenient to preſerve (in their own perſons) ſome terms with thoſe two commanders, particularly the former, who, (with his brother, they wiſhed by all means to wean or divert from that enquiry which they were bringing forward into the conduct of the American war) yet ſome of thoſe who were, or who ſeemed to expect to be in their confidence, were ſo far from being guided by this example, that they miſſed no occaſion during the ſeſſion, of expreſſing their ſentiments with reſpect to the two admirals, in a manner which carried the appearance of ſtudied and premeditated attack; and without confining themſelves to preſent matter, carried their cenſures back to the paſt military and profeſſional conduct of thoſe officers. It was now advanced, that when military commanders grew too great for the ſtate, and ſet ſo high a rate upon their ſervices, as to expect a compliance with extraordinary and unreaſonable conditions, as the price upon which they would exert them in the defence of their country, ſuch propoſals ſhould not only be

rejected with that contempt and diſdain which they deſerved; but, however great the profeſſional merits of the propoſers, it was fitting, that they ſhould at all future times continue to experience the juſt indignation of their country, by her conſtantly deſpiſing thoſe ſervices, which they had witheld in the hour of her diſtreſs. It was little to be doubted or apprehended, they ſaid, that there were now, and would be at all times, a ſufficient number of brave and experienced officers to be found in the Britiſh navy, who only wanted to be brought forward, in order eſſentially to ſerve their country, and whoſe zeal and loyalty would abundantly compenſate for the abſence of thoſe who had grown beyond her ſervice.

This heavy charge and reproach, neceſſarily called up the two admirals, to a juſtification of their paſt and preſent conduct, which led of courſe into a freſh detail, of the late and immediate tranſactions between them and the admiralty; and alſo brought out in the courſe of the debate, partly from them, and ſtill more perhaps from others, no ſmall ſhare of exceedingly bitter charge, retort, and cenſure, with reſpect to the conduct and views of the miniſters in general, and of that board more particularly, in all matters that related to the military ſervice. They ſaid, that a viſible, ſettled, concerted, and ſcarcely diſavowed ſcheme, was now in full execution, for driving from the ſervice by ſea and land, or for ruining while in it, not only all whig, or popular, commanders and officers, but all thoſe gentlemen of independent ſpirit and principles, who ventured to think for themſelves in political matters, and honeſtly to diſcharge the duty which they owed to their country as ſenators. That to this object was ſacrificed, along with the means of our immediate defence and ſecurity, every poſſible proſpect and hope of ſucceſs, in that ruinous and dangerous civil and foreign war, in which they had wickedly involved the nation. And, that in order to palliate, or in ſome degree to diſguiſe, this atrocious ſcheme, from the obſervation of the public, their firſt meaſure was an attempt to ruin the reputation and character, and thereby to deprive of their popularity, and to ſtrip of their good name, thoſe officers whom they had ſecretly devoted to deſtruction.

They charged, that the miniſters finding their malice and treachery had failed, in the direct attack which they had made on the life and honour of Admiral Keppel, after all the pains they had taken to inveigle him, merely for that purpoſe, into the ſervice, they had now only changed their mode, without in any degree abandoning their purpoſe, ſo far as it yet appeared to them to be practicable, and were now indirectly trying him a ſecond time at Portſmouth, under the mockery of trying his accuſer, againſt whom there was no charge laid, nor proſecutor to ſupport it if there was. They aſked to what other purpoſe the inſtitution of that trial, circumſtanced, and attended with ſuch extraordinary manœuvres as it was, could poſſibly be attributed, excepting to the vain hope, of directing ſome ſide wind from thence which might affect the reputation of the admiral, and that the acquittal of their favourite, might, under their ſanction, authority and management, be perverted

to the purpose of raising some suspicions, injurious to the honour of those able and distinguished officers, who had either composed the court by which he was tried, or afforded that evidence which displayed to all the world the iniquity of the prosecution? For the admiral, they said, had refused, and disdained, to prosecute his accuser; and nothing lay against him but the record of that sentence, of having carried on an unfounded and malicious prosecution against his commander; and that sentence, no future court could reverse, no trial acquit from, nor no power undo. But this attempt, they said, would be found as vain as it was wicked; and the admiral's reputation, as well as the honour of those brave officers, were far beyond their reach, and superior to all the effects of their malice.

It will not be supposed that such charges were not answered or returned with equal acrimony. They were said to be so false, so extravagant, so absurd, and so monstrous, that they could only have originated, from the rage of disappointment, the madness of party, and the malevolence of faction. It was insisted, that the admiralty had behaved with the greatest candour and fairness with respect to the two officers in question. The admiral had been acquitted, and his honour thereby happily cleared. So far, if the admiralty had not acted merely officially, he would have owed them a favour, for affording him an opportunity, which redounded so much to his advantage. As to his adversary, was he to be denied that equal justice, which was so fairly distributed to Admiral Keppel?—Was a trial, in the one case, an injury, and in the other, a favour? If the vice-admiral was innocent, it was equally fitting and just, that his honour should likewise be cleared; or if guilty, it was highly necessary that he should be made amenable to the justice of his country.

The House divided on the question at a late hour, when the motion was rejected by a majority of 221, to 118, who voted for the removal of the first lord of the admiralty.

The noble brothers who lately commanded on the American service, had omitted no occasion during the course of the session, of pressing in the strongest terms, for an enquiry into the conduct of the war, so far particularly, as they were themselves immediately concerned. They supported this urgency of application, and the propriety of the measure, upon the different grounds, of public utility, and of particular justice. They stated it to be a matter of great national importance, that the real causes of our failure, hitherto, of success, might be thoroughly known and understood; as a proper application of that knowledge, could only afford any rational hope of greater advantage in the further prosecution of the war. It was likewise a satisfaction due to the people, for the heavy losses they had sustained, and the immense expences they were at, to let them see the true state of their affairs; as it would be a farther assurance and encouragement to them to discover, that the causes were removed, which had hitherto disappointed their expectations. With respect to themselves, their endeavours to serve their country, had been productive

ductive of such a torrent of invective, and unceasing obloquy, as had not perhaps been equalled in any former period; although ministers themselves were silent, and had not ventured to bring any charge against any part of their conduct, they had full reason to believe, and the world held the same opinion, that this abuse proceeded wholly from their hireling emissaries, and pensioned writers. Their conduct had likewise been publicly arraigned in that House, by persons either in office, or who were at least known to be in the confidence and favour of ministers; whilst the latter, thoroughly sensible as they were of the injustice of the censure, and with the full means of their justification in possession, used not the smallest effort for that purpose. On these grounds, they were under a necessity, they said, of demanding a parliamentary enquiry: that if any blame was due in the conduct of the American war, it might be applied to its proper object; and if they were totally clear from it, as they trusted, they might thereby obtain justice, in the vindication of their honour and character.

On the other hand, the ministers, among other causes, objected to the enquiry, as being totally needless. Government had laid no charge against the noble brothers; and on the contrary, several parts of their conduct had met its approbation. As to the abuse or charges contained in newspapers or pamphlets, any more than the opinions held, or censures thrown out by individuals, whether within or without doors, they could not surely be considered of sufficient moment, to authorize the bringing out of an enquiry, which must necessarily break in so prodigiously upon the time and attention of the House, and that in a session, when there was already so much business of importance before them, and so much more still in expectation, or at least within the line of probable contingency. As to themselves, whatever their private opinions in certain matters might be, they had no share in any attacks that were made upon the characters of the noble brothers without doors, nor arraignments of their conduct within. Of these matters they were totally innocent.

Altho' the ministers did not approve of the enquiry, they, however, acquiesced in the motions for laying the American papers before the House; which were accordingly brought forward in great abundance, and continued on the table during a great part of the session. In these were included the whole correspondence between the ministers, and the commanders on the main service in America, from about the time of Sir William Howe's arrival at Boston, in the year 1775, to his return from Philadelphia, in 1778; together with a great number of accounts, returns, and other papers, tending to shew the state, number, effective strength, and condition of the army, at different periods of the intermediate time; their real movements and operations; as well as the different plans of action which had been proposed, discussed, or concerted, by the ministers and generals.

General Burgoyne was no less importunate in this session, than he had been ever since his return, for an enquiry into his own conduct, and into all matters relative to the

Canada

Canada expedition. We have already seen, that his particular situation under the convention of Saratoga, had been laid down as an insuperable obstacle to his gratification in that respect; and it may be conceived from obvious causes, that his complaints and applications were now full as little attended to as those of the other commanders. The northern expedition, was, however, so connected in its consequences with the operations of the grand army, and they so materially affected the event and general fortune of the war, that it was not easy to separate matters so blended in any course of enquiry; and this difficulty was increased by the circumstance, that Sir William Howe had been specifically arraigned both within doors and without, for undertaking the southern expedition, at the time that he should have waited to facilitate and support the operations of the other army on the north river. General Burgoyne accordingly seized this opportunity of bringing forward his own business, as necessarily belonging to and inseparable from the rest; so that the House was in possession of the whole correspondence of the three commanders, and of all the documents relative to the different services.

April 29th. Although the House had gone so far as to form itself into a committee for enquiring into the conduct of the American war; had made a previous application to the House of Lords for the attendance of Earl Cornwallis, as an evidence, and had listened for two hours, with the greatest attention, to the very clear and able narrative of his conduct, delivered in the plain eloquence of a soldier by Sir William Howe; yet, the noble lord at the head of affairs, who had all along expressed the utmost disapprobation of the enquiry, was still determined to quash it. It was said in general, that there had been no necessity, nor even occasion at any time for the enquiry; but that if there had, that necessity or occasion was now fully removed, as well by the able explanation of his conduct given by the honourable general, as by the papers before them. That almost every part of the correspondence went to shew, the utmost satisfaction of government, and its warmest approbation with respect to the services of the two noble commanders; that the personal declarations of the ministers shewed that they still retained the same sentiments; and that a doubt could not be entertained in the committee on the subject. That without regard to occasion, the commanders had hitherto been indulged in bringing forward every thing they proposed, merely to satisfy their delicacy; but that end being attained, it would be absurd to pursue the subject any farther; there was neither charge nor accuser; and it would be merely combating a shadow.

But they went farther, and contended, that if matters had been different, and that an accusation had been really laid against the officers, that House was totally incompetent to any enquiry into, or any decision upon military matters. Military charges and accusations, must be enquired into, tried, and decided upon, in their own proper courts; and no where else. It would be in the highest degree absurd to suppose, that gentlemen sitting

ting in that Houſe, ſhould pretend to judge of the proper diſtribution of a large military force; of the movements of columns, the evolutions of brigades, or the good or bad diſpoſitions made in a field of battle. The miniſter ſeemed to think, that the conduct of miniſters was the latent object of the enquiry, with a view of injuring them by a ſide wind; of trying them in an oblique and indirect manner; if that was the object, he deſired it might be declared; that the accuſer ſhould ſtand forth, avow his charge, and compel them to anſwer. When that was avowed, miniſters would know the accuſer and the accuſation; and they would know in what manner to make their defence. If that was not the object, a further purſuit of the enquiry would be futile and needleſs.

With a view to the incompetency of the Houſe in military matters, upon Sir William Howe's motion for the examination of Earl Cornwallis, the queſtion was put to him, "upon what points he "meant to interrogate the noble "lord;" to which the general replied, "to the general conduct of "the American war; to military "points generally and particularly." Theſe words were eagerly ſeized by the miniſter, who working them up with the original into the form of an amendment, under that colour nearly framed a new motion, which he knew carried its own rejection along with it. The words of the motion in that ſtate were—"That Lord Cornwallis be called in and examined "relative to general and particular military points, touching "the general conduct of the American war."

There was ſcarcely any thing during the ſeſſion that drew out ſuch ſeverity of cenſure, and even of reproach, as this manœuvre, or, as it was termed, trick, in debate, now did. It was ſaid, that ſo ſhameleſs and palpable an evaſion of enquiry and truth, and ſo barefaced an acknowledgment of guilt, had never been ventured upon by any other miniſter, nor could not have been endured at any other period. The degraded ſituation of the noble lord, which reduced him to the neceſſity of adopting ſo ſhameful a meaſure, in order to ſcreen his aſſociates, and the open acknowledgment which it included, that he durſt not venture to truſt, even his own ſtanding majority with their guilt, was expreſſed in thoſe terms of pity, which convey the ſoreſt ideas of contempt and ridicule.

It was contended, that the two objects were ſo cloſely united, that there was not a poſſibility, in the preſent enquiry, of ſeparating the conduct of the miniſters, and of the military commanders. No opinion could be formed with reſpect to the former, without knowing how far their plans were or were not practicable; nor of the latter, without knowing and meaſuring the means which had been put into their hands. And from whom was this information to be ſought or obtained, but from thoſe officers who had ſerved, on the ſpot, and who being employed in endeavouring to carry thoſe plans into execution, were thoroughly acquainted with the ſufficiency or deficiency of the means, as well as with the nature and extent of the impediments which were oppoſed to them? Several queſtions would come before the

the committee, which were merely political and deliberative; and these could only be decided upon, by taking the opinion of professional men on the spot; men who knew the country, were informed of the nature of the resistance expected to be made, and the real motives which gave, or did not give, a preference to the measures pursued, before others which might be proposed. To stop such information, therefore, by a vote of that House, was, in fact, the converting parliament into a screen, for preventing an enquiry into the conduct of administration; for if the commander had acted right, it necessarily followed, that the measures of policy were dictated by weakness and ignorance, as they were now attempted to be covered by the most shameful and criminal evasion and imposition.

The point of order was strongly insisted on, and this was said to be the first instance in the annals of parliament, in which the reference of any order of the House to a committee, was clogged with any amendment or condition whatever in that committee. The order of the House was specific, for the attendance on that day, and the examination of Lord Cornwallis; and the amendment imported a negative to that order, and accordingly went to a substantial contradiction of it. Thus was the dignity of the House of Commons sacrificed, and their orders treated with a contempt, which would reduce them in all future times to the condition of waste paper, merely to save ministers from that punishment, which they had so justly merited, and which the ruin they had brought upon their country so loudly called for. It was lamented, that any man, or set of men, should possess so baneful an influence, and apply it to so deplorable a purpose, as to induce them in such a manner to a surrender of their own inherent privileges; and thus to establish a precedent, which must go to the banishment of all order and regulation from their future proceedings, and to the introduction of anarchy and confusion.

A general officer, who had acquired great reputation in the late war in Germany, who was even then near the top of his profession, in point of rank, and who had since filled, with no small degree of eminence, one of the highest civil departments of the state, called upon the ministers to declare, whether they denied the competence of the House to institute or proceed upon such an enquiry? He dared them to the assertion; and protested, that during thirty years he had sat in parliament, he never saw so gross an attempt to violate the inherent and constitutional privileges of that House; whether with respect to the breach of order, or to what was of infinitely greater importance, the denying that House to have a right of inquisitorial jurisdiction over every department of the state, every establishment, whether civil, military, or criminal.

The minister's amendment was, however, carried upon a division, though by a smaller majority than might perhaps have been expected in so full a house, the numbers being 189 to 155.

The debate was again renewed on the main question, whether the motion so amended should pass, when the question being called for, it was

was rejected, although by a ſmaller majority than on the preceding diviſion, the numbers being 180 to 158. A gentleman of the oppoſition then moved, in the terms of the original order of the Houſe, That Lord Cornwallis be called in, "and examined reſpecting the "ſubject matter of the papers re-"-ferred to ſaid committee." This motion was negatived without a diviſion. And thus the enquiry ſeemed to have been laid to ſleep for ever. The committee was not, however, diſſolved; for although a motion for that purpoſe had been propoſed early in the debate by a noble lord in office, it had been withdrawn at the miniſter's deſire, who preferred this ſcheme of management which we have ſeen. In ſtrictneſs, the committee was open to receive any teſtimony tending to the elucidation of the papers before them, excepting that teſtimony related to military matters; and the whole ſubject of thoſe papers was military.

The oppoſition were, however, determined not to let this ſtate of things reſt in abſolute quiet; and to try how far the Houſe could, upon recollection, and in its proper form, ſubmit to ſuch an apparent contempt and rejection of its authority, by a committee, a creature of its own making, and furniſhed only with confined and temporary powers, directed to a particular object, and revocable at pleaſure. The buſineſs was accordingly introduced a few days after, by a recital of the tranſactions which had paſſed in the committee, and a renewal of the motion for the examination of Lord Cornwallis, and the whole matter of complaint and redreſs ſupported with great vigour.

May 3d.

The miniſter and his friends had taken but little notice of the charges with reſpect to the point of order, which had been ſo ſtrongly urged by the other ſide in the committee; and he now apparently left room open for an apology on that ground, by an acknowledgment that he was not fully prepared on that ſubject. He, however, ſaid, that he conſidered committees of the whole Houſe, and the Houſe itſelf, as nearly analagous, and their powers co-extenſive; ſo that in reality, the difference between the orders of one, and the reſolutions of the other, was merely in terms, as they ſubſtantially imported the ſame thing. They were, on queſtions of importance, equally well attended; and the difference, in his apprehenſion, was little more, than whether the ſpeaker was in the chair, or whether one of the members preſided for the time in his place.

On the queſtion of competency he was now remarkably tender, and did not at all puſh that matter as he had done in the committee. He began to perceive that ſuch a principle once laid down might go to great lengths, and ſuch as might prove highly inconvenient to miniſters themſelves. But with reſpect to the impropriety of examining witneſſes on military queſtions, he was diffuſe; and ſeemed to lay all his ſtrength to that point. He obſerved, that as the evidence muſt be *ex parte*, it could never be deemed, by any rule of reaſon, ſanction of precedent, or conſiſtency with the regular proceedings of judicature, ſufficiently

ciently full and concluſive, either for acquittal or cenſure. It might furniſh a good ground for belief or perſuaſion; but from the nature of the evidence, as well as the manner in which it would be delivered, no man in that Houſe, or without, could lay any other ſtreſs upon it, or give it any higher degree of credit, than merely what *ex parte* evidence was entitled to in the firſt inſtance, and what teſtimony, not delivered upon oath, was entitled to in the ſecond. And that, therefore, neither the cenſure nor acquittal of the honourable general, by a vote of that Houſe, would be capable of changing, in a ſingle inſtance, the opinions already formed upon that ſubject.

He had accordingly always held, and ſtill retained his opinion, that enquiries into the conduct of military men, were exceedingly improper in that Houſe. When ſuch occaſions occurred, military courts were provided by the conſtitution for the purpoſe. He conſidered a court-martial as the only tribunal, where the party accuſed could procure ſubſtantial reparation for his injured honour, and where, on the other hand, in caſe of failure or neglect, the juſtice of the nation could be legally and conſtitutionally ſatisfied.

He alſo obſerved, that if under the appearance of an enquiry into the conduct of military officers, it was intended to bring charges of neglect or incapacity againſt miniſters, he could not but conſider it as an exceedingly unfair mode of proceeding. No man had yet avowed that deſign. And yet he could not ſee, what other motives there could be, for urging the preſent enquiry farther. The Houſe had undoubtedly an inquiſitorial power to enquire into and cenſure the conduct of miniſters; but he truſted their conduct was not to be decided upon by the evidence of military men; much leſs when that evidence was profeſſedly given on military meaſures, which they had neither planned nor executed. If, however, any ſpecific accuſation was brought againſt miniſters, as one of his Majeſty's confidential ſervants, he was ready to have witneſſes inſtantly called to the bar, provided the matter on which they were to be examined was previouſly ſtated, and was ſuch as directly and ſpecifically pointed to any one particular meaſure of adminiſtration.

On the other ſide, it was laid down as a clear and indiſputable rule of proceeding in that Houſe, that a committee was always bound by the order of reference made to it; otherwiſe, there would be two contradictory powers and claſhing juriſdictions in the ſame body; a doctrine too abſurd and monſtrous to be heard or endured. A great part of their buſineſs was tranſacted by committees, particularly by committees of the whole Houſe; if, therefore, it ſhould be adopted as parliamentary law, that what the Houſe entertained in one inſtance and referred to a committee, was ſo far controulable by that committee, as that the latter had an option to diſobey the order of reference, all buſineſs would be at an end; and as often as circumſtances afforded a pretence, the proceedings of that Houſe would be involved in endleſs confuſion, and in conteſts with itſelf. The Houſe was therefore called upon, and requeſted ſeriouſly to reflect and

and consider, the fatal consequences that would necessarily ensue, if it did not preserve a proper controul over its several constituent parts.—The question they were to decide upon was short and plain, but it included much matter:—It was simply this; Shall the House controul and direct a committee appointed by itself, or shall they controul and direct the House?

The ground of propriety, with respect to military enquiries in that House, was not only abundantly supported, but covered with a superfluity both of arguments and of precedents. The debate, however, hung yet in suspence, when the unexpected part taken by a gentleman high in office, and closely connected with a strong and powerful party, suddenly turned the ballance. That gentleman declared, that although it was with infinite reluctance that he differed in opinion with the two noble lords in administration, yet he could not avoid thinking the conduct of the committee, even at the time, very extraordinary. He had, however, some doubts upon the subject, which occasioned his going away, without speaking or voting, on that night. But these doubts were now totally removed. For as he considered certain words (which he recited) that had fallen from the American minister in the present debate, as a direct charge and accusation against the commander in chief, he should think it an act of the greatest cruelty and injustice if the present motion was not passed, in order to afford an opportunity for his vindication and defence.

These words operated like a charm. Nothing would afterwards be listened to from the other side. The minister attempted several times to speak, but in vain. A complete revolution was effected; and the enquiry, which a few days before had been rejected by a majority, was now resumed, with an appearance of almost general unanimity. The committee was accordingly revived a May 6th. few days after, and the examination of the officers commenced by that of Earl Cornwallis.

It would be equally beyond our purpose, and our limits, to enter into any particular detail of this enquiry. It was taken up with much general expectation, and it might, perhaps, be said hope. The public were in the highest degree impatient for it. Those who had conceived that the total reduction of America ought to have been but the business of one easy campaign, were eager to see the fault fixed upon those generals, whose mismanagement had rendered the war not only so tedious and so expensive, but at present almost hopeless. Others, wished to fix the fault on the original ill policy of the undertaking, rendered additionally ruinous by the weakness and contradiction of the councils by which it had been conducted. But as the enquiry might be, as in reality it was, drawn out to a very great length, it soon became evident, that those who originally opposed any enquiry at all; and only had given way, because they were unable to resist the torrent, would prevent it from producing any effect; and this it was not difficult to do, as it was in their power to draw the examination of witnesses into an infinite length; and the attention of all being fatigued by such

ſuch a purſuit, attendance would naturally relax along with it; and the buſineſs would languiſh, and expire of itſelf.

The officers who were examined were the following, who were alſo called in the order that we ſtate them, viz. Earl Cornwallis, Major-General Grey, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Major Montreſor, chief engineer, and Sir George Oſborne, a member of the Houſe. Their teſtimony, taken together, went to the eſtabliſhment of the following points of fact, or of opinion.—That the force ſent to America was at no time equal to the ſubjugation of the country—That this proceeded in a great meaſure from the general enmity and hoſtility of the people, who were almoſt unanimous in their averſion to the government of Great-Britain; and alſo from the nature of the country, which was the moſt difficult and impracticable with reſpect to military operations that could poſſibly be conceived—That theſe circumſtances of country and people, rendered the ſervices of reconnoitring, of obtaining intelligence, of acquiring any previous knowledge that could be depended on, of the ſtate of the roads, and the nature of the ground which they were to traverſe, along with the eſſential object of procuring proviſions and forage, exceedingly difficult, and in ſome reſpects impracticable—That this latter circumſtance rendered it impoſſible for the army to carry on its operations at any diſtance from the fleet; at leaſt, without the full poſſeſſion, on both its ſides, of ſome navigable river—And that its operations were much retarded, and frequently endangered, by being generally conſtrained, through the circumſtances of roads and country, to march only in a ſingle column.

It alſo went to the eſtabliſhment of the following particular points, in direct contradiction to ſeveral charges which had been made againſt the conduct of the commander in chief, viz. That the rebel lines and redoubts at Brooklyn, in Long-Iſland, on the 27th of Auguſt 1776, were in ſuch a ſtate of ſtrength and defence, that any immediate attack upon them, without waiting to make proper approaches, and without the artillery, ſcaling ladders, axes, and other articles neceſſary to the ſervice, would have been ſcarcely leſs than an act of deſperate raſhneſs.—That Lord Cornwallis's halting at Brunſwick, when in purſuit of the enemy, in the ſame year, was neceſſary, as well with reſpect to the condition of the troops in point of fatigue and proviſion, as to their number, and the poſts which it was firſt neceſſary to occupy, in order to preſerve their communication; and that his paſſing the Delaware, and advancing to Philadelphia, when he afterwards arrived at Trenton, was utterly impracticable, from the total want of boats, and of all other means for that purpoſe.—That the going by ſea to Philadelphia, was the moſt eligible, if not the only method, which could have been adopted, for the reduction of Penſylvania, and that the Cheſapeak was a more eligible paſſage than the Delaware.—That from the ſtrength of the highlands, and other circumſtances, the attempt of going up the North River towards Albany, while Waſhington was at hand with a ſtrong army, to profit

of all the advantages which it muſt afford, would have been difficult, dangerous, and probably found impracticable in the event.—And that the drawing of General Waſhington and his army, near 300 miles from the North River, to the defence of Penſylvania, was the moſt effectual diverſion that could have been made in favour of the northern army; and at the ſame time held out the greateſt probability, that the deſire of protecting Philadelphia, would have induced him to hazard a general action; an event ſo long and ſo ardently coveted, as the only means which could tend to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion, and which every other meaſure had been found incapable of producing.

General Howe had endeavoured, in his narrative, as well as in the different ſpeeches which were drawn from him on the ſubject, to eſtabliſh as an indiſputable fact, and demonſtrably to prove from the correſpondence before them, that he had conſtantly ſtated to the American miniſter, the great difficulty and impracticable nature of the war; and the utter impoſſibility of ſubjugating that continent with the force under his command. That he had accordingly accompanied the plans for the operations of the campaign of 1777, with a requiſition, in one inſtance, of a reinforcement of 20,000, and in another, of 15,000 men, ſtrongly ſtating and arguing, that nothing leſs could effectually anſwer the purpoſe of bringing the war to a ſpeedy concluſion. That on the other hand, the miniſter did not ſeem to credit, that the difficulties were ſo great as they were repreſented, nor that ſo great an additional force as was demanded could be neceſſary; and placed much of his dependance in the firm perſuaſion, that the well-affected in Penſylvania were ſo numerous, that the general would be able to raiſe ſuch a force there, as would be ſufficient for the future defence and protection of the province, when the army departed to finiſh the remaining ſervice. That accordingly, he had promiſed, only about half the force ſtated in the ſecond number; that not a fifth of the force, even ſo promiſed, was at length ſent; and that reinforcement, when it did come, arrived too late to anſwer any of the original purpoſes of the campaign.—He likewiſe ſtated, and ſupported by the ſame authority, that ſo far from any concert or co-operation being propoſed or intended between him and the northern army, that, that expedition had never even been caſually mentioned, in any of the diſcuſſions relative to the plans of the future campaign, which had paſſed between him and the miniſter. That the firſt knowledge he had of that deſign, and which induced him to write a letter to Sir Guy Carleton upon the ſubject, was merely from public report. And, that the firſt intimation he received from the miniſter, that the ſmalleſt degree of ſupport would be expected from him in favour of that expedition, was by a letter which he received in the middle of Auguſt, in the Cheſapeak, when his meaſures were already taken in purſuance of that plan which he had previouſly ſettled with the noble ſecretary, and when it would have been too late for him in any caſe to have receded.

But

But even that letter expreſſed no more than a confident hope, that he ſhould be returned ſoon enough back from the ſouthward, to concur in the further operations of the northern army.

It will be eaſily ſeen, that nothing could poſſibly have been more galling or vexatious to the miniſters, than ſome part of this narrative, and of the preceding evidence. Particularly that part of the former, which ſtated the general's communication of the impracticability of the American war; or at leaſt the inſufficiency of the force appointed to that ſervice for the accompliſhment of its purpoſe, at a time that the miniſters held out a language and hopes ſo directly contrary to the parliament and people of England. The charge of general diſaffection among the Americans, which was laid by the general, as well as the other officers, although more guarded perhaps in terms and ſpecification, was likewiſe an exceeding tender ſubject with the miniſters. The oppoſition too never omitted any occaſion of reminding them, that from the beginning of the troubles, they had been conſtantly repreſented by them, as being the acts merely of a faction in America, who had by a ſort of ſurprize poſſeſſed themſelves of the civil and military powers of that country; but that the great bulk, or at leaſt a large majority of the people, were firmly attached to the government of Great-Britain. Indeed if that repreſentation was an error, it ſeems pretty clearly, that the miniſters were no leſs involved in it themſelves, than the public. At any rate it was a very favourite opinion; and nothing could be more grating than this teſtimony, which went directly to its ſubverſion.

For theſe and other cauſes, it was thought neceſſary to call in queſtion the validity of this evidence, and nothing could ſo well anſwer that purpoſe, as the oppoſing to it another body of the ſame nature; for as no deciſive victory was to be gained, nor defeat feared in ſuch a conteſt, the iſſue muſt unavoidably be, the leaving the queſtion of fact in doubt and uncertainty; and no more was wanted.

It was accordingly propoſed, towards, what ſeemed, the cloſe of the examination, that other witneſſes ſhould be called in and examined, relative to ſeveral matters which were ſtated in the preſent evidence. In ſupport of this proceeding it was advanced, that *ex parte* evidence had been received, relative to matters of fact and opinion, to military manœuvres, to the propriety of plans, and to the execution of them; and that this had been principally directed to the laying of implied or direct charges againſt the conduct of miniſters, particularly of the noble lord at the head of the American department. That it was therefore neceſſary, fair, and equitable, that witneſſes ſhould be brought on the other ſide, and evidence received relative to thoſe points, and to ſet aſide thoſe charges. The noble miniſter himſelf diſclaimed the idea of becoming an accuſer; (with which he was charged) but as he was attacked, and charged with being the cauſe of the miſcarriage of the American war, it was neceſſary he ſhould defend himſelf; and the 13th.

facts which he ſhould ſtate, the witneſſes he ſhould bring to ſupport them, and the arguments which he might uſe, would all tend to that point merely, and not to the accuſation of any man. He, however, declared, that his main object in calling witneſſes, was to reſcue the brave, loyal, and meritorious ſufferers in America, from the unjuſt general imputation or cenſure thrown on them by the preſent evidence, particularly that paſſage which ſays, that the Americans were "almoſt unanimous" in their reſiſtance againſt the claims of this country.

On the other ſide, the oppoſition condemned, as extremely unfair and irregular, the propoſing to bring forward at the tail of an enquiry, without any previous notice, and when the evidence brought forward by the honourable general, in his own vindication, was nearly cloſed, new witneſſes, to ſtir up matter, and perhaps charges, of which he could have no knowledge, and for which he conſequently could have made no proviſion in the examination of his own. That it was a new procedure, and ſuch as would not be endured any where, to draw out the whole of any man's evidence, to examine where its ſtrength or weakneſs lay, and without an avowal of the ſmalleſt intention to controvert any part of it, then ſuddenly to attempt to conjure up witneſſes before unknown and unheard of, and each having before him the part to which he choſe to be called, thereby endeavour to overthrow the whole of the former teſtimony. They likewiſe ſpoke in terms of ſome indignation, to the deſign of bringing up American refugees, penſioners, and cuſtom-houſe officers, to impeach and ſet aſide the evidence of military men of high rank, and of great profeſſional knowledge. And, what, ſaid they, is the point, which theſe men are called principally to prove? why, that the Americans, (that is, themſelves) whoſe places, penſions, and exiſtence, depend upon their attachment, are exceedingly well diſpoſed to acknowledge and ſupport the rights and claims of this country over the colonies.

That party, however, in conformity with their profeſſions of wiſhing for, and furthering, full and general enquiry into public matters, at length acquieſced in the motion, and orders were iſſued, beſides General Robertſon, for the attendance of General Jones, Col. Dixon, and Major Stanton; as alſo, for John Maxwell, Joſeph Galloway, Andrew Allen, John Paterſon, Theodore Morris, and Enoch Story, Eſqrs.

The exceedingly ſevere and virulent cenſure and reproach, repeatedly thrown upon General Burgoyne, by ſome perſons high in office, produced at length an effect, which was as little intended as expected, by the authors of the cauſe from whence it proceeded. The harſhneſs and frequency of the reproach, which was not always guarded or chaſte, ſeemed by degrees to awaken men of all deſcriptions and parties, into ſome particular conſideration, of thoſe very peculiar and unhappy circumſtances of ſituation, under which that officer was compelled to ſubmit to ſuch reproach, without a poſſibility of vindicating in any manner his character and honour. At length, all ſides of the Houſe, ſeemed

ſeemed at once to feel for and commiſerate the unhappy ſituation of that general.

An occaſion for calling forth this diſpoſition preſented itſelf. Sir William Howe having cloſed his evidence, and the time being yet open for bringing forward the counter evidence, there was a chaſm of ſome days in the buſineſs of the Committee. General Burgoyne ſeized the opportunity, and while a ſenſe of the recent charge and reproach was ſtill freſh in every mind, he threw himſelf on the juſtice, and claimed the protection of the Houſe, conjuring them, that they would afford him an opportunity, by entering upon his defence, to redeem his honour and character from that unwarranted cenſure, ſo publicly and licentiouſly beſtowed upon both. He ſtated, that the argument of the impropriety of military enquiries in the Houſe could not apply to him, even if they had any weight in themſelves, as he had frequently applied for a court martial, and had as often been refuſed it.

He was ſupported by gentlemen on both ſides of the Houſe; and the American miniſter himſelf gave into it, and ſaid, that ſuch ſtrong accuſations had been recently laid againſt him, that he was entitled in juſtice to be heard in his defence. This was readily agreed to, and the next day but one, fixed for his entering upon it.

May 20th.

The officers examined upon this buſineſs were Sir Gay Carleton, then Governor of Quebec; Earl of Balcarras; Captain Money, acting Quarter Maſter General; Earl of Harrington; Major Forbes; Captain Bloomfield, of the artillery; and Lieutenant Colonel Kingſton, Adjutant General; all of whom, excepting the firſt, were preſent during the whole campaign; and eminent partakers in all the unparalleled difficulties, diſtreſſes, and dangers of the northern expedition.

The evidence was unuſually clear, plain, accurate, and direct to its matter. It went uniformly to place the character of the ſuffering and unfortunate general in a very high point of view, whether conſidered as a man, a ſoldier, or the leader of an army in the moſt trying and perilous ſervice. That he poſſeſſed the confidence and affection of his army in ſo extraordinary a degree, that no loſs or misfortune could ſhake the one, nor diſtreſs or affliction weaken the other. It eſtabliſhed an inſtance, ſo far as it could be concluſive, (and a cloſe croſs-examination was not able to weaken it) perhaps unequalled in military hiſtory; that during ſo long and continued a ſcene of unceaſing fatigue, hardſhip, danger, and diſtreſs, finally ending in general ruin, and captivity, not a ſingle voice was heard through the army, to upbraid, cenſure, or blame their general; and that at length, when all their courage and efforts were found ineffectual, and every hope totally cut off, they were ſtill willing to periſh along with him. It may, however, be a queſtion of rivalſhip in honour, what ſhare of the praiſe ariſing from this exemplary conduct ſhould be attributed to the general, and what, to the admirable temper, diſcipline and virtue of his troops?

This evidence went alſo, ſo far as from its nature it was capable

of doing, to the direct overthrow or removal, of every charge or cenſure, which had been thrown out, or inſinuated, againſt the conduct of the commander; leaving, however, the queſtion of opinion neceſſarily open, whether his orders for proceeding to Albany were peremptory or conditional; and perhaps leaving likewiſe ſome doubts behind, with reſpect both to the deſign and to the mode of conducting the expedition, under Colonel Baume, to Bennington. In other matters it ſeems concluſive; and particularly detects two falſehoods, at the beginning of this enquiry in full credit and vigour; the one, that General Phillips, at the time of the convention, offered to force his way, with a ſpecified part of the army, from Saratoga, back to Ticonderago; the other, that the late gallant General Frazer, had expreſſed the utmoſt diſapprobation to the meaſure of paſſing the Hudſon's river.

The witneſſes were generally of opinion, from what they ſaw and heard of the temper and language of the troops, that nothing leſs than the paſſing of that river, and advancing to fight the enemy, could have ſatisfied the army; or preſerved the general's character with it; and that even, after all the misfortunes that happened, it was ſtill univerſally conſidered as a matter of neceſſity which he could not have avoided; or which if he had, that it would have been ſuch a failure, as he never could have forgiven to himſelf, nor been able to juſtify to his country. Their teſtimony went likewiſe fully and deciſively to the ſubverſion of that injurious ſlander, which it was once a faſhion with ſome perſons high in rank and office here to throw out, relative to a ſuppoſed natural deficiency of ſpirit which they attributed to the Americans. Fully maſters and judges of the ſubject, and poſſeſſing ſentiments more liberal and generous, theſe officers ſcorned to depreciate the character of an enemy, from any reſentment for his fair hoſtility; and declared freely, that the Americans ſhewed a reſolution, perſeverance, and even obſtinacy in action, which rendered them by no means unworthy of a conteſt with the brave troops to whom they were oppoſed. Written evidence, was alſo produced, and ſupported, that the number of the rebel army, at the time of the ſurrender, amounted to 19,000 men, of which thirteen or fourteen thouſand were men actually carrying muſquets.

The examination of General Burgoyne's witneſſes being cloſed, the American miniſter opened the counter evidence, which was brought to oppoſe that given in favour of Lord and Sir William Howe. The only witneſſes, which it was thought expedient or neceſſary to examine on that ſide, of thoſe whoſe names we have ſtated, were Major General Robertſon, Deputy Governor of New York; and Mr. Joſeph Galloway. None of the officers, ordered to attend, except the general abovementioned, were called upon. Mr. Galloway had been an American lawyer, and a member of the firſt Congreſs; and was one of thoſe that had come over to Sir William Howe at the time when the rebel cauſe ſeemed nearly ruined, by his great ſucceſſes at New York, and Long Iſland, towards the cloſe of the year 1776, and when that violent con-

tention

tention of parties, broke out at Philadelphia, which we have formerly taken notice of. The general had immediately afforded a liberal provision for this last witness, (from whose services he expected some considerable advantages, in which, however, he declared himself disappointed) and afterwards advanced him to lucrative, as well as flattering civil employments.

The general tendency of this evidence was to overthrow, invalidate, or weaken, the testimony already given in favour of the commanders. And the points which it principally laboured to establish for that purpose, and for the vindication of the ministers, were the following. The vast majority, who from principle and disposition, were zealously attached to the government of this country, and consequently enemies to the conduct and tyranny of the ruling powers; this was rated by the first witness at two thirds, and by the second at four fifths, of the whole people on that continent. That if a proper use had been made of this favourable disposition of the multitude, it might have been directed to such essential purposes, as would have brought the war to a speedy and happy conclusion. That the force sent out from this country was fully competent to the attainment of its object, by the total reduction of the rebellion, and the consequent recovery of the colonies. That the country of America was not in its nature particularly strong, much less impracticable, with respect to military operations. That the face of a country being covered with wood, afforded no impediment to the march of an army, in as many columns as they pleased. That the British troops possessed a greater superiority over the Americans, in their own favourite mode of bush-fighting, and the detached service in woods, than in any other whatever. That armies might carry nineteen days provision on their backs, and consequently need not be deterred from the undertaking of expeditions, through the want of those means of conveyance which are now deemed indispensible. That the rebel force, both with respect to number, and to effective strength, was, at the most interesting periods, if not always, much inferior to what was represented. And, to a general condemnation of the southern expedition; along with an endeavour to shew, the great advantages which would have resulted in that campaign, if Sir William Howe had taken possession of the north river, and directed his operations towards Albany.

Several other more direct charges or accusations were brought against the military conduct of the brother commanders, which were chiefly undertaken by Mr. Galloway. Particularly with respect to the going round by the Chesapeak, instead of up the Delaware, on the southern expedition; the want of sufficient dispatch and vigour in the pursuit of the rebels from Brunswick across the Jersies, in the year 1776, to which their escape was attributed; the not cutting off Washington at Trenton, before he could cross the river, which was contended to be practicable; and the not passing the Delaware, and proceeding to Philadelphia at that time, which, it was asserted, would

have put an end to the war; along with a number of other matters tending to the ſame purpoſe.

On this the oppoſition from time to time remarked, that the greater part of theſe gentlemen's teſtimony was founded upon private opinion, hearſay knowledge, intelligence from abſent or unknown perſons, and ſtrong aſſertions of facts, unſupported by any collateral evidence. It was alſo remarked by them, that the only officer produced, had been very little, if at all, out of our garriſons, ſince the commencement of the war, and was therefore little qualified, either to give ſatisfactory information relative to the diſpoſition of a people with whom he was ſo little converſant, or to give critical opinion on military meaſures which he had never ſeen. As to the witneſs of a civil deſcription, they ſaid it was ſingular, that, although bred a lawyer, and habituated to buſineſs, he could ſcarcely be brought to recollect the ſmalleſt part of his own conduct in the moſt trying, ſignal, and poſſibly dangerous ſituation of his life, and the moſt conſpicuous ſphere of action to which he had ever been exalted, when a member of the congreſs; and yet, that the ſame man, a total ſtranger to the profeſſion, and only flying for refuge to the Britiſh army, ſhould all at once acquire an accuracy with reſpect to military details, and the complicated buſineſs of a camp, which could ſcarcely be expected from a quarter-maſter-general, and as ſuddenly become poſſeſted, along with the minutiæ, of that nice diſcernment and critical judgment, in the general conduct, and all the great operations of war, which the oldeſt and moſt experienced commanders do not often pretend to.

The examination of theſe two witneſſes was ſpun out, by the intervention of buſineſs, and other means, to the end of June. In the mean time, as it was uncertain what farther evidence might be called on that ſide, and the ſeſſion being ſo near a concluſion, Sir William Howe requeſted, that, in conſequence of the attack made upon his character in the evidence of Mr. Galloway, a day might be appointed, on which he ſhould be permitted to bring witneſſes, in order to controvert and diſprove thoſe charges. This was refuſed by the miniſters, and did not ſeem to be approved of by the Houſe, who had got tired of the buſineſs, and beſides ſaw no poſſibility of bringing it to a concluſion, during the ſhort remainder of the ſeſſion. The former ſaid that the general had already met with every indulgence he could reaſonably expect; but that the calling in of new witneſſes, at that time, could not be admitted; that he however had it ſtill in his power to croſs-examine Mr. Galloway as much as he pleaſed.

This was far from affording any ſatisfaction to the other ſide, who complained loudly, that after the attacks made upon the general's character, the refuſing to hear evidence in his vindication, was no leſs than a denial of juſtice. They were, however, obliged to ſubmit to what they could not remedy. The committee was reſumed on the 29th of June; but an advantage being taken of ſome little delay, (which he ſtated not to be

above a quarter of an hour) in Sir William Howe's not being immediately present for the cross examination of the witness, the committee was suddenly dissolved, without coming to a single resolution upon any part of the business.

CHAP. VIII.

Two enquiries in the House of Lords, tending to the same object, and carried on through the greater part of the session. Enquiry into the state of the navy, and the conduct of the admiralty, instituted by the Earl of Bristol. Motions for naval papers, bring out much debate, and are rejected upon a division. Motion by the Earl of Bristol, for the removal of the first Lord of the admiralty from his employment. Great Debates. Motion rejected upon a division. Protests. Enquiry into the government and management of Greenwich Hospital, conducted by the Duke of Richmond. Moves for a compensation to Captain Baillie, late Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich Hospital. Motion rejected upon a division. Minority Lords quit the House. Resolutions in vindication of the Earl of Sandwich. Hard case of Captain Baillie. Marquis of Rockingham endeavours to bring forward an enquiry into the affairs of Ireland. After several ineffectual attempts, a kind of compromise takes place, referring the business of that country to the ensuing session. Mr. Townshend's motion to defer the prorogation of parliament, rejected upon a division. Spanish manifesto. Address from the Commons. Second address moved by Lord John Cavendish. Motion of adjournment carried upon a division. Amendment to the address of the Lords, moved by the Earl of Abingdon, and rejected upon a division. Second amendment proposed by the Duke of Richmond; rejected upon a division, after considerable debate. Bill brought in by the minister for doubling the militia, after much debate and proposed amendment passed by the Commons. Indemnity bill likewise passed. Militia bill meets with great opposition in the House of Lords. Indemnity bill much opposed; but carried through. Protests. Militia bill deprived of its principal effective powers, and returned to the Commons. Debate on a point of privilege. Bill passed. Speech from the Throne.

DURING these transactions in the House of Commons, the Lords were principally taken up with two enquiries of an unusual cast and nature; and both tending directly, or indirectly, to the same object, to the crimination or censure of the first lord of the admiralty. The first of these, was an enquiry instituted into the state of the navy and the conduct of the admiralty, by the late Earl of Bristol, which went directly and avowedly to the crimination in the first instance, and to the removal in the second, of that nobleman, from the very high and important department in which he had so long presided. In the conduct and pursuit of this enquiry and object, he was professionally assisted by the Duke of Bolton, and ably supported by the Duke of Richmond, and some other of the most active lords

lords of the oppoſition. The induſtry, patience, and conſtancy, with which he applied himſelf to ſo complicated and laborious a buſineſs, encumbered with frequent and tireſome calculation, and with tedious comparative eſtimates, at a time when he was ſinking under the preſſure of various infirmities, and a victim to the moſt excruciating diſeaſes, could not but excite admiration; and indeed, however right, or otherwiſe, his opinions might have been founded, afforded no ſmall indication, that in a ſeaſon and ſituation which ſeemed ſo effectually to ſhut out all perſonal conſiderations, his conduct muſt have proceeded from the moſt diſintereſted and genuine patriotiſm.

Although the noble earl had on the firſt day of the ſeſſion given ſome intimation of his deſign; yet his ſubſequent ſtate of health was ſo deplorable, that on the 19th of February, the Duke of Richmond was obliged to make the motions, in his name and behalf, for the bringing forward of thoſe papers which were immediately neceſſary to the enquiry. The demand of papers, tending, it was ſaid, to expoſe the ſtate of the navy, and without the knowledge of any important purpoſe or object in view for the juſtification of ſuch a meaſure, being ſtrongly oppoſed by the court lords, the noble duke was brought to an explanation and avowal, that the abſent Earl intended thoſe papers, along with other materials, for laying the foundations of a public enquiry into naval affairs, and a compariſon of the preſent ſtate of the navy, with that in which it had devolved from Lord Hawke, to the truſt and government of the preſent firſt lord of the admiralty; and thereon to ground charges of malverſation againſt that nobleman; with a view more particularly of opening the eyes of a great perſonage, and that he might not continue the only man in the nation, who was unacquainted with the deplorable ſtate of his navy.

It was, however, the 24th of March, before the Earl of Briſtol was able to attend in perſon, and he was then ſo feeble and broken down, as to depend only on his crutches for ſupport while he was ſpeaking. His ſpeech did not ſeem the leſs vehement for his weakneſs.

He affirmed, and ſaid he would prove, that the conduct of the noble lord at the head of the navy, with reſpect to the great truſt repoſed in him, was highly criminal; and ſuch as called aloud, for the fulleſt cenſure of that Houſe, and for the utmoſt indignation of the people. After deſcribing, what appeared immediately to himſelf, as moſt particularly ruinous and calamitous, in the conduct and ſtate of naval affairs, he drew one conſolation, he ſaid, from the ineffectiveneſs of the attempts made by the marine miniſter, upon the character, life, and honour, of Admiral Keppel; and from the failure of thoſe machiavelian arts (which, he ſaid, he had ſo ſucceſsfully employed on other occaſions) when their object was to create an improper and corrupt influence among the Britiſh ſeamen. That noble lord, he ſaid, had now found by experience, that no promiſes could allure, nor threats prevent them, from a performance of their duty, and the preſervation of their honour. Having been

been called to order for the terms *machiavelian arts*, he repeated them, and said he would prove them at a proper time. His intended motions were taken up with that view, and he meant to direct them solely to the criminal conviction of the first lord of the admiralty; he therefore gave this early notice, that the House might be prepared, as well as the noble earl, on the 16th of April; he then moved, that the lords might be summoned for that day, when he would enter fully, he said, into the proof and investigation of those facts, which had induced him to institute the enquiry.

Thus was the gauntlet thrown down, the day appointed, and the lists prepared, for the decision of this contest. The noble lord at the head of the admiralty, justified his conduct with respect to Admiral Keppel, upon the same ground which we have already seen taken upon that subject. And being surprized into some warmth, as well by other attacks, as by what we have stated, he declared that he was afraid of no man living: "That his intentions were upright, his heart was honest, and he had no dread that they would not bear him out against every attack which might be made upon him by his enemies."

Several motions being made on the 30th of March, by the Earl of Bristol, for a great number of additional accounts, naval lists, and other papers, necessary to the support of the enquiry, they were strongly opposed by the noble lord at the head of the navy, upon the old ground, that such communication would be exceedingly improper, and highly dangerous at present, as affording means of information to the enemy, which they could not otherwise possibly acquire. Although the validity of this objection was not acknowledged on the other side, the noble mover offered to modify or contract his motions in any manner that might be thought necessary for preventing the supposed effects. He wished at the same time to impress one truth important to his purpose on their lordships minds, which he vouched for, that there was not a single iota of the matter which his motions were intended to draw forth, with which the French cabinet was not already perfectly acquainted; and, upon the ground of precedent, that they were literally copied from similar motions made and agreed to in the year 1759, in the very height of the late war, and when an invasion was directly threatened from France. Nothing he could say being, however, deemed satisfactory, and no qualification to the total refusal of the papers admitted, much debate arose, and the former severity of censure was not only renewed, but it had now, by a supply of fresh matter, acquired additional strength and sharpness.

This proceeded from the recent appointment of a commander to the grand fleet, which was destined for the home defence. They said, that the immediate consequences which had already appeared, of those manœuvres of the admiralty, by which they had driven Admiral Keppel, Lord Howe, Sir Robert Harland, and other distinguished officers, from the service and defence of their country, were in the highest degree alarming and unhappy

happy to the nation. Through the loſs of theſe great officers, the admiralty were now under a neceſſity, of dragging forth Sir Charles Hardy from his intended final retreat, and from that repoſe, ſuited to his time of life, which had been aſſigned to him in the government of Greenwich hoſpital; and after an abſence of twenty years from the ſea, and having neceſſarily laid by every idea of a profeſſion, to which he did not even dream of ever returning, is compelled, at an age likewiſe unfit for active ſervice, to undertake a taſk of the moſt arduous and difficult nature, and which may probably require the greateſt activity and exertion, which were ever yet diſplayed by a Britiſh ſeaman. They deſired it might be underſtood, that they did not mean the ſmalleſt imputation to the character of that gentleman, nor the moſt remote inſinuation to his diſadvantage; their obſervations were confined merely to his particular circumſtances and ſituation. But it was, they ſaid, a matter of the moſt alarming nature, to ſee perhaps the fate of England, committed to the hands of a ſuperannuated, and it might be ſaid, a ruſticated officer; who muſt conſider the appointment rather as an injury than a favour; and was beſides conſcious, that he was merely an object of neceſſity, and not of choice, even with his employers. And this ſtate of things was rendered ſtill more grievous and deplorable, by ſeeing, at the ſame inſtant, ſome of the greateſt names and characters, that had ever graced the Britiſh navy, or exalted its renown, proſcribed from the ſervice of their country, through the rancour and malignity, if not the treachery, of the admiralty.

Lord Briſtol's motions were rejected, on a diviſion, by a majority of juſt two to one, the numbers being 60 to 30. The lords had been ſummoned on that day, on a motion of the Duke of Manchester's; which was likewiſe for naval papers, but not relative to the preſent enquiry; it being intended to convey cenſure or criminality againſt the miniſters in the other Houſe, on a charge of ſingular neglect. It was aſſerted, and we believe has not been diſproved, that in ſome time after orders were diſpatched from hence for the evacuation of Philadelphia, a fleet of victuallers had been ſuffered to depart from Ireland for that place, in total ignorance of the deſign of the miniſters, and having accordingly entered the Delaware, eſcaped narrowly, and by mere accident, from falling into the hands of the enemy. The motion was for the papers neceſſary to an enquiry into this tranſaction. As this could not be oppoſed upon any ſuppoſition of danger, from the affording of intelligence to the enemy, the motion was objected to for its generality, in not being applied to the ſpecific papers and dates which were wanted; and alſo, that it was totally unneceſſary, as no ill conſequence whatever had ariſen from the fact, even ſuppoſing it to be exactly as had been repreſented. This motion was likewiſe rejected, by a majority of 40 to 28.

The appointment for the Lords to attend on the naval diſcuſſion, having been changed from the 16th to the 23d of April, the Earl

Earl of Briſtol introduced and ſupported his motion, with an extraordinary degree of ability and profeſſional knowledge. The information brought out was various, and ſeems to have been collected with accuracy. He informed the Lords, that he had every one of the papers which they had refuſed to him then in his hands, but that as he conceived from that refuſal, that they were of opinion there would be ſome impropriety in expoſing them to public view, however contrary that was to his own knowledge, and however neceſſary they might be towards the accompliſhment of the great national purpoſe which he was purſuing, he would, notwithſtanding, upon that account, refrain from bringing them forward. He farther profeſſed, that in regard to the unhappy circumſtances of our ſituation, and neceſſity of the time, he would himſelf throw a veil over all thoſe parts, the expoſure of which could poſſibly afford any uſeful information to the enemy.

He obſerved, at the cloſe of his ſpeech, that there were various parliamentary methods of removing any miniſter; and all of which, excepting one, tended to puniſh as well as to remove;—as, a bill of impeachment, a bill of attainder, a bill of pains and penalties; all theſe went to puniſh as well as to remove; but that of addreſſing the King to remove from his Majeſty's councils and preſence for ever, tends only to remove the evil, without inflicting any real puniſhment on the offender. He had, however, choſen a milder method than any of thoſe, in hopes of the concurrence in general of the Lords; and that many of thoſe who had formerly concurred in ſupporting thoſe meaſures, which had ſo notoriouſly brought the navy, and conſequently the nation, into their preſent ſituation, being now convinced of their pernicious tendency, and how much they had been deceived by artful miſrepreſentation, would condemn thoſe very meaſures, which they had then been ſeduced to approve.

He accordingly moved, "That "an humble addreſs be preſented "to his Majeſty, that he will be "graciouſly pleaſed to remove the "Right Honourable John Earl of "Sandwich, firſt commiſſioner for "executing the office of lord high "admiral of Great Britain, &c. "and one of his Majeſty's moſt "honourable privy council, from "the ſaid office of the firſt lord "commiſſioner of the admiralty."

We have had ſo much occaſion, for ſome time paſt, to ſtate matter of charge and defence, as they were laid or ſuſtained in both Houſes, with reſpect to the ſtate of the navy, and the conduct of the admiralty, that it will not be ſuppoſed that much new ground relative to the ſubject could now be opened. The curious naval liſts, calculations, and comparative eſtimates, ſtated by the Earl of Briſtol, are not properly within our province. The great point of charge, principally laboured by the Earl of Briſtol, and to which all the others were far ſubordinate, was to the following purport, viz. That about ſeven millions more money had been allotted for the ſupport and increaſe of our navy during the laſt ſeven years, than in any former period; and that, during that time, the decreaſe and decline of the navy, had been in an

an inverſe ratio to the exceſs of the expenditure. Upon this part of the ſubject he exclaimed, as he had done with great energy upon a former occaſion—"What is be-"come of our navy?—Or, if there "is no navy, what is become of "our money?"

The noble lord at the head of the navy, defended himſelf in his uſual manner, and with his uſual ability. He affirmed his innocence in ſtrong terms, and expreſſed with great feeling, the conſolation and pleaſure which a conſciouſneſs of it afforded; he declared his ſedulous attention to the duties of his office, and the happy effects which reſulted from it, in the preſent high and flouriſhing ſtate of the navy. He, however, ſhifted off all perſonal reſponſibility; declaring that he was anſwerable for nothing more than his ſhare, in common with the other cabinet counſellors. With reſpect to other matters, he gave a flat contradiction to almoſt every calculation and eſtimate produced by his noble antagoniſt, whether with regard to the paſt or the preſent ſtate of naval affairs in this country; and did not believe thoſe which related to France or Spain. Some of the charges brought on the other ſide, were treated with as little ceremony. One in particular, which ſtated that the want of ſtores was ſo deplorable, that ſome ſhips of Keppel's fleet, although under ſailing orders for the immediate protection of their country, had been ſtript of their cordage and running rigging, in order to enable Byron's ſquadron to proceed to America;—and, that when the former had returned to port, after the action of the 27th of July, they were detained for ſeveral days, through the want of maſts, and other eſſential articles of ſupply.—To this it was anſwered, that the ſuperabundance of ſtores in the docks and yards was ſo great, that the warehouſes and other proper receptacles were not capable of containing them; and that the ſtock of hemp in particular was ſo vaſt, that the admiralty found it neceſſary to oblige the artificers to take ſome of it off their hands. The noble lord, with great ſatisfaction and good temper, ended a long ſpeech in a joke, which threw the whole Houſe into good humour.

The Earl of Briſtol, however, took care to remind their lordſhips, that every one of his charges were now fully eſtabliſhed; for that his ſpecific accuſations were anſwered only by general aſſertions; and terminated by attempts at wit. The debates were long, and moſt of the lords who are ſpeakers took ſome ſhare in them. The queſtion being at length put, the motion for the removal of the Earl of Sandwich was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 78 to 39; being a ſecond time exactly two to one.

It may perhaps be thought ſingular, that the two royal brother dukes, both voted on this occaſion for the removal of the Earl of Sandwich from the government of the navy. It was obſerved in a ſubſequent debate in the Houſe of Lords, that the fortune of that nobleman was unequalled in the hiſtory of England, namely, in continuing to hold an office of ſuch vaſt importance in the ſtate, after 39 lords, and 174 members of the other Houſe, had declared upon

upon record, his being unfit, incapable, and consequently his removal from it necessary.

A short protest, couched in the following terms, was signed by 25 lords—"Because, as it is highly "becoming this great council of "the nation to address his Ma"jesty for the removal of any "minister for neglect of duty or "incapacity, in order to prevent "public detriment; so we con"ceive the notoriety of the facts "in this debate sufficiently war"rants, and the present alarming "situation of public affairs loudly "calls for, this interposition."—The Earl of Bristol being the mover, thought it incumbent on him, that posterity should be acquainted with the particular grounds upon which he founded his motion. He accordingly entered a separate protest, of some length, for that purpose. His death, soon after, rendered this almost the last of his public exertion.

The second enquiry, although not of such magnitude, considered with respect to its national importance and consequences, was, however, upon a subject of an interesting nature; and was continued, with no small share of trouble, labour, and difficulty, through much the greater part of the session. This was the enquiry into the government and management of Greenwich hospital; the first papers on which were moved for by the Duke of Richmond on the 16th of February, and the final decision of the Lords delivered only on the 7th of June. As the supervision of this noble foundation lay officially in the admiralty, the enquiry, of course, tended virtually to the censure or crimination of the noble lord at the head of that department; who accordingly understanding it in that light, took such means of defence, as if it had been an avowed and direct personal accusation. The affair was accordingly fully and ably discussed; and a great number of witnesses, as well as no small quantity of written testimony brought forward.

It would not perhaps be very safe with regard to justice, (if it even lay properly within our line of observation) to give any account of this enquiry, which did not nearly comprize the whole voluminous detail of evidence, with which it was accompanied, the cross examination and particular objections which it brought out, together with the speeches made by the noble duke, earl, and other lords, which are to be considered as the pleadings in this cause. In this state it has already been communicated to the public, in the accounts which have been published of the parliamentary proceedings of that time; and the able speech made by the first lord of the admiralty in his own defence, has likewise appeared in a separate, and, probably, corrected publication. We also trust, that the printed case of the late unfortunate lieutenant governor, Captain Baillie, is in most hands.

The chief matters of abuse which appeared in the enquiry, were the two following; first, some improper variations in the new charter from the old, and some suspicious management with relation to it; and, that Captain Baillie, the lieutenant governor, who had shewn great zeal and activity in detecting abuses, and particularly had prosecuted

ſecuted to conviction the butcher, who by contract ſupplied the hoſpital with proviſion, for fraudulently furniſhing meat of a bad quality, when he was paid as for the beſt; had, on his part, been proſecuted by the officers of the houſe on actions brought by thoſe, whom he had charged with abuſes —in which actions they were defeated—Yet the convicted butcher was continued in one of the courts, and had his contract renewed, and the acquitted Captain Baillie was turned out of his office to ſtarve, without any proviſion or compenſation whatſoever.—The other details it would be impoſſible to enter into, and difficult to form a judgment on, as the ſeveral particulars of charges, ſeem to have been ſome better and ſome worſe ſupported.

It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that as the Duke of Richmond had conſtantly diſclaimed every idea of any accuſation againſt the firſt lord of the admiralty, and declared that he took up the enquiry merely for the ſake of public juſtice, and the benefit of the poor penſioners, ſo, upon its cloſe, and the ſumming up of the evidence, he did not move for any vote of cenſure againſt that nobleman; but only propoſed the bringing in of a bill, for remedying thoſe grievances in the hoſpital, and thoſe malverſations in its government, which he ſuppoſed he had proved. And as he conſidered the lieutenant-governor to be merely a victim to his integrity, to a faithful and diligent diſcharge of his duty, and particularly to his inflexible oppoſition to thoſe innovations, which the noble duke, as well as himſelf, deemed totally deſtructive to the government and intereſts of the hoſpital, he thought it an act of the moſt neceſſary juſtice, that ſuch an officer ſhould receive a reaſonable compenſation, for the loſſes, ſufferings, and perſecution, which he had ſuſtained; the more eſpecially, as his place, which was properly to be conſidered as a freehold, was, at a market price, worth a very conſiderable ſum of money.

He accordingly moved, that, in conſideration of Captain Baillie's having been illegally removed from his office, by the board of admiralty, and of the zeal he had uniformly ſhewn during the courſe of ſeventeen years ſervice in the ſaid hoſpital, the Houſe ſhould addreſs his Majeſty, to confer on him ſome mark of his royal favour.

The motion was rejected, upon a a diviſion, by a majority of 67 to 25.

A ſeceſſion of the minority lords immediately took place, as ſoon as the diviſion was over; but the court party were far from being content with a bare victory, and ſeemed determined to affix ſuch a ſtigma upon ſuch enquiries, as might prevent any trouble of the ſame nature for the future. Three lords ſucceſſively moved three ſeparate motions, each of the ſucceeding ſurpaſſing the preceding in energy and effect. The firſt went to a ſimple declaration, that nothing had appeared in the courſe of the enquiry, which called for any interpoſition of the legiſlature.—The ſecond, that the book which had been referred to the committee, (Captain Baillie's caſe of the royal hoſpital, &c.) contained a groundleſs and malicious repre-

repreſentation of the conduct of the Earl of Sandwich, and others, the officers of Greenwich hoſpital.—And the third declared, that the revenues of Greenwich hoſpital had been conſiderably increaſed, and that it had derived ſeveral other ſpecified benefits and advantages, under the adminiſtration of the preſent noble lord.

It ſeems upon the whole probable, that the iſſue of this enquiry went as far beyond all expectation on the one ſide, as it fell totally ſhort of it on the other. The fate of Captain Baillie has been much and generally commiſerated. His caſe, indeed, ſeems very hard; and it can ſcarcely be doubted, that if the affording him a compenſation, could have been ſeparated from the idea of conveying cenſure on the firſt lord of the admiralty, that it muſt have been liberally granted. How far the preſent deciſion, along with the ruin of that gentleman, may operate as an example, in exciting the integrity and diligence of the ſervants of the public, in the future execution of their reſpective offices, muſt be determined by experience; but that it muſt produce a full effect, while ever it is remembered, in reſtraining all indiſcreet zeal for the correction or reformation of abuſes, will ſcarcely be queſtioned.

The ſeaſon was now far advanced, which demanded a receſs from the toils of a very troubleſome and laborious ſeſſion. The affairs of Ireland were, however, becoming every day more alarming; but notwithſtanding the repeated efforts of the oppoſition in both Houſes, the miniſters defeated every attempt towards enquiry upon that ſubject. The Marquis of Rockingham had taken up the buſineſs, on the 11th of May, in a very long and able ſpeech, in which he equally ſhewed his intimate and extenſive knowledge of the ſubject, and diſplayed, in ſtriking colours, the deplorable diſtreſſes, the grievances, and the very alarming circumſtances, which attended the preſent ſituation of that country. He accordingly urged in the ſtrongeſt terms the neceſſity of providing immediate remedies for thoſe evils, and the fatal conſequences to which any delay muſt be liable. He was oppoſed, partly with reſpect to the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and partly with reſpect to the niceneſs and difficulty of the ſubject, in which the intereſts of both countries were ſo materially affected, and at the ſame time that they claſhed, ſo complicated and intricate, that any ſcheme for the relief of one, without injury to the other, muſt require long application and ſtudy, minute enquiry, and the moſt mature deliberation. The repeated ſubſequent endeavours of the noble marquis, and of the Earl of Shelburne, who were likewiſe conſtantly ſupported by the other lords in oppoſition, brought on, however, at length, and near the cloſe of the ſeſſion, a kind of compromiſe with the lord preſident of the council; that nobleman pledging himſelf, that in good faith, and ſo far as he could venture to anſwer abſolutely for others, a proper plan for accommodating the affairs of Ireland, ſhould be prepared and digeſted by the miniſters, during the receſs, and in

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readineſs to lay before parliament at the opening of the enſuing ſeſſion.

Notwithſtanding the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, the affairs of Ireland, with the unfiniſhed ſtate of the American enquiry, and the conſequent cenſure which lay upon the commanders, from the unexpected charges and evidence brought againſt them, without any opportunity of calling witneſſes to their vindication, were taken as grounds by Mr. Thomas Townſhend, for an addreſs to the King againſt the prorogation of parliament, until the buſineſs and matters ſtated in the motion, were finiſhed or ſettled. This motion brought out much miſcellaneous debate, and was at length rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 143, to 70.

June 15th.

But the following day preſented a new face of affairs, and opened a new ſcene of buſineſs, by the diſcloſure of one of the moſt alarming events which could well have happened, in the already embarraſſed and critical ſtate of the nation. This was the hoſtile manifeſto which was preſented by the Marquis D'Almodovar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and accompanied with the notice of his immediate departure from this country.

17th. The miniſter uſhered in the manifeſto, as uſual, with a royal meſſage, in which they were acquainted with the conſequent recal of the Britiſh ambaſſador from the court of Madrid. His Majeſty alſo declared in the moſt ſolemn manner, that his deſire to preſerve and to cultivate peace and friendly intercourſe with the court of Spain, had been uniform and ſincere; and that his conduct towards that power, had been guided by no other motives or principles, than thoſe of good faith, honour, and juſtice. Great ſurprize was expreſſed at the pretences on which the declaration was grounded, as ſome of the grievances therein enumerated, had never come to the knowledge of his Majeſty, either by repreſentation on the part of Spain, or by intelligence from any other quarter; and that in all caſes where applications had been received, the matter of complaint had been treated with the utmoſt attention, and put into a due courſe of enquiry and redreſs. It concluded with the firmeſt confidence, that the Commons, with the ſame zeal and public ſpirit, which his Majeſty had ſo often experienced, would ſupport him in his reſolution to exert all the power, and all the reſources of the nation, to reſiſt and repel any hoſtile attempts of the court of Spain.

The Spaniſh manifeſto, was a looſe, and rather a ſtrange ſort of a compoſition; dealing almoſt entirely in generals; without any clear arrangement or diſtribution of matter; without any accuracy in the ſtating, or much ſpecification of time, place, or circumſtance, with reſpect to facts, it ſeems to throw charges about at random, without any attention to their direction, or care about their effect. Nor is the reaſoning much more concluſive. Yet it affords one inſtance of preciſion, perhaps unequalled in all the proceedings of the corps diplomatique, from the commencement of their earlieſt records. That is, where it ſpecifies in one line, that the whole number of inſults and injuries

which Spain had received from Great Britain, amounted *lately*, to juſt one hundred.

The manifeſto, however, eſtabliſhed one fact, and that of ſufficient conſequence; namely, that Spain had taken a decided part with France and America againſt Great Britain. It alſo afforded an information not before known to the public, although we think it had been mentioned as a matter of reprobation by ſome gentlemen in parliament. That was, that Spain had been employed as a mediator between England and France, and had been actually negociating a treaty of peace between the two nations for above eight months. A principal part of the reſentment expreſſed or implied in the manifeſto, ſeems to derive its ſource from the conduct of Great Britain with reſpect to this negociation; the cabinet being directly or indirectly charged, (in the looſe manner of that declaration) with diſingenuity or inſincerity, in protracting and ſpinning it out, without any fixed or real intention of peace, and uſing Spain as its inſtrument in that purpoſe. This ſeems repeated or confirmed at the end of the manifeſto, where it is ſuppoſed, that the experience of other nations in the conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry, will prove a juſtification of the deciſive meaſures adopted by the Spaniſh monarch.

It ſeems to appear, that the negociation now in queſtion was conducted upon the ſame ground and principle, the bare propoſal of which was treated with ſuch indignation and diſdain by Mr. Secretary Pitt, in the late war; viz. the conſidering the ſeparate claims of France and Spain as one common object, and compriſing their ſettlement in the ſame treaty. The full effect of that family compact, which had been overlooked or neglected at the treaty of Paris, now unhappily appeared in its moſt dangerous aſpect.

It could ſcarcely be expected that the diſcloſure of this alarming event, which had been ſo long and ſo often predicted by the minority, ſhould not have brought out ſome reproach upon the miniſters. They were accordingly reminded, with great ſeverity, of their blindneſs, obſtinacy, and abſurdity upon that ſubject. Of the contempt with which they had treated every timely warning of the danger, and the exultation and triumph which they conſtantly expreſſed, at the folly and ignorance of the oppoſition in entertaining ſuch ideas. Spain could have no intereſt in joining our enemies: Spain had colonies of her own, and would not ſet ſo bad an example, as to afford aid or ſuccour to our rebellious colonies: Spain was beſides naturally attached to Great Britain; and if it were otherwiſe, ſhe was not able to enter into a war. Even the honour, ſincerity, and undoubted fidelity of the court of Spain, were held up as ſacred; and the venturing to call them in queſtion, by reaſoning from the effect to the cauſe, and ſhewing her deſign from her apparent preparation, was reſented as a high degree of prophanation. Such were the language and doctrines, they ſaid, conſtantly held out, and perſiſted in to the laſt moment by the miniſters. And thus was parliament and the nation kept in a conſtant ſtate of deluſion, until they were awakened

from their dream, by the ſudden craſh of the mighty ruin which was falling upon them. Theſe deluſions ſeemed ever to increaſe, as we approached to the deciſive moment of their detection. And thoſe miniſters, who were utterly incapable of governing the affairs of their own country with propriety or ſafety, had the matchleſs effrontery of ſetting themſelves up as ſtateſmen and politicians for the Houſe of Bourbon; and of knowing the intereſts of France and Spain, better than they did themſelves.

But notwithſtanding the ſtrong reflections and charges on the conduct of miniſters, both Houſes were unanimous in their determination, of ſupporting the war againſt the Houſe of Bourbon, with all the powers, and all the reſources of the nation. The continuance of the war with America, and the mode of applying the unlimited means which were to be granted, affording the only difference of opinion.

The addreſs to the throne, in anſwer to the royal meſſage and communication, which the miniſter moved for in the Houſe of Commons, was accordingly unanimouſly agreed to; and contained the fulleſt aſſurance, that they would, with unſhaken fidelity and reſolution, and with their lives and fortunes, ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty, in repelling all the hoſtile deſigns and attempts of his enemies, againſt the honour of his crown, and the rights and common intereſts of his ſubjects.

But as ſoon as the addreſs was agreed to, Lord John Cavendiſh moved for another, to be preſented at the ſame time, praying, that his majeſty would give immediate orders, for the collecting of his fleets and armies in ſuch a manner, as that he might be enabled to exert the whole force of this country, againſt the united force of the Houſe of Bourbon. The ſecretary at war having then aſked, whether the words "*whole force,*" were intended to include the force in America; and being anſwered in the affirmative, he immediately moved for an adjournment.

It was contended in ſupport of the motion, that it was impoſſible to ſupport the American war, and to oppoſe France and Spain with effect, or even with ſafety. That the Britiſh dominions in Europe were now at ſtake, which neceſſarily demanded our firſt care and concern; and that the Britiſh force ſhould therefore be in Europe, as well for their defence, as for carrying the dangers and calamities of war home to our enemies. That could only afford a rational hope of curing their malice and injuſtice; and of compelling them to renounce their ambitious and inſidious deſigns. That to employ the great body of the force, and to exhauſt the reſources of this kingdom in North America, would be to play the game of France and Spain, and to put us in a ſituation of a mere defenſive war; in which, beſides the incredible charge of ſupporting it, much was to be loſt and nothing gained.

On the other ſide, beſides the reaſons which we have frequently ſeen for not abandoning America, it was principally oppoſed, as an invaſion of the royal prerogative, in preſcribing to the king the mode of conducting the war. That even, excluſive of that conſideration, the open

open council of the nation was exceedingly ill calculated for such diſcuſſions, and for charging itſelf with the executive conduct of the ſtate, at any time; but more particularly in a war of ſo complicated a nature, and in a ſeaſon of ſuch critical emergency as the preſent. And that at moſt, whether the council was right or wrong, it could only amount to a recommendation to miniſters to do their duty; to do that, for the due and wiſe performance of which, the conſtitution had already made them reſponſible. It was added, that ſuppoſing the meaſure to be the wiſeſt that could be adopted, and ſuppoſing it to be even already reſolved on, it would be extremely improper to announce the deſign to our various enemies, and thereby afford them an opportunity of preparing for and baffling the effect.

The motion of adjourment was carried on a diviſion, by a majority of a 156, to 80.—Some members on both ſides expreſſed their ſtrongeſt wiſhes, that ſome meaſure might be taken, in a ſeaſon of ſo much danger, to induce Lord Howe and Admiral Keppel to afford their ſervices to the public. A noble viſcount, in particular, acknowledged that private conſiderations were mixed with his public, in his concern on that account; and that without the ſmalleſt diſreſpect to the Officers now employed, he could not avoid thinking it a great addition to the ſecurity of his eſtates and property, that thoſe great commanders were at the head of our fleets.

17th. The addreſs in the Houſe of Lords met with an oppoſition of a different nature. A noble earl, after immediately expreſſing the ſtrongeſt reſentment and indignation againſt thoſe miniſters, to whom he directly and poſitively charged all the calamity which had fallen upon the Britiſh empire; and who, he ſaid, at the ſame time that they were employed in breaking down and trampling upon the fences of the conſtitution at home, were, for the completion of the ſame nefarious ſyſtem, equally induſtrious in ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord and civil war, and of ſpreading diſtreſs and ruin through all our dependencies, until they had at length expoſed us, enfeebled and worn down, to the enmity and threatened deſtruction of our natural rivals, and hereditary enemies, moved a clauſe by way of amendment to the addreſs. This clauſe, with the bittereſt cenſure upon paſt conduct, went to a total change of ſyſtem and of men, as the only means of reſtoring confidence and union, and of preſervation left for the political exiſtence of this once great empire.

As the Duke of Richmond intended a motion, which being leſs pointed and more general, was hoped to meet with a much greater concurrence, the noble earl was intreated to withdraw or poſtpone his amendment; he was, however, inflexible in his determination of abiding by his motion, if he were even ſure of being alone in its ſupport. The queſtion was accordingly put, and the clauſe rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 62, to 23.

The duke then, after urging unanimity, and ſhewing its abſolute neceſſity in the moſt preſſing terms, moved an amendment to the following purport.—That in a moment, ſo critical as that which

now presents itself to the consideration of parliament, the most awful this country has ever experienced, it would be deceiving his majesty and the nation, if, at the same time that they lamented the fatal effect of those councils, which by dividing and wasting the force of the empire in civil wars, had thereby incited our natural enemies to take advantage of our weak and distracted condition, they were not to represent to his majesty, that the only means of resisting the powerful combination which now threatened this country, would be, by a total change of that system, which had involved us in our present difficulties in America, in Ireland, and at home; by such means, attended with prudent oeconomy, and the due exertion of a brave and united people, they trusted that his majesty, under the assistance of Divine Providence, would be able to withstand all his enemies, and to restore Great Britain to its former respected and happy situation.

He supported the motion with his usual ability. He said, that he would not consider past miscarriages; he would not refer to any former circumstances, which might tend to create a diversity of opinion. His amendment was founded on the broad basis of public union and public strength, and was intended to direct the attention of the throne and of the house, to the real, and actually existing circumstances of the nation, and to impress the public with a due sense of their condition; a full knowledge of which, could only inspire union, confidence, and vigour in exertion. He entered fully and separately into the consideration of the three principal objects of the amendment, America, Ireland, and the home defence. By the home defence, he meant our naval force in the European seas. He was sorry to find that thirty-one ships of the line, composed the whole naval force on which this country was to rely at present for protection and safety. At the same time that he understood, and could not doubt the authority, that the French and Spanish fleets in the European seas amounted to about double that number, all now fit for actual service. But a present circumstance, which alarmed him exceedingly, was the authentic intelligence he had received, that a French fleet, consisting of 28 ships of the line, with several thousand land forces on board, had sailed from Brest on the 3d of the present June, and were at that moment, if they chose it, masters of the British channel. On this occasion he said, that although he did not intend to enter into any retrospective matter, he could not refrain from expressing his utmost astonishment at the conduct of the first Lord of the Admiralty; whether it were with respect to the unpardonable neglect of his duty, if he did not know that the French fleet were to sail about that time, or to his direct criminality, if he was apprized of that event, in not having the grand fleet in timely readiness to meet the French at their coming out to sea, instead of thus abandoning our commerce and our coasts to their mercy.

After placing in a very clear point of view, the state of our public affairs in every quarter, he observed that the extent of the danger, instead of sinking us into

abject

abject deſpondency and deſpair, ſhould rouze us to the utmoſt exertions of our native courage, our talents, and natural powers, with the moſt unlimited application of our means, of whatever ſort. It was the duty of man to ſtruggle with difficulties, and to ſurmount them by reſolution and activity; and whatever he was bound to bear or perform in his individual capacity, he was bound to bear or perform as a member of the community. Every man, he ſaid, was called upon in the preſent calamitous and dangerous ſituation, to aſſiſt by his purſe or his perſon. Thoſe who were qualified to fight, would fulfil their duty generouſly that way; thoſe who could pay, muſt contribute to the ſervice of their country in the manner they were beſt able. No exemption could be admitted. It was a ſeaſon of peculiar urgency; and the means of defence muſt correſpond with the ſituation. Thoſe who were bleſt with affluence muſt contribute largely. When the ſafety of the ſtate was at ſtake, all reaſoning was at an end.

But if the means were freely adminiſtered, it was equally neceſſary that they ſhould be wiſely applied. Indeed the one can never be afforded, to its proper extent, any more than effect, without a confidence in the other. To attain that confidence, a total change of that ſyſtem, to which our preſent ſituation, and all our paſt loſſes and misfortunes were attributed, was abſolutely and indiſpenſibly neceſſary. Without that, nothing could be done. With it, notwithſtanding the prodigious combination of power leagued for our deſtruction, he had the fulleſt confidence in the ſpirit and exertion of a free and united people.

His idea was, immediately to abandon the American war, at leaſt for the preſent; and to employ the great military force, which was doing worſe than nothing there, againſt our enemies. If ſuch a meaſure was not the means of recovering America, it could not be the cauſe of loſing it. America was already worſe than loſt. It was the drain of our treaſure, and of our beſt blood; it was the great cauſe of diviſion in parliament, and in the nation. If that unfortunate war was once abandoned, and with it the ſyſtem which gave it birth, and upon which all the councils from whence we derive our calamities were founded, we ſhould again ſee union at home, vigorous and ſucceſsful exertions abroad, the people again placing a full and proper confidence in thoſe who were entruſted with the conduct of public affairs; and, he had not a doubt, that Britain, as ſhe had often been before, would prove more than a match for the whole Houſe of Bourbon. He concluded by putting in a reſervation, that when he ſhould be called upon to pledge his life and fortune, ſuch a pledge, on his part, muſt be met with by that ſpecies of ſecurity, which is ever underſtood to be the condition of ſo ſacred a truſt. He muſt have one grand teſt of the wiſdom of future meaſures; and that was an immediate change of the ruling ſyſtem.

Some other lords on the ſame ſide, particularly the Earl of Shelburne, could not confine their ideas to a change of ſyſtem only; no good, they ſaid, could be done,

without a total change of men, as well as of ſyſtem. Thoſe phantoms of miniſters; thoſe things, they ſaid, who had been tricked out in that garb and likeneſs, merely for the purpoſes of deluſion, and who had been employed as the ſervile inſtruments of carrying that deſtructive ſyſtem into execution, muſt be totally done away. If there was a hope, they ſaid, of ever reſtoring this country, in any degree, to its priſtine felicity, the evil muſt be traced to its very ſource. The noble lord at the head of the naval department, underwent, upon this occaſion, no ſmall degree of cenſure and reproach; and was not only conſidered as one of the principals in that ſyſtem which was ſo reprobated, but was charged directly, and to his face, with having been the means, through his ignorance, incapacity, and official neglect, of firſt inviting the French attack, and then bringing on the Spaniſh war.

That noble earl, undoubtedly, from a due attention to the preſent ſtate of circumſtances, did not think fit to interrupt the public buſineſs, by entering into any defence or exculpation of his conduct. Neither did the lords immediately in adminiſtration, enter into any farther diſcuſſion of the arguments or poſitions ſtated by the Duke of Richmond, than what related merely to the withdrawing of the troops from North America. That meaſure, which they conſidered as a total and everlaſting dereliction of the colonies, they oppoſed upon the ſame ground which we have ſeen taken in the Houſe of Commons. The only new matter which appeared upon this ſubject, was the information given by a noble viſcount, now one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, but lately Ambaſſador at the Court of France. This was a fact which came officially, at that time, within his knowledge; viz. that "in one of the private arti-"cles of the treaty, ſigned in Fe-"bruary, 1778, between France "and the Congreſs delegates, it is "ſpecially provided, that the co-"lonies and France ſhall never "agree to any terms, until the "former are acknowledged inde-"pendent by Great Britain."—This ſecret article he ſaid afforded the ground of his diſſent, to any propoſition for withdrawing the troops, as it was evident from thence, that it was not in the power of America to treat upon any terms ſhort of independence; and ſuch a meaſure could therefore produce no effect in conciliating the colonies, or in diſſolving the combination.

The Duke of Richmond's propoſed amendment was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 57, to 32, lords.

This rejection brought out a long and argumentative proteſt, ſigned by twenty peers, being in effect the ſubſtance of the debate, and concluding with a complaint, of the preſent ſullen and unſatisfactory ſilence of the miniſters, with reſpect to ſeveral ſpecific enquiries; and declaring, that after doing their utmoſt to awaken the Houſe to a better ſenſe of things, they take that method of clearing themſelves from the conſequences which muſt reſult from the continuance of ſuch meaſures.

The firſt and great meaſure of national defence, adopted and purſued by the miniſter, in oppoſition

to

to the consequences of that dangerous combination, now first openly avowed by the court of Spain, was a proposal in the House of Commons, for increasing the militia to such a degree, as should double its present number. Although the opposition considered the measure as probably impracticable, and even dangerous, from the apprehensions they had of its being violently opposed by the people at large; and that along with several other causes of objection, they saw it would go in its effect to the annihilation of the regular or standing army, in cutting off its usual and only means of supply from the recruiting service; yet, they said, that in a season of such imminent public danger, they could not oppose any scheme, which carried a rational appearance of conducing to the public security. They would only use their endeavours to correct and improve, but they would by no means obstruct, any proposals of that nature. But although they so far concurred, they were not at all satisfied that the measure was well or wisely chosen; nor could they think any system of warfare, which went merely to the defensive, as that did, could be productive of honour or advantage to the nation. They thought the raising of new regiments would be infinitely better; and they severely reprehended the ministers for the continuance of that wretched system of policy, which had hitherto led them to reject with indifference, and even with contempt, the liberal and patriotic offers made by several of the peers in opposition, for immediately raising regiments at their private expence for the defence of their country. But that narrow predilection in favour of men of a certain description, and particularly of the northern part of the island, was still, they said, predominant, and would continue while there was any thing left to bestow, or to lose; and thus the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Derby, and others of the oldest English nobility, and supporters of the throne and constitution, met with indifference or insult, in their generous offers for the defence and protection of their country. It was bitterly observed on this occasion, that all the generous and disinterested offers for the service and preservation of their country, in this season of the greatest peril which she had ever known, came from those only, who were called the leaders or partizans of faction, and who were constantly represented as enemies to government; whilst not one of those who had grown rich in her spoils, or great in her ruin, neither ministers, contractors, court favourites, or *king's friends*, had offered to raise a single man, or to expend a shilling in her defence.

June 21st.

The minister seemed rather undetermined and irresolute about his bill, which he acknowledged to be merely an expedient. He called on all sides for assistance; and as there was an end of all particular party in this respect, the House was divided into as many parties as individuals, each proposing to add or subtract something. The first idea was, that government should be enabled to add 31,500 men to the militia, or in other words, that it should be augmented to double its present number; the matter

matter being ſtill left open and diſcretional, at the option of government, whether any, and how far the augmentation ſhould take place. Among a multitude of particular opinions, three ſeemed more prevalent and general. One, for adopting the propoſal as it originally ſtood; the ſecond, for a mixed ſcheme, which with a ſmaller augmentation of the militia, propoſed the raiſing of diſtinct volunteer corps; and the third, were againſt any augmentation of the militia, and would truſt to the calling out and arming of the country in caſe of neceſſity, and to the ſpirit and patriotiſm of the nobility and gentry in raiſing forces, according to the offers which had been already made. Among the variety of amendments propoſed, that by Lord Beauchamp, was the only one of any conſequence that was carried through. That was a clauſe for the raiſing of volunteer companies, which were to be attached to the militia regiments of the county or diſtrict to which they belonged; and for this purpoſe, the lord-lieutenants of counties, were empowered to grant commiſſions to officers, as high as the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in proportion to the number of men they were able to procure.

23d. The committee having ſat till paſt midnight upon this bill, the Houſe was no ſooner reſumed, than they were ſurprized by the introduction of a bill of another nature, by the firſt law officer of the crown. The purpoſe of this bill was, to take away, for a limited time, the legal exemptions from being preſſed to ſerve on board the navy, which ſeveral deſcriptions of men and of apprentices, appertaining to the ſea, or ſome degree to maritime affairs, had hitherto enjoyed; and alſo for ſuſpending the right of ſuing out a writ of *habeus corpus*, for ſuch breaches of thoſe exemptions, as had already taken place from the 17th of that month, or as might ſtill take place, before the final ratification of the bill.

It can ſcarcely be imagined, however the neceſſity of the time induced an acquieſcence, that a meaſure of that nature could have paſſed without cenſure, and without much and warm diſcuſſion. The manner of bringing it forward, at ſo late an hour, and in a very thin houſe, already fatigued and worn down, by ſitting ſo many hours to buſineſs, was even more reprobated than the meaſure. In the Houſe of Commons it was likened to every thing, that was moſt odious. The oppoſition likewiſe condemned the meaſure itſelf, upon many accounts; but more particularly, for its being a breach of that public faith between the legiſlature and the people, which ſhould ever be held ſacred.

The learned mover juſtified thoſe circumſtances which were ſo ſeverely condemned, by acknowledging that they had been deſigned and choſen, for the purpoſes of ſecrecy and diſpatch; and to prevent the effect of the bill from being defeated, by the knowledge of its deſign, which the public prints would have ſpread through the whole nation. He juſtified the meaſure itſelf upon the ground of that neceſſity from which it originated; and obſerved with his uſual acuteneſs, that he could not

avoid

avoid being aſtoniſhed at the horror which was now expreſſed with reſpect to compulſion, when they were but newly riſen from a committee, wherein they had been for ten hours engaged in framing a compulſive law, whereby arms would be forced into the hands of 30,000 men, whether they liked them or not.

The oppoſition totally denied the juſtneſs of the obſervation; as the one caſe, though exceedingly hard, was clear from any injuſtice, whilſt the other, with equal hardſhip, carried the moſt manifeſt injuſtice. They lamented the fate of their country, which, being expoſed to the moſt imminent danger from without, had, at the ſame time, its conſtitution torn to pieces within; and all thoſe moſt valuable parts of it, which had hitherto excited the admiration or envy of mankind, were now doing away in the groſs, or mangled and periſhing in the detail.

In fact it is much to be doubted, whether there was any advantage to be obtained by this bill, which could fairly warrant ſome of the ſtronger parts of it. The urgency of the time, however, prevailed over every other conſideration, and the indemnity bill (as it was called from its retroſpective effect) was read twice on that night, and committed for the following, or rather the ſame, day. And on that day, after a good deal of debate, both the indemnity and militia bills, were carried through all the forms and paſſed.

Both the bills were combated with great vigour, and ability in the other Houſe, by the Marquis of Rockingham, and ſome other of the lords in oppoſition. It was, however, to the ſurprize of all parties and people, that the militia bill was found not to meet with that favour from the lord preſident of the council, and ſeveral other lords on that ſide, which was, and with good reaſon, expected, from a conſideration of its author. The indemnity bill was more fortunate, and after ſeveral propoſed amendments which were rejected, and one, in favour of colliers, which proved effective, it was at length carried, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 51, to 20 lords.

A former diviſion had taken place upon a queſtion of re-commitment, which was loſt, by a majority of 50, to 24.—Fourteen peers, entered a proteſt relative to that queſtion; and another was entered upon the laſt, which was ſigned only by four lords.

In the mean time, various propoſals of amendment, modification, and ſubſtitution, were made with reſpect to the militia bill. The Duke of Richmond's knowledge in military affairs, ſupported by his uncommon abilities, gave him a ſuperiority on this ſubject, which he diſplayed with great effect. Some of the court lords even acknowledged, that the objections and arguments, on that ſide, were ſo ſtrong, that they could not be anſwered. Nor were the lord-lieutenants of counties, in general, at all ſatisfied with the bill.

In this ſtate of things, the queſtion being at length put, whether the clauſe empowering his Majeſty to order the militia to be augmented to double its preſent number, ſtand part of the bill, it was carried in June 30th.

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the negative, by a majority of 39, to 22.

It was remarkable, that the lord preſident of the council, and both the ſecretaries of ſtate, voted againſt the compulſory principle of this bill. The diviſion was ſingular, in placing 22 lords, on the one ſide, and the whole oppoſition on the other, in ſituations which they rarely experienced on either. Two of the right reverend bench, undoubtedly through their ignorance in military affairs, were ſurprized into a minority on this occaſion.

Thus diſembowelled of all its original ſubſtance, the ſkeleton of the militia bill was returned to the Commons, with nothing of efficacy remaining, except the ſolitary ſupplemental clauſe added by Lord Beauchamp for the raiſing of volunteer companies. And thus the miniſter was expoſed to the bitter taunts of the oppoſition, who obſerved, that that ſpirit of diſunion and diſcord, which adminiſtration had ſo induſtriouſly and ſucceſsfully ſpread, through every department of the ſtate, whether civil or military, and through every part of the empire, had now ſeized the cabinet, and was equally viſible among themſelves. The miniſter could not conceal his chagrin, nor refrain from complaining of the conduct of his colleagues in the other Houſe.

A new queſtion now aroſe, which brought out conſiderable debate. For the militia bill being conſidered by ſeveral, as to all intents and purpoſes a money bill, they inſiſted, that no amendment of the Lords could be admitted, without a ſurrender of their own moſt valuable and peculiar privilege; and that therefore, the bill muſt be totally rejected. The miniſter was, however, ſo eager, that ſomething ſhould be done, that might at leaſt carry an appearance of looking towards the public defence and ſecurity, that it was determined, in the preſent inſtance, to overlook the point of privilege. Ingenious arguments were accordingly uſed, and nice lines of diſtinction drawn, to ſhew that the preſent was not properly a money bill; and theſe were combated, and attempted to be diſproved, with equal ingenuity. The bill was, however, carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 63, to 45.

As the repeated attempts of the oppoſition in both Houſes, for obtaining an addreſs to prevent the prorogation of parliament, had failed of ſucceſs, that event now took place. In the ſpeech from the throne, the moſt cordial thanks were returned, for the many great and eſſential ſervices they had rendered to his Majeſty and their country, during the courſe of their long attendance in parliament. Entire approbation was expreſſed, to the zeal which they had manifeſted in the ſupport of the juſt and neceſſary war, in which he was engaged, and of the attention which they had paid to the ſtate of Ireland. It was obſerved, that the events of war had afforded the court of France no reaſon to triumph on the conſequences of their injuſtice and breach of public faith; and it was truſted, that by ſpirited and proſperous exertions, that ambitious power might be brought to wiſh that they had not, without provocation or cauſe of complaint, July 3d.

insulted the honour and invaded the rights of the crown. With respect to Spain, whatever colour might be attempted to be put upon the unjust proceeding of that court, his Majesty was conscious that he had nothing to reproach himself with; the warmest acknowledgments were made, for those clear demonstrations of loyalty and affection to his person and government, which parliament had shewn upon that occasion; and it was considered as a happy omen to the success of his arms, that the increase of difficulties, served only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation. The additional burthens on the people were sincerely regretted. And it was said, that sufficient thanks could not be paid to the Commons for the confidence they had reposed in him, and for the chearfulness and public spirit, with which the large supplies for the current year had been granted. It was impossible to speak of the continuance of the rebellion in North America without the deepest concern; but they had given (the Crown and Parliament) such unquestionable proofs of their sincere disposition to put an end to those troubles, that it was still hoped, that the malignant designs of the enemies of Great-Britain, could not long prevail against the evident interests of those unhappy provinces.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Hoſtilities in the Eaſt Indies. Sea-fight between Sir Edward Vernon and M. de Tronjolly. French ſquadron abandon the coaſt of Coromandel. Siege of Pondicherry. Gallant defence by M. de Bellecombe. Capitulation. State of affairs in Georgia and the Carolina's. Loyaliſts defeated in North Carolina. American General, Lincoln, arrives in South Carolina to oppoſe Major General Prevoſt. Rebels defeated at Briar Creek. General Prevoſt paſſes the Savannah, and penetrates into South Carolina; advances to Charles Town; retires. Action at Stono Ferry. General Prevoſt takes poſſeſſion of the iſland of Port Royal. Expedition from New York to Cheſapeak Bay, under the conduct of Sir George Collier and Major General Matthew. Great damage done to the Americans in the neighbourhood of Hampton and Norfolk. Expedition up the North River; Stoney Point and Verplanks taken. Expedition to Connecticut, under Sir George Collier, and Governor Tryon. Surprize of Stoney Point by General Wayne. Recovery of that poſt. Attack upon Paulus Hook. Lieutenant Colonel Maclane beſieged by an armed force from Boſton. Relieved by Sir George Collier, who deſtroys the whole rebel marine in the Penobſcot.

IT has happened unfortunately for the repoſe of a great part of mankind, that while the active and enterprizing ſpirit of the Europeans has extended their commerce and intercourſe to the moſt diſtant parts of the world, their contentions have kept an equal pace with their diſcoveries, and have been either diſſeminated amongſt, or in ſome degree affected the remoteſt nations; experience thereby overthrowing all that ſyſtem of general benefit, which a ſpeculative philoſophy might otherwiſe have hoped, from a free and eaſy communication between all the different communities of men. Such indeed is the nature of man, that it may be a queſtion of no ſmall doubt, whether the proſcriptive laws or policy of China and Japan againſt the admiſſion of foreigners, are not founded in true wiſdom; and however fatal they may be to the progreſs of ſcience, of arts, and of general knowledge, whether they do not lay a fairer and more permanent foundation of public ſecurity and private happineſs, than more liberal inſtitutions. It is at any rate clear, that the adoption of this policy, would have ſaved many great nations from unexpected ruin, and from general deſolation.

Whilſt the effects of the conteſt between France and England, were gradually ſpreading thro' different parts of the old and of the new, weſtern world, its rage was ſpeedily communicated, and unexpectedly broke out, in the remote regions of the eaſt; in a quarter of the globe, naturally and originally appertaining, to the moſt peaceable, as well as to the moſt unmixed and primitive race of mankind; a race more abhorrent

horrent of blood and cruelty than any other.

It ſeems, that the Engliſh Eaſt India company, well ſeeing the conſequences which the French treaties with America, and the delivery of the reſcript at the court of London, muſt neceſſarily produce, did not think it fitting to regulate their policy, by that temporizing ſyſtem of conduct, which apparently took place between the principals. They ſaw that ſemblance of peace could not long be preſerved; and that no intermediate ſtate, however coloured or diſguiſed, could be kept long free from all the conſequences of war; and they well judged, that long before any account of their proceedings in the eaſt could be received in Europe, theſe conſequences would take ſuch effect, as to afford a ſufficient cover and ſanction to their meaſures.

The company had not forgotten, the imminent danger to which her ſettlements, and indeed her exiſtence in India, had only a few years ago been expoſed; when in a ſeaſon of profound peace, France had clandeſtinely conveyed ſo great a military force to the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon, that ſhe ſeemed to owe her deliverance more to fortune or accident, than to any timely knowledge ſhe had of the deſign. Such a force might ſoon again be formed in thoſe iſlands, with the ſame privacy as before; and from the ſhortneſs of the paſſage to Pondicherry, might drop ſo ſuddenly and unexpectedly upon the ground of action, that nothing could be hoped to reſiſt its progreſs.

Under ſome or all of theſe conſiderations, the company determined not to hazard the ſecurity of their invaluable poſſeſſions, by paying too great an attention to formalities, which carry no farther value, than what their immediate intereſt induces the reſpective parties to affix upon them. A bold and deciſive meaſure, for the final reduction of the French power in India, was accordingly reſolved, immediately upon, or very ſoon after the delivery of the French reſcript; and the buſineſs was conducted with ſuch laudable, but, for ſuch a body, unuſual ſecrecy, that the ſmalleſt idea of the deſign, until the effect was publicly diſcloſed by the accounts from India, did not tranſpire, even in this country.

The company had alſo the fortune, that the inſtructions were conveyed with unuſual expedition to Madraſs; and preparations were accordingly immediately made for undertaking the ſiege of Pondicherry. Major General Monroe, who now commanded the company's troops on the coaſt of Coromandel, had aſſembled part of the force deſtined for the ſiege, on a ſpot of ground called the Red Hill, within four miles of that city, pretty early in the month of Auguſt. It was not, however, until the 21ſt of that month, that they were in ſufficient ſtrength to inveſt that fortreſs cloſely. On that day the troops advanced ſo near as to take poſſeſſion of the bound hedge, (a planted fence, which at ſome diſtance ſurrounded all the works) within cannon ſhot of the fortifications, by which all communication with the country was entirely cut off. Some farther impedi-

Aug. 8th, 1778.

impediments, poſſibly ariſing from the climate, and from the difficulty of finding means for the conveyance of the artillery and ſtores, ſtill retarded the progreſs of the works, until the 6th and 7th of September, on which days the beſiegers were enabled to break ground both on the north and the ſouth ſides of the town, under a determination of carrying on both attacks at the ſame time.

Previous to theſe operations by land, Sir Edward Vernon, who commanded the ſmall Britiſh naval force in thoſe ſeas, ſailed from Madraſs at the end of July to block up Pondicherry. His ſquadron conſiſted of the Rippon of 60 guns, the Coventry of 28, the Sea Horſe of 20, the Cormorant ſloop, and the Valentine Eaſt Indiaman. He had ſcarcely arrived on his ſtation, when he obtained ſight of the French ſquadron under M. de Tronjolly, conſiſting of the Brillante of 64 guns, the Pourvoyeuſe of 36 eighteen pounders, the Sartine of 32 guns, and two French India ſhips armed for war.

Aug. 10th. A very cloſe and warm engagement enſued, which laſted above two hours, when the French thought fit to quit the action. The Engliſh ſhips had ſuffered alſo too much, to continue long after in the ſame ſituation; but were preparing during the night, for the ſervice which they expected in the morning. The French had, however, ſo much the worſt in this action, that they were in no diſpoſition at all for its renewal, and were accordingly, at day-break, totally out of ſight. It appeared after, that they had got into Pondicherry that night to refit; whilſt, from the contrary winds, and a northern current, Sir Edward was not able to recover his ſtation until the 20th of the month, at midnight. In this time he had been joined by the Beſborough Indiaman, which ſupplied the place of the Valentine, then on her way to Europe. Early in the morning, a French veſſel from Europe and the Mauritius, fell in among the Britiſh ſhips, and was taken. At the ſame time, they could perceive the French ſquadron, under an eaſy ſail, ſtanding out of Pondicherry road. An immediate engagement was now expected and prepared for, and nothing was left undone by the commodore, in order to cloſe, as ſpeedily as poſſible, with the enemy; but the alternate failure, and contrary direction of the winds, rendered all his efforts ineffectual. As the French commander had, however, as great and intereſting an object in view, in keeping the town free by ſea, as Sir Edward could have in ſhutting up the port, he made no doubt that the action would take place on the following morning as a matter of courſe, and on the ſide of the enemy, in a great meaſure of neceſſity.

Under this perſuaſion, he ſtood in for Pondicherry road at the approach of night, where he caſt anchor, expecting the enemy would have done the ſame; more eſpecially, as their motions during the day, had not indicated any deſign of avoiding an engagement. The French commander, however, ſeems to have conſulted more the preſervation of his ſhips, than that of the town. He accordingly, taking advantage of the night, abandoned Pondicherry, and a garriſon

riſon which deſerved better fortune, to their fate; and was ſo expeditious in his means of eſcape, that the French ſquadron were totally out of ſight in the morning; nor were they at any time after ſeen or heard of on the coaſt. In three days after, the Sartine frigate, which had loſt company with the ſquadron on the night of the late action, being ignorant of the preſent change of circumſtances, had advanced ſo far in her way to get into Pondicherry, that when ſhe diſcovered her miſtake it was too late to be remedied, and ſhe was accordingly taken by the Britiſh frigates. Thus was Pondicherry as cloſely blocked up by ſea as by land.

This ſucceſs of Sir Edward Vernon ſerved greatly to facilitate the operations of the beſiegers, and might have ſeemed ſufficient, to have ſpread univerſal diſmay and deſpondency among the beſieged.

Sept. 18th. The batteries were opened under the powerful fire of 28 pieces of heavy artillery, and 27 mortars. Notwithſtanding the diſmantled ſtate in which Pondicherry had been reſtored to the French at the concluſion of the late war, the fortifications ſeem to have been in no contemptible condition at this time; or if they were otherwiſe, the deficiency of ſtrength was amply ſupplied by the gallantry of M. de Bellecombe, (who was both governor of the town, and general commandant of all the French ſettlements in the Indies) and the reſolution of his brave garriſon; who, nearly cut off as they were from every hope of ſuccour, perſevered to the laſt extremity in a determined and noble defence.

The artillery of the beſiegers, however, ſoon gained an evident ſuperiority, and they were indefatigable in carrying on their approaches; but the alertneſs and obſtinate defence of the garriſon, rendered caution a matter of neceſſity; and together with the violent rains that then frequently fell, could not fail of conſiderably retarding their works. Notwithſtanding theſe impediments, matters were ſo far advanced towards the middle of October, as to render an attack on the body of the place practicable. By that time, the beſiegers had, on the ſouth ſide, puſhed a gallery into the ditch of the town, made a practicable breach in the baſtion, called L'Hoſpital, deſtroyed the faces of the adjacent baſtions, and prepared a bridge of boats for paſſing the ditch. Nor was the attack on the north ſide of the town in much leſs forwardneſs. The beſiegers had there alſo deſtroyed the face of the oppoſite baſtion, and had conſtructed a float for paſſing the ditch, which they were to bring into uſe, at the ſame time that their fellows were paſſing it to the ſouthward. Theſe two attacks were to be accompanied by a third, which was to take place by the ſea ſide to the northward, where the enemy had a ſtockade running into the water. And when the general aſſault was reſolved on, Sir Edward Vernon landed all his marines, and 200 ſeamen, to ſupport and invigorate the attacks.

An exceeding heavy rain, which occaſioned a great and ſudden ſwell in the water of the ditch, on the very day preceding the intended ſtorm, checked the deſign for the

preſent, and fortunately prevented a cruel and bloody encounter. The water roſe ſo high in the ditch to the ſouthward, as to fill and blow up the gallery, beſides greatly damaging the boats belonging to the bridge. But this impediment was but temporary. The damage was ſpeedily repaired; and the 17th of October fixed on for making the general aſſault. In the mean time, M. de Bellecombe was neither ignorant of the impracticability of longer defending the place, nor blind to the danger and total ruin, in which an obſtinate and unfounded perſeverance would involve his garriſon and the inhabitants. He accordingly, on the day preceding the intended attack, propoſed a capitulation, which was willingly agreed to by the Britiſh commanders.

The conquerors gave the moſt ample and honourable teſtimony to the gallantry of their enemy in the terms of capitulation. The conditions were ſuitable to the generoſity of thoſe ſentiments. Every requiſition, that did not interfere with the public benefit or ſecurity, was liberally agreed to. It was only on thoſe accounts, that it was determined to ſend the European part of the garriſon home to France, and to diſband the ſeapoys and other native troops in the country, inſtead of ſending the whole in a body to the iſle of France (or Mauritius,) which was propoſed. The garriſon were allowed all the honours of war; and as a particular mark of attention to M. de Bellecombe, the regiment of Pondicherry were, at his requeſt, allowed to keep their colours.

A numerous artillery, amounting in the whole, of all ſorts and ſizes, ſerviceable and unſerviceable, to about 300 pieces, became a prize to the conquerors. All public property underwent the ſame fate; but whatever was private, was ſecured to the owners. The company's troops employed in this ſiege, amounted to 10,500 men, of whom 1500 were Europeans. The garriſon to near 3000, of which 900 were Europeans. The comparative loſs on both ſides, was neither proportioned to the number or circumſtances of thoſe who were engaged; if we conſider, as uſual, the cover of the garriſon as being far ſuperior to that afforded by the works of the beſiegers. The loſs of the latter amounted to 224 ſlain, and 693 wounded; and the garriſon, who were not near a third in number, had 200 men killed, and 480 wounded. A circumſtance which perhaps may be attributed to the obſtinacy with which their commander diſputed every part of his ground.

Mr. Law, who had ſeen and undergone ſo many changes of fortune in India, and who had himſelf borne ſo conſiderable a ſhare in its former revolutions, was included in this capitulation, and again beheld the power of his country annihilated in that quarter of the globe. It appears from ſome of the terms propoſed by the beſieged, by which they were deſirous of including in the preſent capitulation, ſeveral French factories and ſettlements which had already been ſeized by the companies forces in Bengal and elſewhere, as alſo the crews of ſeveral French veſſels which had been taken

taken in the Ganges, as well as on the coasts of Coromandel, that hostilities had been commenced in some of those parts so early as the first of July. The factories at Chandenagor, at Yaman, and at Karical, with the settlement at Masulipatam, are particularly specified in these proposed conditions; and others seem to be supposed. This extension of the capitulation, to past acts, and to distant places, was, however, deemed inadmissible by the conquerors.

We are now to turn our attention to the other side of the globe; and to relate the effects of this war in the place of its origin. The reduction of Georgia by the royal forces, soon afforded sufficient cause of alarm, and matter for trouble, to the two Carolina's. The Loyalists, or in American language the Tories, in the back parts of North Carolina, conceiving hope and courage from that event, were speedily in motion. We have formerly seen, that these people were numerous in the back of the southern colonies, particularly in those we have now mentioned; and although the loss and defeat which they had sustained under their leader Macdonald, in the beginning of the troubles, with other disappointments and losses of less magnitude, had considerably broken their spirit, and obliged those who were least venturous, or who were most attached to their families and settlements, to an apparent submission to the conditions prescribed by the victors, yet neither submissions nor conventions were sufficient to restrain the effects of that invincible aversion which they bore to their present governors and governments, nor to prevent their watching with the most eager attention for any new opportunity that might offer for their again having recourse to arms, and endeavouring to shake off so grievous a yoke.

The most hardy and desperate of these people, had long been in the condition of outlaws, and had attached themselves to the Indians, and others of their own description, in the incursions on the frontiers. The nature and remoteness of the country, afforded them an opportunity of keeping up a free intercourse with their old friends, neighbours, and fellow sufferers in the same cause, who still continuing at home, had apparently submitted to the present government. This circumstance necessarily served to nourish and strengthen that disposition and spirit which we have described. From these circumstances, and from the cast of mind and of manners acquired by their constant intercourse, whether as friends or as enemies, with the savages, they were ever ready to take up arms; and many of those, who continued in the occupation of their farms, and assumed the character of living peaceably at home, occasionally joined the parties which were openly in arms on the frontiers, and bore a share in all the devastation they committed.

About 700 of these people accordingly assembled in arms, in the back part of North Carolina. It does not seem probable that their hopes could have extended to the bringing about of a revolution in that province by any force of their own; and the distance, with other circumstances, afforded no

well founded expectation, that they could have received any timely ſupport for its accompliſhment. Their alertneſs and zeal were, however, ſtimulated into action by the accounts of General Prevoſt's ſucceſs. But their uſual ill fortune ſtill ſtuck by them; and before they were able to do any thing of moment, they were attacked and entirely defeated by ſome of the neareſt militia, having loſt near half their number, in killed, wounded, or taken. About 300 of the remainder, however, found means to make their way good in a body to the back part of Georgia; from whence having proceeded to the neareſt Britiſh poſts, they by degrees joined the royal army. It appears that the loyal party, even in this quarter where it was ſtrongeſt, (being in a great meaſure compoſed of emigrants from North Britain,) was infinitely inferior to the ill-affected; and that without the great and continual aſſiſtance of the royal army, the well-affected inhabitants, in no part of America, were in a condition to make head againſt the rebels.

South Carolina was the great and immediate obj ct of hope and fear. Its great diſtance from the main army, and ſcene of action, together with the difficulties of the way, rendered relief ſlow; and there were other ſufficient circumſtances to make it uncertain. Money is juſtly conſidered as the great ſinew of war; and its want, neceſſarily cramped all the military operations of the Americans; the defect, however, increaſing, in proportion to the diſtance of the ſervice, and the conſequent increaſe of the expence. Thoſe who are accuſtomed to the aid of boundleſs reſources, are apt to conceive no other impediment, than what may ariſe from the counter operations of the enemy. But a people ſcarce of money, new in government, and conſequently deſtitute of thoſe ſources and eſtabliſhments, which the induſtry and policy of ages have been accumulating or forming in antient ſtates, experience other more inſuperable difficulties than marching or fighting in their military operations. Under a due conſideration of theſe circumſtances, of the mighty force, immenſe wealth, and unbounded ſupply of that great power with which they were contending, together with the vaſt extent, the remote ſervices, and complicated nature of a war, carried on equally by ſea and by land, on every ſide and on every quarter, but ſtill blazing up more fiercely and ſtrongly in the very center of life and action, it muſt ever excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind, and perhaps be hereafter conſidered as an inexplicable paradox, by what means the new American colonies could have been able, for ſo long a time, to have ſuſtained, in any manner, ſuch a contention.

Although a detachment of Britiſh troops under Colonel Campbell, had penetrated as far up the river as Auguſta, which lies 130 miles higher than the town of Savannah, yet the length and difficulty of the communication, and the danger to which it was expoſed from the vicinity of the enemy in South Carolina, the river being the only boundary between the two provinces, induced General Prevoſt, in ſome time after,

after, to recal that party, and to contract his posts in such a manner, that Hudson's Ferry, at 24 miles distance, was the upper extremity of that chain which he formed along the frontier from the capital.

In the mean time, General Lincoln, with a reinforcement of continental troops, had arrived for the protection of South Carolina, and was posted at Purrysburgh, on the north side of the river, and about 20 miles above the town of Savannah; a circumstance to which probably may be attributed the measure adopted by General Prevost, of collecting his force within a closer compass. A body of the provincial troops, and militia of the Carolina's and of Georgia, amounting to about 2000 men, were higher up the river, under the command of a General Ashe; and upon the retreat of the detachment from Augusta, were ordered by Lincoln to leave their baggage behind, and passing the river into Georgia, to take post in a very strong situation on Briar Creek; intending thereby to cover the upper part of the country, where the disaffected to the royal cause, had, on the departure of the British troops, again assumed their wonted superiority.

Lieutenant Colonel Prevost, who was posted at Hudson's Ferry, about 13 miles lower down the river, formed a design of surprizing Ashe in his strong post; a measure which did not seem very practicable, as Briar's Creek, which covered his front, was for several miles too deep to be forded; the Savannah, and a deep morass covered his left, and he had 200 horse to guard his right. The design being ripened for execution, General Prevost made such dispositions and movements on the borders of the river, between Savannah and Ebenezer, as were sufficient to attract and take up the attention of General Lincoln, during its prosecution. The colonel, in the mean time, having divided his force in two parts, advanced one, with two pieces of cannon, towards Briar Creek, with an apparent view of attacking the enemy, where they were invulnerable, in front. The other division of his force, consisting of the second battalion of the 71st regiment, three companies of grenadiers, some light infantry and horse, amounting in the whole to about 900 men, he led himself a circuitous march of about 50 miles, in order to get round, or to cross Briar Creek, and thereby turning the right, to fall unexpectedly upon the rear of the enemy.

The success of the enterprize was insured by the injudicious conduct of the American General, Ashe, who, in the moment of peril, had detached his light horse upon some unprofitable expedition, and thereby laid himself open to surprize, and left the only weak part of his camp exposed and uncovered. The surprize was accordingly as complete as could have been wished. The Americans were surprized in open day light, and received the first notice of danger, from the havock which the British troops made in their camp. Whole regiments fled without firing a shot, and numbers without even attempting to lay hold of their arms. The deep

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marsh, and the river, which should have afforded security, became now the instruments of their destruction. Blinded by their flight and terror, many were swallowed up by the one, and drowned in the other. Several of the officers, with a regiment of North Carolina men, took bravely, however, to their arms, and gained some honour by an ineffectual defence.

The rebels lost seven pieces of cannon, almost all their arms, their ammunition, and what baggage they had been under a necessity of bringing with them. About 150 men were killed, and 200 taken, among whom was Brigadier General Elbert, the second in command, and one of their best officers, besides some others of note. The number lost in the Savannah and the swamp is not known; and the loss on the side of the victors was so trifling as not to deserve mention. By this defeat, the province was again cleared of the enemy; and although the general did not think it prudent to advance his posts far upwards, yet those which he retained were freed from insults, his communications were opened with the back country, the loyalists, both in Carolina and Georgia, were encouraged to join the army, and his force being collected, was ready to act upon any immediate service which might offer.

Such continued, pretty nearly, the situation of the two small hostile armies until the latter end of April. Separated by a river, which neither of them could venture to pass in the face of the other, they were both secure in their posts, and each covered his respective province. A movement at that time made by General Lincoln, presented, however, a new face of affairs, and opened a way for consequences, which he evidently did not apprehend, and which he undoubtedly would not have hazarded if he had. In order to protect either a meeting, or an election, of delegates for the province of Georgia, which was appointed to be held at Augusta in the beginning of May, he quitted his situation on the lower part of the river, which effectually enabled him to secure Charles Town, as well as to cover the province in general, and marched with the best part of his army towards that place. Indeed it did not appear easy to suppose, that this measure was liable to any dangerous consequences. The freshes were then out, which seemed to render the river in itself a sufficient rampart; but the deep swamps on the other side seemed utterly impassable; or if these could even be evaded, the general appearance of the flat flooded country along the coast, every where intersected with rivers and creeks, seemed to forbid all military operations at that season on that side. But Lincoln did not trust entirely to natural difficulties; he besides left, under the conduct of General Moultrie, a body estimated at about 1500 men, and composed chiefly of the provincial militia, to guard the passes of the river and swamps.

This movement inspired General Prevost with an idea of attempting to penetrate into Carolina. He considered, that offensive operations were necessary to support and increase the reputation of the British arms in that quarter; that his force

force was already conſiderably increaſed by the acceſſion of loyaliſts from that province as well as Georgia, from whence there was reaſon to hope, that his appearance in the country might induce great bodies of the well-affected to declare in his favour; and, in any caſe, it would be the ſure means of obliging Lincoln to abandon his deſign, and would at the ſame time afford an opportunity of procuring a plentiful ſupply of proviſions, which he wanted.

Under the influence of theſe conſiderations, he paſſed the river in different parts near the end of April, with a force, which, ſo far as can be gathered, may be eſtimated at about 3,000 men. Moultrie's militia were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, at ſeeing the Britiſh troops traverſing a country, and emerging from ſwamps which they deemed impaſſable, that they made but a weak reſiſtance in defending the ſeveral ſtrong paſſes which might have effectually checked their progreſs; and at length, as the country became more practicable, gave way on all ſides, and retired towards Charles Town.

The facility with which the army had triumphed over the extraordinary natural impediments of the country, together with the feeble reſiſtance of the enemy, ſerved to extend the views of the general to objects of greater moment, than thoſe which had operated in engaging him to undertake the expedition. The loyaliſts, in the eagerneſs of their hopes and wiſhes, which no failure or diſappointment could ever ſlacken or damp, failed not to improve this diſpoſition, which was ſo favourable to them. They aſſured the general, as a matter of undoubted certainty, that Charles Town would ſurrender without reſiſtance, at his firſt appearance. The object was ſo important, and the temptation ſo great, that inclination and duty muſt have been equally urgent to its acquiſition. Nor did it ſeem well in the power of a commander, in a matter of ſo much conſequence to the ſtate, to have ſlighted the information of thoſe, who had the beſt means of knowing both the ſtate of the place and the diſpoſition of the people; it would be no eaſy matter afterwards to ſhew that it deſerved no credit, and that the deſign was utterly impracticable. General Prevoſt, notwithſtanding, did not think it fitting entirely to rely upon his own opinion, and therefore called all the field officers of his army to conſultation upon the ſubject, who unanimouſly concurred in their advice for his advancing directly to Charles Town. The conduct of General Lincoln ſerved greatly to ſtrengthen this opinion, who was ſo poſitively perſuaded, that General Prevoſt intended nothing more than to forage the country, that it was not until ſome days after the Britiſh forces had paſſed the river, that he could be induced to return to the defence of the capital. But when he was at length convinced of the real danger of that city, he immediately detached a body of infantry, mounted on horſeback, for the greater expedition, to its defence, and collecting the militia of the upper country, returned with his whole force, to act as circumſtances might offer for its relief.

In this ſituation of things, the Britiſh army were ſome days march a-head of Lincoln in the way to

Charles Town, and Moultrie's Militia, and Polaſki's Legion, retiring from one creek and river to another towards that place, as they were preſſed by the former. So many bridges and paſſes could not be gained without ſome ſkirmiſhes, but the reſiſtance was ſtill ſo weak, that they were attended with no circumſtances of any conſequence; it is however to be obſerved, that as the families and effects of Moultrie's Militia lay pretty generally in the line of march, theſe conſiderations touched them ſo cloſely, that his force ſuffered a continual diminution from the outſet, which beſides the weakneſs it produced in leſſening his numbers, ſerved neceſſarily to diſhearten thoſe who remained.

May 11th. At length the Britiſh army arrived at Aſhley River, which they paſſed, a few miles above Charles Town, and advancing along the Neck formed by the two rivers of Aſhley and Cooper, took poſt within little more than cannon ſhot from the works of that city. A continued ſucceſſion of ſkirmiſhes took place on that day and the enſuing night, which, though neceſſarily attended with loſs on both ſides, were of no farther conſequence to either. On the following morning, the general ſummoned the town to ſurrender, and held out very flattering conditions to induce them to a compliance. The negociation continued during the day, and a propoſal was made by the city for a neutrality for their province during the continuance of the war. This being rejected on the one ſide, as the favourable conditions propoſed by the general were on the other, the negociation was broken off in the evening, and every preparation made by the inhabitants and garriſon, for vigorouſly repelling a general aſſault which was expected to take place in the night.

But General Prevoſt, finding himſelf totally diſappointed in every hope that had been held out to him relative to Charles Town, had other objects of ſerious conſideration now before him. He found that no offers he could make were ſufficient to induce the enemy to a ſurrender, and that their countenance ſhewed the fulleſt determination of defence; that their lines were defended by a numerous artillery, and flanked by their armed ſhipping and gallies; and that Gen. Lincoln, with a force, at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior to his own, was faſt approaching. On his own ſide, he had neither battering artillery, nor a naval force to cooperate with his land forces; which were two articles ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary for carrying the place, that their want ſeemed an inſuperable bar to every hope of ſucceſs. And if he were repulſed with any conſiderable loſs, which was much to be apprehended, his ſituation, involved as he was, in a labyrinth of rivers and creeks, ſurrounded on all ſides by a ſuperior enemy, and his retreat continually impeded by ſwamps and difficult paſſes, ſeemed ſcarcely to admit of a hope, that any part of his ſmall army could have been preſerved.

Under theſe conſiderations, he prudently decamped on that very night, and having previouſly taken care to leave a proper guard for the ſecurity of the paſs at Aſhley Ferry, he had by morning returned to the ſouth ſide of that river, without interruption, or the know-

knowledge or ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of the enemy, who had been the whole time ſtanding to their arms, under the momentary apprehenſion of a furious attack. From thence the army paſſed to the iſlands of St. James and St. John, which lie to the ſouthward of Charles Town Harbour, and from their cultivation and fertility afforded good quarters and plenty of proviſions for the troops. Theſe begin that almoſt continued ſucceſſion, and ſometimes labyrinth of iſlands, into which, the ſea with its numerous inlets, and the frequent rivers and creeks, have divided that low flat country, which extends along the coaſt from Charles Town to Savannah; the channels by which they are interſected, or ſeparated from the continent, being in ſome places very narrow and inconſiderable, are in others ſo great, as to afford excellent harbours or roads for ſhipping.

In theſe iſlands, the army impatiently expected thoſe ſupplies of ammunition and neceſſaries from New York, which they exceedingly wanted. The firſt ſhips which had been diſpatched with theſe ſupplies had the ill fortune, of being either taken, deſtroyed, or driven back by the enemy. The arrival of two frigates of war, at length removed the diſtreſſes of the troops, and enabled the army to return to the ſouthward.

The object now with the general was to take and hold poſſeſſion of the iſland of Port Royal; a meaſure which held out many preſent and future advantages, among which it was not the leaſt, that it would afford good quarters and an eligible ſituation to the troops, during the intenſe heats and the very unhealthy ſeaſon, which were then either prevailing or approaching. By this means alſo, he would hold a ſure footing in South Carolina, from which it was not in the power of the enemy to move him, until the long expected and wiſhed for reinforcements arrived, which might enable him to proceed effectually in the reduction of that colony. In the mean time, no poſition could be better choſen for covering Georgia on that ſide; the excellent harbour of Port Royal, was the beſt ſtation in that quarter for the royal ſhipping, and its vicinity to the town of Savannah, with the open communication between both places, ſerved all together to render it a poſt of great importance.

While the greater part of the army were engaged in the operations of moving from one iſland to another, and of eſtabliſhing the different poſts which it was thought neceſſary to occupy during the ſickly ſeaſon, General Lincoln thought it a proper opportunity to attack Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, who was ſtrongly poſted at the paſs of Stono Ferry, which ſeems to be on the inlet between the continent and the iſland of St. John. The Colonel's force conſiſted of the firſt battalion of the 71ſt, and one Heſſian, together with the Carolina refugees; the two battalions being ſo weak and reduced, that his whole number is ſaid to have amounted only to about 800 men. The poſt, however, beſides its natural advantages, was well covered with redoubts, an abbatis, and artillery. On the other ſide, the American force is repreſented as amounting to 5,000 men, and eight pieces of cannon.

They

June 20th. They made the attack with great ſpirit, and ſupported it for about an hour; but were received with ſuch a countenance, and ſuch coolneſs and firmneſs, and ſo much galled by the fire of an armed flat, which covered the left flank of the poſt, that they were then obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. The aſſailants attribute their retreat to the ſtrength of the redoubts, which their light field pieces were totally incapable of making any impreſſion on, and to a ſtrong reinforcement, which arrived from the iſland of St. John, during the action, to the ſupport of the poſt. The royal forces loſt ſome officers as well as men; and above a hundred of both were wounded. The Americans loſt ſome officers of name; and it cannot be doubted, that their loſs in general was conſiderably greater. The army met with no obſtruction in its movement to Port Royal; and the ſeaſon put an end to all operations on either ſide in that quarter.

In the beginning of May, Sir Henry Clinton concerted with Sir George Collier, who now commanded the marine at New York, an expedition to the Cheſapeak, and a deſcent upon Virginia, as meaſures, which more than any other that could be undertaken, would contribute to the embarraſſment and diſtreſs of the enemy.

A ſufficient naval and land force for the intended purpoſes, was accordingly diſpatched from New York, under the conduct of Sir Geo. Collier, and Maj. Gen. Mathew. The fleet having ſucceſsfully paſſed between the Capes of Virginia, the Raiſonable man of war, with ſome armed tenders, were left in Hampton Road, to block up that port, and to intercept the navigation of the River James; whilſt Sir George Collier, having ſhifted his pendant to a frigate, proceeded with the ſmaller ſhips of war and tranſports up Elizabeth River. The town of Portſmouth being their immediate object, and the fleet delayed by ſome circumſtances of wind or tide in its paſſage, the general and troops, impatient of delay, and apprehenſive that the enemy might have time either to ſtrengthen their works, or receive ſuccours, were landed at May 10th. ſome diſtance, and marched directly towards that place.

The town was open and defenceleſs, but the paſſage to it by water was covered by Fort Nelſon, which had been conſtructed at about half a mile's diſtance for that purpoſe. But the garriſon of the fort, knowing that no ſuccour was at hand, and that the fort was incapable of any effectual defence, to avoid being ſurrounded and made priſoners, abandoned it at the approach of the army, who of courſe took poſſeſſion both of that and the town. The town, or remains, of Norfolk, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, fell likewiſe into their hands. Upon the approach of the fleet and army, the enemy burned ſeveral of the veſſels in theſe ports, among which were two large French ſhips, loaded with a thouſand hogſheads of tobacco; the celerity of the invaders having, however, checked the deſtruction pretty early, ſeveral others were ſaved, and fell accordingly into their hands.

The

The general puſhed on detachments to take poſſeſſion of two ſtrong poſts ſeveral miles in front, which from the nature of the country, ſerved to cover the approaches to his camp from any ſudden attempt of the enemy. In the mean time, the Britiſh guards having marched eighteen miles by night to the town of Suffolk, on the Nanſemond river, arrived there at day-break. They found the place had been haſtily abandoned at their approach; and they immediately proceeded to the deſtruction of a very large magazine of proviſions, together with the veſſels and naval ſtores which they found there. A ſimilar deſtruction was carried on at Kempe's landing, Shepherd's, Goſport, Tanner's creek, and other places in that quarter; nor were the frigates and armed veſſels leſs active or ſucceſsful in their ſervice, on the rivers, and in the near parts of the bay.

Within a fortnight, that the fleet and army continued upon the coaſt, the loſs ſuſtained by the Americans was prodigious. Several thouſand barrels of pork, with other proviſions in proportion, which had been prepared for Waſhington's army, and a great quantity of ſtores, were deſtroyed at Suffolk and Shepherd's. In other places theſe articles were brought off. Above 130 ſhips and veſſels of all ſorts, were deſtroyed or taken. Of theſe, 17 prizes were brought away; among thoſe deſtroyed or taken, were ſome privateers, and veſſels of force. All thoſe upon the ſtocks were burned; a conſiderable quantity of naval ſtores brought off; and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ſhips, that was not conveniently portable, deſtroyed.

The commanders received from the loyaliſts, according to their uſual cuſtom, ſuch flattering accounts and poſitive aſſurances, of the general diſpoſition of the people of that colony to return to the obedience of their ſovereign, and their impatience to ſee the royal ſtandard erected amongſt them, that Sir George Collier could not avoid repreſenting the matter in his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, in the full view in which it appeared to himſelf. If it was not, however, thought fitting to adopt the meaſure in its full extent, he ſtrongly urged the great advantages which would accrue from ſending them ſuch reinforcements, as would enable them to hold a footing in the country, by converting Portſmouth into a place of arms, and rendering it thereby a ſure aſylum for ſhipping; purpoſes, which from its ſituation, it ſeemed well calculated for anſwering, and which would have totally deſtroyed the trade of the Cheſapeak. On the other hand, it was a place removed from ſuccour, and in a manner ſurrounded with the greateſt forces of the enemy. It is evident that Sir Henry Clinton ſaw theſe matters in a very different light, from that in which they were viewed by Sir George Collier. He ſent an order for their immediate return. The fleet and army, with their prizes and booty, (having firſt demoliſhed Fort Nelſon, and ſet fire to the ſtore-houſes and all the other buildings in the dock-yard at Goſport), arrived ſafe at New York before the expiration of the month.

An

An expedition which General Sir Henry Clinton was upon the point of undertaking up the North River, probably contributed to the more ſpeedy recall of the forces from the Virginia adventure. The enemy had for ſome time been engaged, and at great labour and expence, in conſtructing very ſtrong works, at the two important poſts of Verplanks Neck, and Stoney Point, in the Highlands. Theſe poſts, which are on nearly oppoſite points of land, the firſt being on the Eaſt, and the other on the Weſt ſide of the North river, were of the utmoſt importance for keeping the communication open between the Eaſtern and Weſtern colonies, the great paſs called King's Ferry lying directly between them. As theſe works were nearly completed, but not yet defenſible, the general thought it the proper ſeaſon to avail himſelf of the induſtry of the enemy, and to reap the fruits of their toil. Waſhington, who lay with his army at Middle Brook in Jerſey, was at too great a diſtance to interrupt the execution of the deſign; nor could his efforts at any rate have extended to the eaſtern ſide of the river. We have already had occaſion to ſee the prodigious advantage, which the naval command of that great river and boundary afforded to an army, in any ſingle or double ſcheme of operation on either ſide.

The troops deſtined for this ſervice, under the command of Major General Vaughan, were only newly embarked, when they were joined by the force returned from the Cheſapeak, and proceeded all together up the North River; the naval department being under the conduct of Sir George Collier. On the following morning, General Vaughan, with the greater part of the army, landed on the Eaſt ſide of the river, about eight miles ſhort of Verplanks; whilſt the remainder, under the conduct of General Pattiſon, and accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, advancing farther up, landed within three miles of Stoney Point. Upon the appearance of the ſhips, the enemy immediately abandoned their works; but took care to ſet fire to a large block-houſe. Upon the approach of the troops to take poſſeſſion of Stoney Point; they, however, made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, by drawing up on the hills; but they did not venture to abide the conflict.

May 30th.

The Americans had finiſhed a ſmall, but ſtrong and complete work, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, which they called Fort la Fayette; this was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a ſmall garriſon of between 70 and 80 men. But this little redoubt, though ſtrong in itſelf, was effectually commanded by Stoney Point, which lies at about a thouſand yards diſtance on the oppoſite ſhore; and it being exceedingly difficult of approach from its own ſide, at leaſt for the conveyance of artillery, the attack was accordingly intended from the other. For this purpoſe, General Pattiſon, with infinite fatigue and labour, and the moſt indefatigable perſeverance during the night, overcame the difficulties of dragging the heavy artillery, from a very bad landing place up a ſteep precipice, to the top of the hill; and his exertions and arrangements were

were so effectual and judicious, that by five on the following morning, he had opened a battery of cannon, and another of mortars, on the summit of the difficult rocks of Stoney Point, which poured a storm of fire over on Fort la Fayette.

The attack was supported by Sir George Collier, who advanced with the gallies and gun-boats within reach of the fort. The cannonade was continued on all sides during the day; and as soon as it was dark, Sir George ordered two of the gallies to pass the fort, and anchor above it, in order to prevent the escape of the garrison by water. In the mean time, General Vaughan with his division, having made a long circuit through the hills, was at length arrived, and had closely invested the fort on the land side. The garrison seeing that all possibility of escape was now cut off, and that their fire was totally overpowered and lost in the magnitude of that which they received, surrendered their little fortress on the following morning, and themselves prisoners of war, without any other stipulation than that of humane treatment. The boldness of their defence certainly merited some praise, although we do not know that it was paid on either side.

The general gave immediate direction for finishing and completing the works of both posts, and for putting Stoney Point in particular, in the strongest state of defence. And for their better support and protection, as well as with a view to the further operations of the campaign, encamped his army at Philipsburg, something about half way down the river to New York Island; which he likewise rendered a post of some importance, by throwing up works, in order for the establishment and preservation of a free communication in future. By the loss of these posts, the rebels in the Jerseys were under a necessity of making a detour of above ninety miles through the mountains, to communicate with the countries East of Hudson's River.

The state of the hostile armies on both sides with respect to actual force, together with the want of money, and the paucity of military provision on one, necessarily limited the views of the opposite commanders, and prevented their undertaking any decisive or extensive operations. They were each in a strong state of defence, and neither had such a superiority of force, as could compel his adversary to relinquish the advantages of his situation. Washington was besides in expectation of foreign aid; and it would have been little consistent with his usual character of caution and judgment, to have run the hazard by any previous attempt, or hasty measure, of weakening his natural strength in such a degree, as might render him incapable of profiting by the assistance of his ally, and the American arms and force, of course contemptible in his eyes. The campaign was accordingly languid, and its operations confined to the surprize of posts, and to desultory excursions; to the last of which, the Americans were now, as at all times, exceedingly exposed, and upon no footing of equality with their enemy.

The numberless small cruizers, whale-boats, and other craft of that

that nature, from the Connecticut coasts, which infested the sound, lying between that colony and Long Island, were so watchful and constant in their depredations, and their situation afforded them such opportunities, that they had nearly destroyed the trade to and from New York on that side, to the very great discommodity and distress of that city, as well as of the fleet and army. Upon this account, General Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir George Collier, determined on a course of desultory invasions along that coast, with a view of curing the evil, by cutting off the means of depredation in the destruction of their piratical craft, and so far as it could be done, of their other vessels and materials for building.

Governor Tryon, who was likewise a general officer, was appointed to the conduct of the land service in this expedition; his force amounted to about 2,600 men, and he was seconded by Brigadier General Garth, an officer of distinguished merit and activity. The fleet having arrived at Newhaven, the forces were landed, and took possession of that town, and of a battery that covered the harbour, without any great loss, although they met with every impediment in their power, and no small share of irregular resistance from the inhabitants and neighbouring militia. The fort, and every thing for naval or military purposes, were destroyed. The town was spared, although first doomed to destruction, owing to some measures observed by the militia, in not molesting the troops on their retreat.

July 5th.

The fleet departed from Newhaven to Fairfield, where the troops were again landed, and again opposed. Here the town was set on fire, and every thing of value consumed. The same measure was repeated in the subsequent and concluding expedition to Norwalk; where the militia being more numerous, and the resistance greater, than in the former places, both that town, and the small one of Greenfield, were totally destroyed. The loss sustained by the Americans in this last act of the expedition was very great. Besides that of their houses, and effects, a considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with a still greater of whale boats and small craft, with stores and merchandize to a large amount, were all destroyed.

Whether it was, that this course of destruction was contrary to the intention and approbation of Sir Henry Clinton, or from whatever other cause it proceeded, it was suddenly stopped in its career, by an order from that general for the immediate return of the troops. The loss sustained by the royal forces was very trifling, considering the opposition they met with; the whole number, in slain, wounded, and missing, being under 150, of which, not above a seventh were killed on the spot.

13th.

The fires and destruction which marked this expedition, were attributed to different causes. Partly to the resentment excited by the rebels, in their firing from the tops and windows of their houses; partly to the zeal of the loyal American refugees, who were implacable in the resentment which they bore to their countrymen on the opposite side, and who from

that

that ſpirit, along with their intimate knowledge of the country, were particularly neceſſary in theſe enterprizes; and, as it was ſaid, in ſome inſtances to military neceſſity, the burning of the houſes ſerving to maſk the retreat of the troops. Major General Tryon, however, juſtified the meaſure, in his letter to the general, upon the fair principles of policy; and ſaid, he ſhould be very ſorry, if it was thought leſs reconcileable with humanity, than with the love of his country, duty to the king, and the law of arms, to which America had been led to make the awful appeal. That the uſurpers had profeſſedly placed their hopes of ſevering the empire, in avoiding deciſive actions, upon the waſte of the Britiſh treaſure, and the eſcape of their own property, during the protracting of the war. That their power was ſupported by the general dread of their tyranny, and the arts practiced to inſpire a credulous multitude with a preſumptuous confidence in the forbearance of the royal forces. And, that he wiſhed to detect this deluſion, and, if poſſible, without injury to the loyaliſts.

Whatever force or juſtice there might be in theſe arguments, the meaſure of burning and deſtroying the country ſeemed an improper accompanyment, to an addreſs of invitation which was circulated among the inhabitants, urging them to return to their duty and allegiance. Mr. Tryon, however, regrets in his letter, the burning of their places of worſhip; but juſtly obſerves, the great difficulty of aſſigning any fixed limits to a conflagration, where the buildings are cloſe, and the houſes compoſed of ſuch very combuſtible materials as boards and ſhingles. This expedition afforded abundant matter, for the renewal and increaſe of that loud clamour, which the Americans had ſo long raiſed, and ſo widely extended, relative to the cruel, and unheard-of manner, in which, they pretended, that the war was conducted on the royal ſide. Nor did it ſeem to produce any great effect with reſpect to its immediate object, of checking the depredations of the American cruizers; for ſo bold and numerous were they, that in a very few days after, two of the royal ſloops of war were taken by them.

The ſurprize of Verplanks and Stoney Point, drew Waſhington and his army from the Jerſeys, to the high, ſtrong, and mountainous country, above thoſe poſts, and on both ſides of the North river. General Sir Henry Clinton's object was, to draw him down, if poſſible, from theſe faſtneſſes into the flat country, and thereby to bring on a general engagement in that ſort of ground, which would have been adapted to the exertion of thoſe peculiar advantages, and that decided ſuperiority, which the royal army poſſeſſed. This was among the motives which led to the Connecticut expedition; and others of leſs note, were undertaken upon the ſame principle. It was, however, a matter of no ſmall difficulty to lead Waſhington into ſuch an error; nor could any art in the laying or covering of the deſign, afford more than a very doubtful proſpect of its ſucceſs.

Whilſt the hoſtile armies were thus watching each others motions with

with the moſt unremitted attention, an enterprize of ſpirit, and eclat, was undertaken on the American ſide, and ſucceſsfully carried into execution by General Wayne. As no induſtry had been wanting in compleating or repairing the works at Stoney Point, which the length of poſſeſſion would admit of, that poſt was now in a very ſtrong ſtate of defence; and was garriſoned by tho 17th regiment of foot, the grenadier companies of the 71ſt, a company of loyal Americans, and ſome artillery; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Johnſon. The garriſon in the oppoſite poſt at Verplanks Neck, was under the conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Webſter; and was at leaſt equal in force to that at Stoney Point.

General Wayne was appointed to the difficult taſk of ſurprizing and reducing Stoney Point; for which he was provided with a ſtrong detachment of the moſt active infantry in the American army. Theſe troops having ſet out from Sandy Reach about noon, had a march of about fourteen miles to ſurmount, over high mountains, through deep moraſſes, difficult defiles, and roads exceedingly bad and narrow, ſo that they could only move in ſingle files during the greateſt part of the way. About eight o'clock in the evening, the van arrived within a mile and a half of their object, where they halted, and the troops were formed into two columns, as faſt as they came up. While they were in this poſition, Wayne, with moſt of his principal officers, went to reconnoitre the works, and to obſerve the ſituation of the garriſon.

July 15th.

It was ſomething not unworthy of obſervation, that the bayonet, which had been ſo often fatally employed againſt the Americans in ſimilar caſes, was the only weapon which they uſed in this attack. It was near midnight before the two columns approached the place; that on the right, conſiſting of Febiger and Meig's regiments, was led by General Wayne; the van, conſiſting of 150 picked men, led by the moſt adventurous officers, and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, advanced to the attack, with unloaded muſkets and fixed bayonets; they being preceded by an avant-guard, conſiſting of an officer of the moſt diſtinguiſhed courage, accompanied by twenty of the moſt deſperate private men, who, among other offices, were particularly intended to remove the abbatis, and other obſtructions, which lay in the way of the ſucceeding troops. The column on the left, was led by a ſimilar choſen van, with unloaded muſkets and fixed bayonets, under the command of a Major Steward; and that was alſo preceded by a ſimilar forlorn hope. The general iſſued the moſt pointed orders to both columns, (which they ſeem ſtrictly to have adhered to) not to fire a ſhot on any account, but to place their whole reliance on the bayonet.

The two attacks ſeem to have been directed to oppoſite points of the works; whilſt a detachment under a Major Murfree engaged the attention of the garriſon, by a feint in their front. They found the approaches more difficult, than

even their knowledge of the place had induced them to expect; the works being covered by a deep moraſs, and which at this time was alſo overflowed by the tide. The Americans ſay, that neither the deep moraſs, the formidable and double rows of abbatis, or the ſtrong works in front and flank, could damp the ardour of their troops; who, in the face of a moſt inceſſant and tremenduous fire of muſquetry, and of cannon loaded with grape ſhot, forced their way at the point of the bayonet through every obſtacle, until the van of each column met in the center of the works, where they arrived at nearly the ſame inſtant.

General Wayne was wounded in the head by a muſket ball, as he paſſed the laſt abbatis; but was gallantly ſupported, and helped through the works, by his two brave Aid de Camps, Fiſhbourn and Archer, to whom he acknowledged the utmoſt gratitude in his public letter. Colonel Fleury, who we may perceive by his name to be a French officer, had the honour of ſtriking the Britiſh ſtandard with his own hand. Major Steward, and ſeveral other officers, received great praiſe; as did in particular the two Lieutenants, Gibbons and Knox, one of whom led the forlorn hope on the right, as the other did on the left; and who had both the fortune to eſcape unhurt, although the firſt loſt ſeventeen men out of twenty in the attack.

There is ſcarcely any thing in the tranſactions of war, which affords more room for ſurprize, and ſeems leſs to be accounted for, than the prodigious diſparity between the numbers ſlain in thoſe different actions, which ſeem otherwiſe ſimilar, or greatly to correſpond, in their principal circumſtances, nature and magnitude. Nothing could well be ſuppoſed, from its nature and circumſtances more bloody, in proportion to the numbers engaged, than this action; and yet the loſs on both ſides was exceedingly moderate. The fate of Captain Tew of the 17th regiment, who fell in this action, being rather ſingular and unfortunate, was accordingly regretted. He had been left for dead on the field in the laſt war; and perhaps no other officer in Europe had ſurvived ſo great a number of wounds, as he had received in the courſe of his ſervice. Promotion had been long promiſed and expected; but through the want of any particular intereſt to ſupport that claim, which his long ſervices, merit, and particular ſufferings, ſeemed, indeed, to render unneceſſary, he finiſhed his military career at the head only of a company.

Nothing could exceed the triumph of the Americans, upon the ſucceſs of this enterprize, and the vigour and ſpirit with which it was conducted. It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that, conſidered in all its parts and difficulties, it would have done honour to the moſt veteran ſoldiers. Waſhington, the Congreſs, the General Aſſembly, and the Supreme Executive Council of Penſylvania, ſeemed emulous in their acknowledgments, and in the praiſes which they beſtowed upon General Wayne, his officers, and troops. In theſe they particularly applaud the humanity and clemency ſhewn to the vanquiſhed, when, (they

ſay) by the laws of war, and ſtimulated by reſentment from the remembrance of a former maſſacre, they would have been juſtified in putting the whole garriſon to the ſword. Nor were real or honorary rewards to the officers forgotten. The total number of priſoners amounted to 543, and the ſlain of the garriſon, according to the American account, to 63; which taken together do not differ very widely from the imperfect return ſent in a hurry by Colonel Johnſon; taking it for granted, (as was undoubtedly the caſe) that thoſe whom he reckons as miſſing, are included in either part of the calculation. The trophies, artillery, and ſtores, were not, in reſpect to the nature and extent of the poſt, inconſiderable.

As ſoon as Stoney Point was taken, the artillery was directly turned againſt Verplanks, and a furious cannonade enſued, which neceſſarily obliged the ſhipping at the latter place to cut their cables, and fall down the river. The news of this diſaſter, and of Webſter's ſituation, who alſo expected an immediate attack on the land ſide, no ſooner reached Sir Henry Clinton, than he took the moſt ſpeedy meaſures for the immediate relief of the one poſt, and the recovery of the other. The whole Britiſh land and naval force was accordingly in motion. The general, with the main army, advanced to Dobb's Ferry; the cavalry, with a detachment of light infantry, puſhed forwards to the banks of the Croton river, in order to awe the enemy on that ſide, in their attempts by land againſt Verplanks; and Sir George Collier, with the frigates, armed veſſels, and tranſports of the fleet, having Brigadier General Sterling, with three regiments on board, proceeded up the river.

But however great the importance or value of Stoney Point, Waſhington was by no means diſpoſed to hazard a general engagement on its account; more eſpecially in a ſituation, where the command of the river would afford ſuch deciſive advantages to his enemy in the diſpoſition, and ſudden movement of their troops, whether with reſpect to the immediate point of action, or to the ſeizing of the paſſes, and cutting off the retreat of his army, as might probably be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. He informs the Congreſs in his letter, that it had been previouſly determined in council not to attempt keeping that poſt, and that nothing more was originally intended, than the deſtruction of the works, and the bringing off the artillery and ſtores. Sir Henry Clinton regained the poſt, after it had been three days in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in it.

A few repetitions of ſuch ſucceſs, would have rendered the Americans ſo daring and adventurous, that the advanced poſts on the royal ſide, muſt have been kept in a conſtant ſtate of alarm and danger. But Fortune was not always in the ſame humour; nor could they often find officers or men, who were capable of acting with ſuch vigour and ſpirit, as thoſe who had ſucceeded in the ſtorm of Stoney Point. On the very night that Brigadier Sterling had taken poſſeſſion of that poſt, an enterprize ſufficiently daring in the deſign, and extremely 19th.

tremelywell conducted in the outset, but which failed wretchedly in the execution, was undertaken against Paulus Hook, which lies almost opposite to the city of New York on the Jersey side. It seems that the strength of the post, had induced such a remissness on the side of the garrison, that the enemy completely surprized the place at three o'clock in the morning, and carried a blockhouse and two redoubts almost without any resistance. In that critical moment of exigency, Major Sutherland, the commander, threw himself hastily, with forty Hessians, into another redoubt, from which they kept so warm and incessant a fire, that the Americans scandalously deserted their new posts, with as much expedition, and as little difficulty, as they had been attained; thus, by a retreat as disgraceful, as the attempt had been apparently bold and well conducted, they abandoned a conquest already evidently in their hands, without having had courage even to spike the artillery, or to set fire to the barracks. The commandant had the fortune to redeem his character, by the gallantry with which he retrieved the consequences of his negligence.

But at the heel of these transactions, intelligence of an alarming nature was received from the eastward, which suddenly called Sir George Collier, with the greater part of his naval force, away from New York. This necessity originated from an expedition undertaken in the summer from Halifax by Colonel Macleane, with a view of establishing a strong post on the river Penobscot, in the eastern confines of New England, where that colony borders on Nova Scotia, and amidst those new and weak settlements, which the Massachusetts people have established in that quarter since the last war, and formed into a county under the name of Lincoln. The force with which he arrived in the Penobscot about the middle of June, consisted of a detachment of 450 rank and file of the 74th regiment, and 200 of the 82d; which were convoyed by three sloops of war. Here Colonel Macleane began to construct a fort, in a situation perfectly well chosen for annoying the enemy.

This transaction occasioned an unusual alarm at Boston, and the most vigorous measures were adopted by that government to prevent its completion. Orders were immediately given for an expedition to the Penobscot; and in order to secure armed vessels and transports, as well as sailors, an embargo of forty days was laid on all their shipping. As a further encouragement, the state gave up its share in all prizes that were taken to the captors. A very considerable naval armament, (for so new a state) under the conduct of Commodore Saltonstall, was accordingly fitted out with extraordinary expedition; and a body of troops embarked under the conduct of a General Lovel.

On the other side, the works of the new fort, notwithstanding that the utmost diligence was used in their construction, were yet so far from being finished, as to afford but very imperfect means of defence, against any great superiority of force. Colonel Macleane had, however, the fortune to receive intelligence of the armament preparing at Boston, a few days

before its arrival; upon which, he immediately changed his plan of operation; and inſtead of proceeding farther in the conſtruction of works, which there could be no time for completing, applied himſelf with the greateſt aſſiduity, to the putting of the poſt in the beſt preſent ſtate of defence, which its ſituation, and the ſhortneſs of the notice, could admit. In this, as in every thing elſe, he received the moſt cordial and efficacious ſupport and aſſiſtance from the officers and crews of the three royal frigates in the river, who committed themſelves with the greateſt chearfulneſs to abide the fate of the garriſon.

July 25th. At length, the hoſtile and dreaded fleet, to the amount of 37 ſail, appeared in ſight; and ſoon after, their armed veſſels began to cannonade the ſhips of war, and a battery of four twelve pounders, which had been thrown up on the bank of the river for their protection. It appears, that the works of the fort were commenced about the middle of a ſmall peninſula, the weſtern point of which run pretty deeply into the river; and the whole, ſo far as we can judge, forming a ſort of hook, within which was included a little bay or harbour, wherein the frigates were ſtationed. The commander had the precaution to intrench the iſthmus or neck, which joined the peninſula to the continent, by which he was ſecured on the back. The weak ſide of the peninſula lay to the harbour, the entrance to which was, as we have ſeen, defended by the frigates, and the four gun battery; and the oppoſite ſide, ſeems not to have admitted of a landing. From this ſituation, the only feaſible means the enemy poſſeſſed for approaching the fort, was by effecting a landing on the weſt point; and even there, the ground was naturally ſo ſtrong and difficult, as to afford no ſmall room for hope to the commander, that he ſhould be able to protract their operations for ſome conſiderable time, which was the great object he had in view, as holding out the proſpect of expected relief.

The fire of the enemy was ſo well returned, that their ſhips found it neceſſary to retire; upon which their fleet anchored off the weſt end of the peninſula. They renewed the attack upon the ſhipping on the following day; but being again repulſed as before, they ſeemed, for the preſent, to give up all hope of ſucceeding on that ſide. They made ſeveral attempts to land, both on the firſt night, and after, in which they were alſo conſtantly repulſed by the piquets, who were advantageouſly poſted on the point for their reception. To the great ſurprize, however, and diſappointment of the commander and garriſon, they made good their landing under a violent cannonade, on the morning of the 28th, and obliged the piquets to retire to the fort.

The attention of the commander, his officers and garriſon, were now neceſſarily confined to the ſtrengthening and defence of their works; operations in which they were equally indefatigable and ſucceſsful. On the third day after their landing, the 30th, enemy opened a battery at about 750 yards diſtance; and in a few days after, another ſomewhat nearer;

rer; but although the cannonade from both was very brisk and well supported, the works were carried on in the fort with the same spirit and industry as before. Thus the besieged exhibited the singular phænomenon, of acquiring a daily accession of internal strength and security, under the immediate assaults of the enemy.

In the mean time, the Americans having erected a battery on an island at the entrance of the harbour, the frigates and shipping thought it necessary, upon a consultation between the land and naval force, to retire farther within the bay or creek; and having also landed guns to cover their own battery, the commander was thereby enabled to withdraw the four twelve pounders for the defence of the fort. For about a fortnight the cannonade was supported with great spirit on both sides; at the end of which time, the commander received intelligence from a deserter, that a general storm was fixed upon, it being intended to attack the ships and the fort at the same instant. Upon this information, he immediately threw up a small work, covered with light artillery, at about 150 yards distance, in the front of the fort; thus adding a further security and cover to the body of the place.

Whilst the commanders, garrison, and seamen were in impatient expectation of the attack, and without the smallest apprehension as to the event, an unusual quiet being observed on the enemy's side, very early in the morning, it induced a closer inspection, in consequence of which it was soon, to their inexpressible astonishment, discovered, that the rebels had totally abandoned their camp and works in the night, and had re-embarked both their forces and artillery. Nor were they left long in the dark as to the cause of this mysterious event; for while they were endeavouring to profit in some degree of the confusion which they saw in the enemy's fleet, Sir George Collier, with his squadron, appeared full to their view in the river.

Aug. 14th.

That commander had sailed from Sandy Hook, in the Raisonable man of war, on the 3d of August, and arrived in the Penobscot, accompanied by the Greyhound, Blonde, Virginia, Camilla, and Galatea frigates. The Americans at first seemed to make some shew of intended resistance, by drawing up in a crescent across the river, as if they determined to dispute the passage. But their resolution soon failed, and a most ignominious flight took place. Perhaps they intended no more by that shew of resistance, than to afford time for the transports to make some way up the river, and to gain thereby an opportunity of landing the troops. However that was, a general chace, and unresisted destruction took place; in both of which the three sloops of war, which had been so long cooped up with the garrison, now took an eager part. The fugitives themselves, finding there was no possibility of escape, shortened the business, by setting fire to, and blowing up their own vessels. No destruction could be more complete, for nothing escaped. One frigate of 20 guns, and another of 18, were, however, taken.

Few single towns have ever experienced such a blow to their ma-

rine, as Boſton now ſuffered. The Warren, a fine new frigate, of 32 eighteen and twelve pounders, with five others, from 20 to 24 guns, one of 16, and one of 18, were all blown up. Six armed brigs or ſloops, from 14 to 16 guns each, with one of 12, met the ſame fate. The whole number of armed veſſels deſtroyed or taken, including two, which the ſquadron took on their paſſage, amounting to nineteen. A force, little, if at all inferior, whether with reſpect to ſhips or guns, to the navy royal of England, for ſeveral years after the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth.

Twenty-four ſail of tranſports were likewiſe deſtroyed, and ſome proviſion veſſels taken. As nothing could be more deſpicable than the conduct of Saltonſtall, ſo no man could be more execrated than he was by his countrymen. It is even ſaid, that the indignation and rage of the land forces roſe ſo high upon the common diſgrace which they were obliged to ſhare in, that they could not refrain from coming to blows with the ſeamen, in the courſe of their ſubſequent return by land. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the Americans were not able to cope with the royal ſquadron, in an open and regular ſea fight, and that the ſuperior force and weight of metal of the Raiſonable, afforded ſufficient cauſe of terror to frigates. But the paſſes, windings, and ſhallows of the river, might have ſerved much to leſſen that ſuperiority; and at any rate, excepting the effuſion of blood, the moſt deſperate reſiſtance could not have been attended with more fatal conſequences than their ignominious flight.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Admiral Byron takes the command in the Weſt Indies. Endeavours to draw M. D'Eſtaing to an engagement without effect. Mortality at St. Lucia. Mr. Byron convoys the homeward-bound trade. Loſs of the iſland of St. Vincent's, during the abſence of the fleet. French fleet reinforced by the arrival of M. de la Motte; proceeds to the reduction of the Granades. Lands a body of forces, which inveſt the Hoſpital Hill in the iſland of Granada. Attack the works by night, and carry them by ſtorm. Lord Macartney propoſes to capitulate; but the terms offered by D'Eſtaing being deemed inadmiſſible, ſurrenders the fort and iſland at diſcretion. Admiral Byron returns to St. Lucia; proceeds with the fleet and army for the recovery of St. Vincent's. Receives intelligence at ſea of the attack upon Granada, and being ignorant of the great ſuperiority of the French fleet, changes his courſe in order to ſuccour that iſland. Different views and conduct of the hoſtile commanders. Engagement. Extraordinary acts of gallantry. Vice-admiral Barrington wounded. French perſevere in their reſolution of not coming to a cloſe action. Views of the Britiſh commanders totally changed, upon diſcovering that the iſland was already loſt, as they had no force capable of attempting its recovery. Tranſports and diſabled ſhips ſent off to St. Chriſtopher's in the evening. Followed next day by the fleet; the enemy having returned to Granada in the night. Prodigious loſs of men on the French ſide accounted for. Claim a victory; and upon what ground. M. D'Eſtaing directs his operations to the northward. Firſt object, the reduction of Georgia.—Second, an attack upon New York, in conjunction with General Waſhington. Arrives upon the coaſt of Carolina; takes the Experiment man of war, and ſome frigates. Anchors off Tybee. Lands his troops, and inveſts the town of Savannah. Summons General Prevoſt. Is joined by General Lincoln, and Count Polaſki. Attacks the Britiſh lines, and is repulſed with great ſlaughter. French retire to their ſhips, and totally abandon the coaſts of America.

THE arrival of Admiral Byron in the Weſt Indies, juſt after the double repulſe which D'Eſtaing had met with at Santa Lucia, and the ſurrender of that iſland to Admiral Barrington, threw the command of the fleet into the hands of the former of theſe gentlemen, at the ſame time that the junction of the ſquadrons enabled them to aſſume a ſuperiority over the French in that quarter. They accordingly omitted nothing which could draw M. D'Eſtaing to an engagement; and repeatedly inſulted him in the harbour of Port Royal, with a view of provoking him to quit the ſecurity afforded by that faſtneſs. Their endeavours were, however, fruitleſs; and that commander ſhewed a degree of phlegm, and a government of his temper, which could ſcarcely have been expected

from his general character, conſidering that there was little, if any, diſparity of force. But the Britiſh naval fame was ſtill ſtrong in memory; and the event of the attempt upon Admiral Barrington, ſerved to impreſs it with yet greater force. The expectation he was in of daily reinforcement, however, juſtified his conduct.

In the mean time, the noxious climate and air of the iſland of St. Lucia ſpread and continued a dreadful mortality among the Britiſh troops; and every day ſerved to render the loſs of Dominique the more ſenſibly felt. This calamity was the more grievous, as it would be exceedingly difficult to ſupply the place of the brave corps who ſerved in that iſland; who, with reſpect to diſcipline, ſpirit, and actual ſervice, could ſcarcely have been matched by any equal number of troops in the univerſe. But it was not the firſt inſtance, in which the rigours and noxious vapours of a ſouthern climate, had finiſhed the career of thoſe unconquerable troops, who had been formed in the wars of Northern America.

At length, reinforcements arrived on both ſides; Admiral Rowley having joined the Britiſh ſquadron, with ſeveral ſhips of war from Europe; about the ſame time, that M. de Graſſe, notwithſtanding the watchfulneſs of the oppoſite commanders, arrived ſafe, with a large convoy, and a conſiderable force, at Martinique. Although theſe reinforcements produced no great difference in the comparative ſtrength of the hoſtile fleets, which were ſtill pretty equally balanced in that reſpect, yet nothing could induce D'Eſtaing to hazard a general engagement. Indeed he adhered ſo pertinaciouſly to this conduct, that when upon different occaſions of ſeparation in the Britiſh ſquadrons, or other circumſtances which ſeemed to offer advantage, he ſometimes ventured to ſail out of Port Royal; yet, he more than once, under circumſtances of apparent diſgrace, retreated again into that harbour, from the eager purſuit and inſult of an enemy, who was not at all ſuperior to him either in force or in number.

An occaſion, however, at length offered, which fully demonſtrated the propriety and judgment of his conduct, and amply rewarded the perſeverance with which he adhered to his ſyſtem. The trade from the Weſt India Iſlands to England, having aſſembled at St. Chriſtopher's towards the middle of June, the very great importance and value of that numerous fleet of merchantmen, made Admiral Byron think it neceſſary to convoy them with his whole ſquadron, for ſome conſiderable part of the way. Indeed, no ſeparation of it could have been ventured upon with any degree of ſafety. For we had no port in thoſe iſlands of ſufficient ſtrength, to have afforded protection to the remaining diviſion of the fleet, againſt the great ſuperiority of land, as well as of naval force, which D'Eſtaing had in his hands. And on the other hand, the French commander would have had it in option to purſue the convoy, and if he even failed of overtaking it, he could ſcarcely miſs of intercepting the ſquadron on its return, which had been ſent for its protection. The meaſure of affording a ſtrong protection to the trade, was the more indiſpenſible, as it

was

was known, that M. de la Motte Piquet was then on his way from France with a ſtrong reinforcement to D'Eſtaing; and no common or ordinary convoy would have been ſufficient for the protection of the trade, in caſe of its falling in with his ſquadron.

No wiſdom in the deſign, nor judgment in the execution, can at all times prevent meaſures from proving unfortunate; as the preſent did in a high degree. The firſt conſequence of the departure of the fleet was the loſs of the valuable iſland of St. Vincent's; a loſs which would have been ſtill more thought of, if it had not been ſpeedily followed by a greater. The circumſtances attending the loſs of that iſland were rather extraordinary, and have not yet been explained in any manner which could afford ſatisfaction to the public. A handful of French from Martinique, under the command only of a naval lieutenant, eſtimated by one account at 300, and by the governor's own at 450 men, not above half of which were regulars, ventured to land upon a hoſtile iſland, garriſoned by ſeven companies of regular troops, under the conduct of a lieutenant-colonel, the garriſon alſo exceeding the invaders in number, and the iſland inhabited likewiſe by a people, who had always ſhewn the utmoſt fierceneſs and eagerneſs for war, when it was accompanied with the hope of plundering the unfortunate Caribbs of their lands; and yet this iſland, ſo circumſtanced as to garriſon and inhabitants, was delivered up to the enemy, without the firing of a ſingle ſhot on either ſide.

The capitulation was ſigned only by Governor Morris, and the French lieutenant; nor can we help thinking it ſomewhat ſingular, that the name of no other officer, civil or military, on the part of the iſland, ſhould appear to it. The conditions were ſufficiently favourable to the inhabitants, being in general drawn upon the model of thoſe at Dominique. The natural effect of that oppreſſion and inhumanity, which the inordinate covetouſneſs of the planters, had induced them ſome years ago to exerciſe upon the Caribbs, and through which they led government into that diſgraceful war we have ſeen for their extermination, was now apparent; that people having immediately joined the French upon their landing, and it may well be ſuppoſed, had no ſmall ſhare in inducing them to undertake the expedition. The terror with which the inhabitants now regarded that people, is alſo obvious, from the fervency with which they claim the French protection againſt them in the articles of capitulation. It is not impoſſible but that terror contributed to the otherwiſe unaccountable ſurrender of the iſland.

D'Eſtaing had the fortune of being joined by the reinforcement under M. de la Motte, with a ſupply of troops, and of what was at leaſt equally neceſſary, of naval and military ſtores and proviſion, during the abſence of the Britiſh fleet. His great ſuperiority by land and ſea, now neceſſarily called him to action, and the iſland of Granada was the immediate object of his enterprize. He arrived off that iſland with a fleet of five or ſix-and-twenty ſhips of the line, with ten or twelve July 2d.

twelve frigates, and, according to their own report, near 10,000 land forces, including the marines, on board. The whole defence of the iſland lay in about 150 ſoldiers and artillery men, and three or four hundred armed inhabitants; and its ſtrength conſiſted in a fortified or entrenched hill, which commanded the fort, harbour, and capital town of St. George.

The French landed between two and three thouſand regular forces, under the conduct of Count Dillon, on that evening; who the next day inveſted the hill, and made the neceſſary preparations for carrying it by ſtorm on the following night. The governor, Lord Macartney, made every poſſible preparation for defence; but it ſeems probable, that he unfortunately placed a greater reliance on the natural and artificial ſtrength of the poſt, than an experienced military commander would have done. The French ſay it was deemed to afford ſo perfect a ſecurity, that it was rendered a depoſit for plate, jewels, and other moſt valuable moveables. However that was, or whatever the ſtrength of the poſt, the defence was extraordinary, conſidering the nature and amount of the force by which it was defended; and although D'Eſtaing headed a column of the French troops in perſon, they were repulſed in the firſt onſet; but the ſuperiority of number was at length deciſive, and they carried the lines after a hard conflict, which laſted about an hour and a half. The French are ſaid to have had 300 men killed or wounded in this aſſault; but they do not acknowledge any ſuch number in their own public account. Their loſs was, however, conſiderable, and chiefly aroſe from a well-directed fire from ſome veſſels in the road, which galled them exceedingly in their approach.

The cannon which they had taken on the top of the hill, being turned at break of day againſt the fort, which then lay at their diſcretion, the governor was under a neceſſity of propoſing, what he had before rejected, a capitulation. D'Eſtaing treated the flag with great haughtineſs; would grant but an hour and a half for framing the propoſals; and when they were preſented, rejected them in the groſs, and in the moſt peremptory manner. He, however, framed ſome terms himſelf, with which they were immediately to comply, without the ſmalleſt deviation on their ſide, or relaxation on his. But theſe were of ſo extraordinary a nature, that the governor and principal inhabitants thought it better to truſt to the law and cuſtoms of nations, to the juſtice of one court, and the interpoſition of the other, by ſurrendering at diſcretion, than to bind themſelves to ſuch unexampled conditions.

Nothing could be more unfavourable to D'Eſtaing's character, than the accounts of his conduct in his new acquiſition, which were ſpread about at that time. His continuance in the iſland of Granada has been repreſented as a conſtant ſcene of ſeverity and oppreſſion. It was ſaid that his ſoldiers were indulged in the moſt unbridled licence; and that if it had not been for the humanity and tenderneſs ſhewn by the officers and private men of Dillon's Iriſh regiment to the inhabitants, their condition would have been too deplorable to be endured or deſcribed.

In

In the mean time, Admiral Byron had returned to St. Lucia, where he arrived on the firſt of the month; his fleet being now weakened by the convoy which he had ſent with the trade to England. He there received the firſt intelligence of the loſs of St. Vincent's; upon which intelligence he concluded with General Grant, that they ſhould proceed with the land and naval force for the recovery of that iſland. In their paſſage for that iſland they received the unwelcome information, that D'Eſtaing had attacked Granada; their advices were very imperfect; did not ſtate the French fleet at any thing near its real force, and repreſented Lord Macartney to be in a condition which would enable him to hold out for ſome days. Nor had they yet received any intelligence of de la Motte's junction with D'Eſtaing. They accordingly changed their courſe and intention, and proceeded for the relief of the Granades.

In this ſtate of ignorance, with reſpect to the ſtrength of the enemy, and the circumſtances of the iſland, the Britiſh commanders arrived within ſight of the French fleet, at the break of day, on the 6th of July. Their force conſiſted in 21 ſhips of the line, and a ſingle frigate; and they were accompanied, and as things fell out exceedingly incumbered, by a ſomewhat greater number of tranſports which conveyed the troops. The enemy had been at anchor off the harbour of St. George's; but having received previous information of the approach of the Britiſh fleet, they were then moſtly getting under way, and thoſe which had not already hoiſted their anchors, immediately ſlipped their cables, and kept ſtretching out to ſea. As the objects of the hoſtile commanders were totally different, it is neceſſary to explain them, for the better comprehending the nature of the enſuing engagement. The Britiſh admirals wanted to bring the enemy to the cloſeſt action that was poſſible; not only as a mode of fighting which at all times afforded the greateſt advantage to their ſide; but as affording the means, beſides the relief of the iſland, (which they made no doubt of) of obtaining that deciſive ſuperiority in thoſe ſeas which they wiſhed to eſtabliſh. On the other hand, M. D'Eſtaing ſought for no other profit or advantage than the preſervation of his new acquiſition; that was to him a ſufficient victory; he was in no diſpoſition to ſeek honour at the hazard of that, in the doubtful iſſue of a bloody and deſperate conflict with a Britiſh fleet, if it could poſſibly be avoided; but he would, notwithſtanding, riſque all things, ſooner than give up what he had got.

Such motives operating on both ſides, and the French ſhips being cleaner, and conſequently ſailing much better than the Engliſh, which threw the choice with reſpect to the mode of fight in a great degree into their hands, the action was neceſſarily partial, and could not, without ſome change of circumſtances, have become general. For the few Britiſh ſhips which could firſt reach (or in ſea language fetch) the enemy, were expoſed to the encounter of a prodigious ſuperiority of force, and conſequently ſuſtained great damage, before they could be ſupported

ported even by their neareſt fellows; and theſe were again, in their turn, to experience the ſame diſadvantage; while ſeveral ſhips of the rear diviſion, were never able to come at all into action; and a ſtill greater number of the fleet in general, could not obtain that ſhare in it which they wiſhed.

The firſt ſignal made by the admiral, on ſeeing the diſpoſition, and diſcovering the intention of the enemy, was that for a general chace; and the ſecond, (he being yet ignorant, or rather miſinformed, as to their ſtrength) was, for the ſhips to engage, and to form as they could get up; and even when the ſuperiority of the enemy was diſcovered, the ſignal for chace was ſtill continued, with the addition of that for a cloſe engagement. About half paſt ſeven the action was commenced, by Admiral Barrington, in the Prince of Wales, with the Captains Sawyer and Gardner, in the Boyne and Sultan, having cloſed with the van of the enemy. That diſtinguiſhed commander, with his brave colleagues, made and ſupported the attack with a ſpirit and reſolution, which would have ſtamped the higheſt honour, where there had been none acknowledged before. But being obliged to endure the whole weight of fire from that diviſion of the enemy, for a conſiderable ſpace of time before they could be ſupported, they ſuffered accordingly; and beſides the damage to the ſhips, and loſs of men, the vice-admiral was himſelf wounded.

The ſuperiority which the French ſhips poſſeſſed in point of ſailing, ſtill enabled them to elude every effort which was made by the Britiſh commanders, to bring on a cloſe and a deciſive engagement. The former, indeed, ſometimes happened in particular inſtances; but it was only, when the evolutions on both ſides, and the eagerneſs on one, threw a few of the Britiſh ſhips into a ſituation, which obliged them to endure a conflict, with a much greater number of the enemy. Thus, the Grafton, Collingwood; the Cornwall, Edwards; and the Lion, Cornwallis, ſuſtained the whole fire of the French fleet, as it paſſed them ſucceſſively on a tack; and Captain Fanſhawe, of the Monmouth, having gallantly attempted, ſingly, to arreſt the progreſs of the enemy's van, hoping thereby to bring on a general action; it will not be wondered at, that as his deſign failed, his ſhip ſhould be little better than a wreck. The Suffolk, Rear-Admiral Rowley, (who had been left originally for the protection of the tranſports) with the Fame, Butchart, had likewiſe ſuffered conſiderably in ſimilar ſituations.

The peculiar circumſtances and ſituations of the fleets, including perhaps their diſtance, together with the oppoſite views of the commanders, brought on a ceſſation of action about twelve o'clock; and although it was renewed at two, and at other times, in ſome degree, during the evening, yet nothing eſſential was done on either ſide. The object of the Britiſh commanders was now totally changed, from what it had been at the commencement of the engagement. Some of the ſhips had puſhed their way boldly during the heat of the action, to the very entrance of the harbour of St. George's,

George's, thinking thereby to administer courage at leaſt, if not ſuccour, to their ſuppoſed friends in the garriſon; but, to their utmoſt aſtoniſhment, they not only beheld French colours on the fort, but were fired at by the batteries. Their main object, in the relief of the iſland, was therefore no more. The iſland was already loſt! and their total inferiority of force by ſea and land, rendered them utterly incapable of attempting its recovery. They had been equally diſappointed with reſpect to the force of the French fleet, as to the ſituation of the iſland. The care of the tranſports, had been a conſtant clog upon them during the action; and their protection now, along with that of the diſabled ſhips, were the great and only objects of conſideration.

Three of the diſabled ſhips were a great way a-ſtern; and one of them, the Lion, had ſuffered ſo extremely, that being incapable of attempting to rejoin the fleet, ſhe was obliged to bear away ſingly, in the beſt manner ſhe could, before the wind; and had the good fortune to arrive ſome time after in Jamaica, although in point of condition little better than a wreck. It ſeemed in the power of the French to have cut off the two other diſabled ſhips; but they would not hazard the attempt, as it would have been the means of bringing on a cloſe and deciſive action. Indeed nothing could more clearly ſhew D'Eſtaing's inflexible determination on that point, which can only account for his conduct, than, that with ſuch a ſuperiority in his line of battle, and ſuch a number of large and ſtout frigates, he neither attempted to cut off the tranſports, or the two diſabled ſhips; nor would even venture to detach a ſingle ſhip in purſuit of the Lion.

In theſe circumſtances, the Britiſh admiral ſent inſtructions in the evening to the Monmouth, (which was in much about the ſame condition with the Lion), as he likewiſe did to the tranſports, to make the beſt of their way to Antigua or St. Chriſtopher's. His line being now reduced to nineteen ſhips, of which ſeveral were greatly diſabled, was drawn up at the cloſe of the evening, at about three miles diſtance from the enemy; in full expectation of being attacked in the morning, as he did not think it poſſible, that with ſo great a ſuperiority, the French commander would ſuffer the tranſports to be carried off without purſuit or moleſtation. M. D'Eſtaing evidently held a different opinion, and returned with his fleet to Granada during the night.

The Generals Grant and Meadowes, were ſpectators of an action in which they could not partake, and felt the higheſt military rapture, at the many extraordinary exertions of gallantry which they ſaw exhibited by their naval friends; and being ignorant of the ſuperiority with which they were contending, had raiſed their expectations to the full confidence of becoming ſharers in a triumph and conſequences which could not take place. It was odd enough, that the two wrecks, the Monmouth and the Lion, ſhould fall in with each other at ſea; and that being mutually diſfigured, Capt. Cornwallis, at leaſt, miſtook the oppoſite for an enemy, and was accordingly bringing up his torn veſſel with

with the greateſt eagerneſs, to the encounter of the other, which was not in quite ſo bad condition.

The loſs of men in the Britiſh fleet, amounted to 183 killed, and 346 wounded, of whom there were four officers in each liſt. This was ſufficiently moderate; but the other circumſtances of the action were exceedingly grievous; for the great damage ſuſtained by the ſhips, particularly in their maſts and rigging, (and for which the diſtant fire of the enemy was ſo peculiarly calculated) was a misfortune difficultly remedied in that quarter, and which muſt have been any where attended with a conſiderable loſs of time. This afforded ſo prodigious a ſuperiority of force to the French, that while that continued, it was impoſſible any longer to diſpute the empire of the ſea with them in the Weſt Indies. Such a ſtate of things, could not but ſpread a great and general panic through all the Britiſh Iſlands; and although D'Eſtaign did not follow up his new conqueſt by any farther attempts; yet upon learning the weak ſtate of his enemy, he did not neglect to return the former viſits he had received at Martinico, by parading for a day with his whole force in ſight of St. Chriſtopher's, as if it were to challenge him to action.

All accounts concur in deſcribing the French loſs of men in this action to be prodigious. The loweſt eſtimate we have ſeen, ſtates it at 2700, of which the ſlain amount to 1200; but other accounts go higher conſiderably than three thouſand. So great a number of land forces, being crowded on board ſhips, which are always rated at a high complement with reſpect to their crews, will in ſome degree account for ſo great a loſs; to which may be added, that this engagement conſiſted in a great meaſure on one ſide, of a ſucceſſion of fierce and deſperate aſſaults, which made a dreadful impreſſion in thoſe particular points to which they were directed. The French account publiſhed by authority, gives no farther ſpecification of the loſs, than what relates to the officers, which could not be concealed. The number of officers, which we find by theſe liſts, to have been killed or wounded, was conſiderable, both in the naval and the land departments. Of the former, three commanders of ſhips were killed; and it ſeems ſingular, that the captain and five lieutenants fell in one ſhip.

The French claimed a victory, on the ground, that they gained their object, in the preſervation of their acquiſition, while the Engliſh loſt theirs, in being obliged to relinquiſh the Iſland. The French King's letter to the Archbiſhop of Paris, for a thankſgiving, on this occaſion, has been publiſhed.

The alarm excited in the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands by the ſuperiority of the enemy was not long lived; for D'Eſtaing's operations were deſtined to another quarter; nor could he probably have atchieved any thing farther there if it had been otherwiſe. The footing which the Britiſh forces had gained in Georgia and South Carolina, was highly diſtreſſing in its preſent effect, and ſtill more alarming with reſpect to its probable conſequences, to the Americans. The ſcene of action was ſo remote from the center of force, and the ſeat of council, that the war there was

was in a great degree beyond their reach; and the British marine force, afforded such decisive advantages to the operations of their troops, in countries every where bordered by the sea, and checquered by inland navigations, as could scarcely be counteracted with effect, by any moderate superiority at land.

America had as yet received no very essential service, with respect to the direct operations of the war, from any co-operation of the French arms. The attempt on Rhode Island, in conjunction with D'Estaing, was productive of expence, danger, and loss, without the smallest benefit. Nor did the conduct of that commander afford much more of satisfaction, than the expedition itself did of advantage. On the other hand, the mischief and danger to the southern provinces, had taken place during the height of the connection; and was perhaps scarcely compensated for by the recovery of Philadelphia; even throwing that event into the scale, as an indirect consequence of the French alliance; and supposing that the British forces would not otherwise have abandoned that capital. It could not besides but be very galling to the Americans, that the protection, equipment, and supply, afforded to the French fleet at Boston, should produce no better effect, than that immediate desertion of their coasts, which exposed them to the southern invasion. Upon the whole, their new alliance had not as yet produced those high advantages, which were undoubtedly held out in the warmth of speculation; nor even that proportion of them, which might have been reasonably expected, as well from a consideration of the motives which led to the connection, as of the general state of affairs, and the means and power of the ally.

Under some of these considerations, or the impression of all, the French court determined now to afford some essential aid to their new allies, by directing D'Estaing's whole force to their assistance; or probably it was a part of the original plan of the campaign, that as soon as he had acquired that effective superiority in the West Indies, which they were resolved to endow him with, he should proceed to the execution of the latter measure. That commander, accordingly, having first waited to see the French homeward bound West India trade clear of danger, proceeded, with about 22 ships of the line, and something less than half the number of large and heavy-metal frigates, in all the pride of a conqueror, to sweep the coasts of North America. His first object, which was expected to be accomplished with little difficulty, was the destruction of the small force under General Prevost, and consequently freeing the southern colonies from all their present alarm and danger. The second, was of greater importance, and likely to be attended with much greater difficulty and danger; and that was, a design to attack, in conjunction with General Washington, the British force at New York, by sea and land at the same time; and thus, by the reduction of that island and its dependencies, along with the consequent ruin of the opposite fleet and army, to bring the war on that continent to a final conclusion.

Through

Through the ſudden and unexpected appearance of the French fleet on the coaſts of South Carolina and Georgia, the Experiment man of war, of fifty guns, and three royal frigates, being totally unapprehenſive of danger, and upon ſeparate ſervices, had the misfortune of falling in with them, and thereby adding to their triumph and number. The firſt, under the command of Sir James Wallace, was on her paſſage from New York to the Savannah with ſupplies: and although ſhe had been already diſmaſted in a violent ſtorm, ſhe made a gallant and deſperate defence againſt an irreſiſtable ſuperiority of force, in the view of the hoſtile fleet.

General Prevoſt was at this time at the town of Savannah; but the better, if not the greater part of his force, was ſtill on the iſland of Port Royal, in South Carolina, where we have already ſeen it took poſt after the retreat from Charles Town. As the enemy were maſters by ſea, that corps had no other means of joining the main body, but by the numerous inland navigations which interſect that country. The intercepting of an expreſs by the Americans, who conveyed orders to Colonel Maitland from the general, for ſpeedily joining him with the whole effective body under his command, delayed the meaſure ſo long, that the enemy had time to ſeize the principal communications before it could take effect. This rendered the junction of that corps with the garriſon, upon which only any hope of defending the Savannah could be founded, a matter of great doubt, difficulty, and danger. The addreſs of Colonel Maitland, the zeal of his troops, with the diſtinguiſhed ſervices of Lieutenant Goldeſbrough of the navy, were happily found ſuperior to all theſe obſtacles.

As D'Eſtaing was obliged to communicate with the government at Charles Town, relative to the movements of General Lincoln, who was to act in concert with him in the intended reduction of Georgia, this probably induced ſome delay with reſpect to his own operations; ſo that although he arrived on the coaſt about the firſt of September, it was more than a week after, before the whole fleet, amounting to above 40 ſail, anchored off the bar of Tybee, at the mouth of the river Savannah. For the three or four ſucceeding days, the French were taken up in paſſing their troops, in ſmall American veſſels, through the Oſſabaw inlet, and landing them at Beaulieu, about 13 miles from the town of Savannah; at the ſame time that their frigates were occupied in taking poſſeſſion of the lower river, and of the different inlets; approaching as near to the town and lines, as the circumſtances of water or of defence would admit. Sept. 9th.

On the 15th the French, with Polaſki's American light horſe, appeared ſo near the Britiſh lines, as to ſkirmiſh with the picquets; and as the force under General Prevoſt, did not admit of his having any other object in view than the mere defence of the town, his poſts were contracted within the cover of the artillery on the works. On the following day, M. D'Eſtaing ſent in a haughty ſummons to the general, to ſurrender the place to the arms of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Majesty. He vaunted in high language, that he commanded the same troops, a detachment of whom had recently taken the Hospital Hill in Granada by storm; notwithstanding that its natural and artificial strength was so great, that it was deemed impregnable by its defenders. He held out the circumstances of that transaction as a lesson of caution, to shew the futility, and the very great danger, with the force which the general had in his hands, and such works as he had to defend, if he ventured to resist the ardour of those conquering troops:—Lord Macartney had the good fortune to escape the first transports of their rage—He could not himself restrain their pillage. General Prevost was therefore warned, in rather commanding terms, that he should be personally responsible, for all the unhappy or fatal consequences, which might be the result of his obstinacy, in venturing a fruitless resistance against a force, with which he was totally incapable of contending.

Colonel Maitland's division had not yet joined the garrison; nor was there any intelligence of their situation, nor knowledge of their ability to perform the junction. In these circumstances, although General Prevost and his officers were determined, even with the force in their hands, to defend the place to the utmost extremity, yet it was thought prudent and necessary to gain all the time that was possible; and this the more especially, as the lines were still in a very imperfect state of defence, and there had not been time to convey the artillery from the shipping, for the protection, such as they were, of the works. The commander had the address to carry this point. Messages passed backwards and forwards; and at length, a truce for 24 hours was agreed upon, to afford time for deliberation.

During this interval, the fortunate arrival of Colonel Maitland, with the troops from Port Royal, presented a new face of affairs, and furnished a fresh stock of strength and spirits to the defence. An answer was accordingly returned, that they were unanimously determined to defend themselves to the last man. Nothing could prevent the sailors (who had been all drawn from the ships to construct and man the batteries) from expressing their usual ardour, by giving three loud cheers, upon firing the signal gun for the recommencement of hostilities.

On the day after delivering the summons, Count D'Estaing was joined by General Lincoln, as he had been before by Polaski. The allies took separate but adjoining camps; and each began immediately to carry on their approaches as in a regular siege. Their joint or separate force cannot be very exactly ascertained. The French are said to have landed, from first to last, about 4800 regular troops, besides some hundreds of mulattoes and free negroes, whom they had brought from the West Indies. Lincoln's force was continually increasing; it was supposed not much to exceed 1500 men, at the time of his junction with D'Estaing; but was afterwards estimated from 3000, to 3500 men.

No account has been given of the number of the garrison; but it would seem, from the exceeding weakness of the battalions, and an

examination of various relative circumſtances, that taking in all deſcriptions of men, provincial troops, loyaliſts, under whatever denomination, and ſailors, that the whole could not exceed 3000 men.

The ſpirit, vigour of exertion, and perſeverance in toil, which were exhibited in carrying on the defenſive works, at leaſt equalled, if not exceeded, any thing of the ſort we have read or heard of. From the general to the private centinel, from the commanders of the royal frigates to the common ſeamen, every man without diſtinction was employed in the hardeſt labour, and chearfully underwent his ſhare of the toil. At the time that the general received the French ſummons, the lines were not only weak and imperfect, but were not protected by above eight or ten pieces of cannon; and at the concluſion of the ſiege or blockade, the works (by the aid of the ſhip guns, and the unceaſing exertion uſed in landing and bringing them forward) were covered with a numerous artillery, amounting to near 100 pieces. Nor was the labour or exertion greater than the judgment uſed in their direction. In this reſpect, Captain Moncrieffe, the engineer, equally excited the admiration of friends and of enemies. The Britiſh forces indeed owed much to his ſkill and ability; and were accordingly unanimous in their acknowledgments of his ſervices; while the French officers declared, that his works and batteries ſprung up every night upon them like champignons. He gained great honour, and merited more ſubſtantial rewards.

The enemy were by no means idle in their endeavours to interrupt the works; but their efforts were ineffectual. In the mean time, they ſpared no induſtry in carrying on their own; and in about a week after the ſummons, had puſhed a ſap to within 300 yards of the abbatis, to the left of the Britiſh center. Although the ſtate of General Prevoſt's force, rendered him exceedingly ſparing of his men, yet in the few conflicts which took place, the enemy were conſtantly and conſiderably loſers. About midnight, between the 3d and the 4th of October, the enemy began a heavy bombardment; and at day-light, they opened a vehement cannonade, with 37 pieces of heavy artillery, and nine mortars, from their land batteries, and 16 cannon from the water. This cannonade was continued, with more or leſs activity, for five days. Its effect fell moſtly upon the town; where, beſides the deſtruction of houſes; women, children and negroes were the only ſufferers. All others were in the works; and theſe continually acquired additional ſtrength, inſtead of ſuſtaining any eſſential damage, during the violence of this cannonade. 24th.

In this diſtreſs of the women and children, which was ſtill increaſed by the throwing in of carcaſſes, which ſet ſome houſes on fire, the general wrote a letter to D'Eſtaing, requiring permiſſion, that they ſhould be ſent aboard ſhips down the river, and placed under the protection of a French man of war, in which ſtate they were to continue until the buſineſs ſhould be finally decided. At the

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ſame time acquainting him, that his own wife and family, ſhould be among the firſt to profit of the indulgence. After a delay of three hours, during which the time was filled up by the diſcharge of cannon and ſhells, the requeſt was not only refuſed, but the refuſal was conveyed in unuſual and inſulting language, in a letter ſigned both by Lincoln and D'Eſtaing. The attempts made afterwards by the French officers, to charge this harſh and cruel refuſal, as well as the mode of it, to the brutality of the American general, are by no means ſufficient to exculpate D'Eſtaing, from his full ſhare in the tranſaction, and in the diſgrace belonging to it; however it may ſerve to ſhew their conſciouſneſs that the act was indefenſible.

Whatever D'Eſtaing's merits may be as a naval commander, he ſeems to have committed two capital errors in this adventure by land. The firſt was, his not immediately attacking the Britiſh lines in their original weakneſs, and before General Prevoſt was joined by Colonel Maitland. The reaſons that may be uſed againſt this meaſure are obvious, and may be anſwered with little difficulty.—The ſecond was, that as he did loſe ſo much time in carrying on regular approaches againſt field works, he ſhould have ſtill continued to proceed by ſap, until he had ſo far obviated the defences of the enemy, that his troops might engage them upon ſomething approaching to equal terms in the final aſſault. If to this it be oppoſed, that his fleet of heavy capital ſhips was expoſed to great riſque and danger, by lying ſo long without ſhelter, upon an inhoſpitable coaſt, which could not afford any, and in a moſt critical ſeaſon of the year; it may well be anſwered, that this very circumſtance afforded the ſtrongeſt motive for immediately attacking his enemy; and conſequently could afford no reaſonable cauſe for delaying that attack, whilſt the defenſive ſtrength on the other ſide was daily increaſing.

Whatever motives operated upon the French commander in the firſt inſtance, it ſeems as if his temper or patience failed him, in waiting the ſlow reſult of ſap in the ſecond. It is poſſible, that his approaches had already coſt him more time than he expected; that the reſiſtance was alſo much greater; that, as his batteries produced very little effect upon the Britiſh works, he was diſappointed in that reſpect likewiſe; and that he finally placed too great a confidence in the ſuperiority of his force, and the goodneſs of his troops.

However that was, after a very heavy cannonade and bombardment for ſeveral hours, the allies attacked the Britiſh lines, with their utmoſt force, and with great fury, a little before day-light. The firing began on the left of the Britiſh lines, but ſoon after became general. As it was ſtill too dark to perceive the movements of the enemy, and uncertain where their principal attacks would take place, no change was made in the diſpoſition of the Britiſh troops; but each command waited coolly in its poſt, prepared for, and expecting, whatever could happen. Oct. 9th.

The nature of the ground on both flanks of the lines, was ſo favourable to the approaches of the enemy, that the defect could not be remedied by all the ſkill

and endeavours of the engineer. Thus an attack was to be expected, towards either or both of the points. A ſwampy hollow way on the right, might bring the enemy under cover to within a very ſmall diſtance of ſome of the principal works; on the left, the approach was not ſo well covered; but the ground being firm and clear, ſeemed better calculated for the operation of regular troops, or at leaſt more inviting to them, than that on the other ſide. The French being likewiſe encamped on that ſide, it was expected that they would direct their whole force to that point; and that the attack on the other, if really undertaken, would be left to the Americans.

The grand attack was, however, directed to the right, whither, D'Eſtaing in perſon led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by all the principal officers of each. They advanced in three columns, under cover of the hollow we have mentioned; but it ſeems, that through the darkneſs, they took a greater circuit, and got deeper in the bog, than they needed or intended to have done; a circumſtance, which beſides a loſs of critical time, could ſcarcely fail of producing ſome diſarrangement or diſorder. The attack was, however, made with great ſpirit, and ſupported with an extraordinary degree of obſtinate perſeverance. A redoubt on the Ebenezar road, was the ſcene of much action, loſs and gallantry. It was obſtinately defended by Captain Taws; the enemy planted two ſtand of colours on it; the parapet was covered with their dead; at length the brave captain fell, gallantly fighting in his redoubt; his ſword being plunged, at the inſtant of death, in the body of the third enemy whom he had ſlain with his own hand. His place was inſtantly and equally ſupplied by Captain Wickham; who, with better fortune, diſplayed acts of the moſt ſignal valour.

While the conflict was ſtill dubious and bloody, particularly at that redoubt, the ſkill and deſign which operated in the conſtruction of the new works, were diſplayed with great advantage. Three batteries which were occupied by ſeamen, took the enemy in almoſt every direction; and made ſuch havock in their ranks, as cauſed ſome little diſorder, or at leaſt occaſioned a pauſe in their violence. At that critical moment of deciſion, a body of grenadiers and marines advanced ſuddenly from the lines, and charged the enemy with ſuch rapidity and fury, throwing themſelves headlong into the ditches and works amongſt them, that in an inſtant, the redoubt, and a battery to its right, were totally cleared of them. The victors did not purſue their advantage with leſs vigour than they had gained it. The enemy were broken, routed, and driven in the greateſt diſorder and confuſion, through the abbatis into the ſwamp. The whole was performed with ſuch rapidity, that three companies of the moſt active troops in the army, who were ordered to ſuſtain the grenadiers, could not, with all their celerity, come in for any ſhare of the honour.

Although it was then day, yet the fog and the ſmoke together cauſed ſo great a darkneſs, that the general could form no accurate judgment,

judgment, either as to the condition or the diſpoſitions of the enemy; and as a conſtant firing was ſtill heard in different parts of the lines, theſe circumſtances, all together, prevented his venturing to purſue the enemy, in their flight and confuſion acroſs the moraſs. They were, however, every where repulſed; but as that was done elſewhere with leſs difficulty, ſo their loſs was proportionally ſmaller. As the day cleared, the works and ditches near the Ebenezar redoubt, preſented ſuch a ſpectacle of killed and wounded, as ſome of the officers and ſoldiers ſaid, had only been equalled at Bunker's hill. At ten o'clock, the enemy requeſted a truce, with leave to bury the dead, and carry off the wounded; the firſt was granted; but a reſtriction laid in point of diſtance as to the reſt.

The loſs of the enemy, in killed and wounded, was, by the loweſt calculations, eſtimated from a thouſand to twelve hundred men. The French acknowledged 44 officers, and about 700 private men, on their ſide only. The amount of the American loſs was not acknowledged. It was ſaid, that nothing but mutual reproach, and the moſt violent animoſity, now took place between the new allies. Each accuſed the other with bad conduct or bad performance, and being the author of his own particular loſs or diſgrace. It was even ſaid, that the troops on both ſides were with difficulty reſtrained from proceeding to extremities; and that the French and American commanders and principal officers, were as little ſatisfied with each other as the private men. It was likewiſe ſuppoſed, that a ſtrong previous jealouſy had ſubſiſted on the American ſide, from D'Eſtaing's ſummoning the place to ſurrender to the arms of the French King only.

However theſe things might be, nothing was thought of after by either party, but the means of getting away, with the greateſt poſſible ſpeed and ſafety. But it was neceſſary to maſk this purpoſe, by ſtill ſupporting the appearance of a blockade. The removal of the French heavy artillery, baggage, ſick, and wounded, was particularly a work of time, labour, and difficulty. Great civilities now paſſed between the French camp and the Britiſh lines; and numberleſs apologies were offered, for the refuſal with reſpect to the women and children. They were now preſſed to place themſelves in the ſituation which they had then requeſted; and a particular ſhip of war and commander were named, for the reception of Mrs. Prevoſt, her children, and company. The anſwer was blunt and ſoldierly; that what had been once refuſed, and that in terms of inſult, could not in any circumſtance be deemed worth the acceptance.

The celebrated Poliſh Count Polaſki, whoſe name has been ſo often mentioned in the American war, was mortally wounded in this action. M. D'Eſtaing himſelf was ſorely wounded in two places. Major-General de Fontange, with ſome other French officers of diſtinction, were likewiſe wounded. The loſs on the Britiſh ſide was inconceiveably ſmall. Too much could not be ſaid in praiſe of every order of men who compoſed the defence of the Savannah. The loyaliſts of both the Carolinas were diſtinguiſhed; nor ſhould it

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be forgotten, that the Captains and ſailors of the tranſports took their ſtation in the batteries, with the ſame alacrity as their brethren in the royal ſervice.

In ſomething more than a week, upon the clearing up of a fog, it was diſcovered, that the French and Americans had abandoned their camps in the preceding night. Some purſuit was made, but it was ſoon found, that they had broken down all the bridges behind them, and purſued their reſpective routs with the greateſt celerity. It was computed, that the French did not loſe leſs in every way, than 1500 men on this adventure. Their commander found his fleet, as much out of heart and condition, and nearly as ſickly as his army. He accordingly totally abandoned the coaſt of America, about the 1ſt of November, and proceeded with the greater part of his fleet directly to France; the reſt having returned to the Weſt-Indies. Such was the beginning and ending of M. D'Eſtaing's American campaign; and ſuch the iſſue, of the great deſigns he had formed, and the mighty hopes he had conceived.

Oct. 18th.

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CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1ſt. THE new year was uſhered in with the moſt violent gale of wind that has been experienced ſince the remarkable one that happened in the beginning of the preſent century. It is impoſſible for us to ſpare room to enumerate one-third of the miſchiefs and accidents it produced: ſuffice it to ſay, that the danger was univerſal; and that every public and private building in and near the metropolis, as well as the ſhipping in the river, ſuſtained ſome damage from its tempeſtuous violence. We ſhall add the following accident, as a proof of the truth of our aſſertion.

A ſtack of chimnies was blown down at the Queen's palace, which broke through the roof into the apartments of three of the young Princes. Their Majeſties got up and went into all the apartments, to ſee if any of the children or family were hurt, but no diſaſter had happened to them; though it was next to a miracle, that the three Princes abovementioned were not killed in their beds.

Advices from Oxford, Cambridge, Norwich, and almoſt every city and town of the kingdom alſo mention great damages to have been ſuſtained in public and private property, from the ſame cauſe.

By the above gale of wind, great damage was done to the ſhipping all around the iſland. The York Eaſt-Indiaman, juſt arrived from Bengal, was run aſhore in Margate Roads; and from various accounts received from the ſea-ports, it is computed that upwards of 300 veſſels have been loſt, in which a conſiderable number of mariners have periſhed. What is very remarkable and providential, the ſouthern channel felt none of its fury, ſo that the fleet of merchantmen and convoy, which had juſt ſailed from St. Helen's, proceeded on their voyage without knowing that ſuch a ſtorm had happened.

Extract of a Letter from an Officer on board the Ruſſel Man of War, dated Spithead, *Jan.* 1. *containing an Account of the running down of the London Eaſt-Indiaman.*

"We ſailed from hence on Saturday laſt the 26th ult. with one of the fineſt fleets ever ſeen; but, alas! we met with our uſual ill-luck. On Monday laſt, off Berry-Head, it blowing a freſh breeze, and under cloſe-reefed top-ſails,

the wind at ſouth-weſt, being near the London Eaſt-Indiaman, and finding we could not weather her, ſhe on one tack and we on the other, we bore away, during which, ſhe clapped her helm a-weather, and we ran right on board, which ſtove in her bow; in half an hour ſhe ſunk, and the greater part of her crew periſhed; out of 160 only 50 were ſaved! it was a moſt diſmal ſcene to behold the men ſtanding on the gunnel as ſhe went down. What rendered the ſcene ſtill more melancholy, a man of war's boat with ſeveral hands, who very humanely, at the riſque of their own lives, had picked up ten or eleven of the London's crew, and were endeavouring to ſave more, got directly over the place where ſhe went down, the ſuction of which was ſo great, that it drew the boat under, and they all periſhed. More of the crew would have been ſaved, but that they were kept at the pumps too long, in order, if poſſible, to ſave the ſhip. Our head and cut-water are entirely gone, and our bowſprit, I believe, is ſprung, as we carried away the fore-maſt and bowſprit. We ſaved about twelve or fourteen hands. The Reſource was ſent by the admiral to take care of us, fearing we might prove leaky; but, thank God, we are not, though her anchor went through our bow."

2d. At ſix o'clock in the morning, a dreadful fire broke out at Greenwich-hoſpital, which burnt moſt furiouſly. At ten o'clock the chapel (the moſt beautiful in the kingdom,) the dome on the ſouth-eaſt quarter of the building, and the great dining-hall, were entirely conſumed. The reſervoirs at the top of the building were unfortunately almoſt empty, and no water to be had for ſome time, but by a line of penſioners who handed buckets from the Thames; but this ſupply was ſo very inadequate, that the fire raged for ſeveral hours with unreſtrained fury: a great many of the wards were deſtroyed, and the weſt wing, in which is the beautiful painted-hall, was in great danger, as the wind ſet that way. About eleven o'clock ſeveral engines arrived from London, and the fire was got under in the evening. The damage done is immenſe, and it will coſt a very large ſum to reſtore the hoſpital to its former beauty and elegance. The fire began in the taylor's ſhop, wherein the men had been at work the preceding day, but had mingled holiday rejoicing too much with their labours.

The following are the wards burnt down at the late fire at Greenwich-hoſpital, viz. King's, Queen's, Prince of Wales, Duke of York's, and Anſon's, beſides two or three others conſiderably damaged that are in that quarter: the walls however of the mall, together with that of the chapel, remain nearly entire. The grand hall has not ſuſtained the leaſt injury, the fire being confined to the ſouth-eaſt quarter.

7th. Being the day appointed for the trial of Admiral Keppel at Portſmouth, at nine in the morning Admiral Pye, as admiral of the white, and preſident of the court-martial, hoiſted his flag on board the Britannia. *See Appendix.*

Edinburgh, Jan. 8. The towns of Glaſgow, Perth, Dundee, Dunfermline, Kilmarnock, Stirling, Dunſe,

Dunſe, &c. and a great many others, entered into reſolutions to oppoſe to the utmoſt any relaxation of the laws againſt the Roman Catholicks.

A great number of the inhabitants of Glaſgow alſo formed themſelves into a ſociety to oppoſe the Roman Catholick bill, the ſame as the ſociety at Edinburgh, under the denomination of friends to the Proteſtant intereſt.

Kirkwall, in Orkney, December 12. The Brig Fortune is returned from Suliſkery to Stromneſs harbour, having carried home the nine men who had been left upon that rock, all of them in better health than could have been expected. They were 19 days and nights upon the iſland, the greateſt part of that time being as tempeſtuous weather as has been known there for many winters paſt. They built a hut for themſelves of ſtone and ſods, the wooden battons which they carried along with them to kill the ſeals ſupported the roof, which was of ſod and ſeal-ſkin; but it could not keep out the rain and ſpray from the ſea, with which the whole iſland is covered when the wind blows high. As they had no fire, they contented themſelves with eating the fleſh of young ſeals raw, different kinds of ſea weed, particularly dulſe, and a conſiderable quantity of ſcurvy-graſs. They ſuffered moſt by want of blankets to keep them warm in the night time. They endeavoured to ſupply this by mats, which they made of long withered graſs, with which this iſland is covered in the winter ſeaſon; but as theſe and their clothes were conſtantly wet, it did not anſwer the intention.

At Hicks's Hall yeſterday, John Powel was tried on an indictment for ſtealing dead bodies out of the burying-ground of St. George's, Hanover-ſquare; when he was ſentenced to be publickly whipped, which was immediately inflicted. 14th.

At the Quarter-ſeſſions of the Peace for Surry, held at St. Margaret's-hill, Southwark, Humphry Finnimore, Eſq; a perſon of 70 years of age, and who has an income of upwards of 500l. a year, was convicted of ſtealing five turkies, the property of Thomas Humphries, maſter of the Gipſy-houſe, near Norwood.

The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following priſoners received ſentence of death, viz. Pierre Maſſeau, for burglariouſly breaking and entering the dwelling-houſe of John Harriot, the White Horſe Cellar, in Piccadilly, with an intent to ſteal; he was recommended by the jury as an object of his Majeſty's mercy; John Hutton, for ſtealing a lamb, the property of John Vinten, out of the ſheep-pens in Smithfield; Henry Hall, William Helſdon, and Thomas Oſborn, for a burglary in the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Wood, at Mill Hill, Hendon, and ſtealing a quantity of houſehold furniture; William Binns and John Bird, for robbing Anne Hanams on the highway of a bundle of linen. 16th.

Philip Sherwin, for a rape on his own daughter, a child of ten years of age, was acquitted.

Plymouth, Jan. 26. On Saturday night laſt, between the hours of 11 and 12, a man was diſcovered on the wall of the dock-yard, near the hemp houſe. The watch-

man ſtationed there, immediately fired, on which he jumped off, and although inſtantly purſued could not be found. The method he made uſe of to get on the wall, was by the means of a large fiſh-hook faſtened to a ſmall cord: this was thrown over the wall, by which means he hauled himſelf up: in his hand he took a ſmall rope with a baſket fixed to it, in which was contained a pint bottle of gunpowder, ſome match, and a dark lantern: it was ſuppoſed he intended (when got on the wall) to pull theſe materials after him. A long piece of match was faſtened to the bottle, and, what is very remarkable, a window of the hemp-houſe was left open at the place he aſcended. The ſcheme ſeems highly probable to have been concerted, as it happened on a very dark night, and when the yard-men were paid off, as on thoſe nights they generally drink rather freely. Several of the people belonging to the hemp houſe have been examined, but nothing has tranſpired to effect a diſcovery.

DIED, On the 20th of this month, in the morning, at his houſe on the Adelphi Terrace, univerſally lamented, David Garrick, Eſq; the firſt of actors, the moſt affectionate huſband, the kindeſt relation, the moſt generous benefactor, and the warmeſt friend. By his uncommon theatrical talents, he, for near forty years, continued to command the unbounded applauſe of an admiring public, and gave a new luſtre and dignity to the profeſſion itſelf, of which he was ſo diſtinguiſhed an ornament. In private life he was ſo amiable, that he was not only the familiar companion, but the intimate friend, of ſome of the firſt characters of the age, by whom his loſs is moſt ſeverely felt, and moſt ſincerely regretted. He had for many years been unfortunately afflicted with fits of the ſtone and gravel, which at length affected his kidnies, and occaſioned his death, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age. For the laſt four days of his life he laboured under a ſuppreſſion of urine, which brought on a mortification, and thence put a period to his exiſtence: as is uſual in ſuch caſes, he expired without expreſſing the leaſt ſenſation of pain, nor did he appear to have felt any for more than thirty hours preceding the moment of his death.

The managers of Drury-Lane, as a token of their regard for Mr. Garrick's memory, ſhut up the houſe as ſoon as they heard of his death, and no play was performed there that evening. The compliment was not handſomer than it was juſt.

Mr. Garrick's diſorder was, (as Mr. Pott predicted previous to the opening of the body) the palſy in the kidnies, which mouldered away on being handled. The ducts leading from the kidnies to the bladder were ſo ſtopped, that a probe would not paſs through them. In the bladder was a ſtone the ſize of a pullet's egg; but with that he might have lived many years. Twelve months ſince Mr. Pott ſearched the bladder, and no ſtone was there; ſo that it muſt have accumulated within that time; the heart, liver, and lungs were ſound, the inteſtines adhered to the ſides; and Mr. Pott declared he never ſaw a ſubject ſo internally fat.

The

The exact amount of the duty on hops for 1778, is 169,345l. 9s. 9d. which is 115,000l. more than any former. The ſtock in hand is nearly equal to four years conſumption.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. The corpſe of David Garrick, Eſq; was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey, with great funeral pomp and ſolemnity. ——His pall was ſupported by Lord Camden, Earl of Oſſory, Right Hon. Mr. Rigby, Hon. Mr. Stanley, J. Patterſon, Eſq; Duke of Devonſhire, Earl Spencer, Viſcount Palmerſton, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Albany Wallis, Eſq; And, from his late houſe on the Adelphi Terrace, the hearſe was followed by more than 50 coaches of the principal nobility and gentry in and about the metropolis.

By his will, he left his buſt of Shakeſpeare (after his wife's death,) and his collection of old plays, to the Britiſh Muſeum; and the houſes in Drury-Lane, which he bought of the fund for decayed actors of the theatre there, back again to that fund. As the public is no farther intereſted in his will, it were waſte of room to record it. He was born in the city of Hereford, and baptiſed Feb. 28, 1716. His will is dated September 24, 1778, and he died Jan. 20, 1779. He is ſaid to have died worth 100,cool. He appointed Lord Camden, Right Hon. Richard Rigby, John Patterſon, Eſq; and Albany Wallis, Eſq; executors of his will.

Edinburgh, Feb. 3. On Friday laſt, copies of the following letter were dropt in the different ſtreets and lanes in the city of Edinburgh.

" Men and Brethren,

" Whoever ſhall find this letter will take as a warning to meet at Leith Wynd on Wedneſday next in the evening, to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there.

A PROTESTANT.

Edinburgh Jan. 29, 1779.

" P. S. Pleaſe to read this carefully, keep it clean, and drop it ſomewhere elſe. For King and Country. UNITY."

In conſequence of this letter, a mob laſt night aſſembled at a houſe at the foot of Chalmer's Cloſe, part of which was intended for a Popiſh church, but had not hitherto been occupied; the reſt of the building was poſſeſſed by a clergyman of that profeſſion. They began by breaking the windows, but their number being greatly increaſed, they proceeded to deſtroy the furniture, and at laſt ſet it on fire. The magiſtrates attended, and uſed every means in their power to prevent them from accompliſhing their deſign, but in vain; for notwithſtanding their efforts, and thoſe of the city guard, and a party of the ſouth fencibles, the whole inſide of the houſe was reduced to aſhes. This forenoon a party of the ſame rioters, it is imagined, attacked the chapel in Black-friars-wynd, the whole furniture of which, together with a valuable collection of books &c. they either deſtroyed or carried off. Af-

ter which they broke the windows, &c. of ſeveral individuals whom they knew to be Catholics. The magiſtrates this day iſſued a proclamation deſiring maſters to keep in their ſervants and apprentices; notwithſtanding which, great numbers aſſembled in the evening in the College-court, with an intention, as they ſaid, of knocking down the houſe of Principal Robertſon, who, they imagined, favoured the Popiſh bill: fortunately a party of Dragoons arriving before they could effect their purpoſe, they diſperſed, and left the city in peace, on being aſſured by the magiſtrates, that all thoughts of bringing in the bill were laid aſide.

5th. This day, by virtue of a commiſſion from his Majeſty, the following bills received the royal aſſent, viz.

The bill for more ſpeedy and expeditious recruiting his Majeſty's land forces and marines.

The bill for better regulating his Majeſty's marine forces when on ſhore.

The bill for allowing the importation of fine Italian organzined thrown ſilk for a limited time.

The bill for the better preſervation of the oyſter fiſhery at Whitſtable; and alſo to ſeveral private bills.

The Lieutenant and Midſhipman who entered the houſe of Mr. Axford, and impreſſed his ſhopman, received judgment on Wedneſday in the Court of King's-bench, to pay each a fine of 13s. 4d. and to be impriſoned for one month in the King's-bench.

9th. Was tried in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, Doctors Commons, the long depending ſuit brought by the Rev. Mr. Sellon, Rector of Clerkenwell, againſt the Rev. Mr. Taylor and Mr. Jones, for preaching in Northampton Chapel without leave of the incumbent (Mr. Sellon), or a licence of the biſhop; when the judge condemned the defendants in coſts of ſuit, and ordered a writ of monition to ſhut up the chapel.

12th. Laſt night when the news arrived from Portſmouth of the honourable acquittal of Admiral Keppel by the Court-Martial, the windows of the houſes in the principal ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter were illuminated with lamps, candles, &c. and different devices, and the portico of the Manſion-houſe was illuminated with upwards of 300 glaſs lamps.

The bells of ſeveral churches were rung, guns fired, and other demonſtrations of joy prevailed.

A guard, both horſe and foot, was placed before the houſe lately occupied by Sir Hugh Palliſer, in Pall-Mall, which went off about one, ſoon after which, the mob having firſt broke all the windows of that houſe, proceeded to break open the door, deſtroyed great part of the furniture, and threw the reſt out of the windows. The guard was again ſent for, and ſeveral of the rioters taken in the houſe, and committed to priſon.

The windows and doors of Lord George Germain's houſe in Pall-mall, were likewiſe demoliſhed.

Moſt of the windows of the Admiralty were deſtroyed by the mob, who took the gates from the hinges, and thereby got into the Court-yard.

A party of the mob alſo broke all the ſedan chairs near the Admiralty,

miralty, and made a bonfire with them before the gates. Some of the mob ſeemed not to be of the lower claſs.

About three o'clock an attack was made upon Lord North's houſe, in Downing-ſtreet, where the rioters, after breaking the windows, burſt open the ſhutters, and attempted to get into the houſe. In about half an hour a ſmall party of foot guards appeared, which was ſoon followed by a detachment of horſe. Juſtice Addington attended at Lord North's, and read the Riot-Act. Sixteen of the ring-leaders were ſecured, and the reſt ſuffered to eſcape.

Capt. Hood's houſe in Harley-ſtreet, ſuffered alſo in the ſame manner; as likewiſe the houſe of Lord Mulgrave in Berkeley-ſquare.

Effigies of Sir Hugh Palliſer were carried about, ſuſpended by the neck, and afterwards burnt.

12th. This evening there was again a general illumination throughout the cities of London and Weſtminſter. The Monument was finely illuminated.

A Court of Common Council was held, and a motion made and ſeconded, that the thanks of the court be given to the Honourable Auguſtus Keppel, which was agreed to.

Another motion was made, and the queſtion put, that the freedom of this city be preſented to Admiral Keppel in a box made of heart of oak, richly ornamented. Agreed to.

17th. Yeſterday one James Donally was brought before Sir John Fielding in Bow-ſtreet, by Lord Fielding, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Denbigh, charged with attempting, at two different times, viz. on Saturday and Monday, (the firſt of which times he got away from his lordſhip, who then attempted to ſecure him) to extort money from his lordſhip, by threatening to accuſe him of unnatural crimes. And this day he was again examined, when the Hon. Mr. Fielding, the younger ſon of Lord Denbigh, appeared alſo and ſwore, that on Saturday laſt the priſoner attacked him in the ſame manner, threatened to accuſe him of unnatural crimes if he did not give him money, and inſolently bid Mr. Fielding take care what he was about, as he, Donally, would charge him with the fact at ſuch a time that Mr. Fielding could not prove an Alibi. This Old Bailey expreſſion obtained half a guinea from Mr. Fielding; but the villain, not content with it, although the whole Mr. Fielding had in his pocket, inſiſted on more, when Mr. Fielding went to a Grocer, whom the Earl of Denbigh dealt with, and borrowed a guinea, which he alſo gave to Donally, when the latter went away, and Mr. Fielding was obliged to return home for another half guinea to go to the play. He was immediately committed for a highway robbery on Mr. Fielding.

19th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when the above mentioned James Donally was capitally convicted of the above offence. The priſoner in his defence urged a point of law, and ſubmitted it to the judges, Buller and Perryn, whether it was a ſtreet robbery. He alſo ſaid that the charge was never thought of till Mr. Fielding came to the public-office in Bow-ſtreet, where Sir John Fielding put it into the pro-

ſecutor's head. This was poſitively denied by Lord and Mr. Fielding, on oath. Judge Buller obſerved to the jury, that the latter part of the priſoner's defence was an high aggravation of his offence; for he accuſed Sir John Fielding of ſubornation, and Lord and Mr. Fielding with abſolute perjury. With regard to the former part of it, his lordſhip obſerved, that to conſtitute a highway robbery there was no neceſſity for corporal fear; for if a perſon gives his money under terror of mind, and compulſively, and againſt his will, or for fear of loſs of character, it is in law eſtabliſhed to be a capital offence; nor was there any neceſſity for a perſon ſo giving his money to be in dread of his life by a charge exhibited againſt him: it was ſufficient that the money was obtained under terror of mind, &c. Under this direction the jury found him guilty; but Judge Buller reſpited ſentence until the opinion of the twelve judges can be had, he taking the verdict of the jury, that "the money was obtained under terror of mind."

On the ſame day, the following convicts received ſentence of death: Robert Dare, for robbing his miſtreſs of a gold ſlide; John Richmond, for houſe-breaking; James Wooley, for ſtealing ſtockings; John Huddey, for burglary; Naphthali Jacobs, a Jew, for ſtealing kitchen furniture, &c.; William Germain, for horſe-ſtealing; Fred. John Euſtace, for ſtealing linen, &c.; Sarah Hill, for ſtealing wearing apparel; Thomas Norman, for a ſtreet robbery; Rowland Ridgley, who in December ſeſſion was convicted of having in his poſſeſſion a certain implement for coining, and whoſe judgment was reſpited for the opinion of the judges.

A new writ was ordered to be iſſued for electing a member for Scarborough in the room of Sir Hugh Palliſer, who has accepted the place of ſteward of the three Chiltern hundreds.

The amount of the employments reſigned by Sir Hugh Palliſer, viz. his ſeat at the Board of Admiralty and his Lieutenancy of the Marines, amounts to no leſs a ſum than 4000l. per annum.

About one o'clock this day, the deputation of aldermen and commons of London, waited upon Admiral Keppel, at his houſe in Audley-ſtreet, where they delivered him the freedom of the city of London in a box made of heart of oak, ornamented with gold. Having refreſhed themſelves, they ſet out at 3 o'clock, in the following proceſſion, to dine at the London Tavern, in the city. The two city marſhals on horſeback, their horſes adorned with blue ribbons; Alderman Croſby, as ſenior alderman in his own coach, with a ſailor behind carrying a blue flag, with the word KEPPEL in large red letters: next, that of the admiral, in which he rode with Lord R. Cavendiſh on his right hand; after them two or three naval officers, the other aldermen, commoners, and city-officers in their own carriages. At Charing Croſs the mob, who were now become very numerous, taking off the admiral's horſes, drew him themſelves; and three ſailors, after diſplacing the coachman, got upon the box, where they hoiſted the flag from the 20th.

the alderman's coach. Soon after, this the proceſſion was joined by the Marine Society, with emblematical ſtreamers, which followed the city marſhals. At Temple-bar a band of martial muſic received him, and another at the Obeliſk, at the bottom of Fleet-ſtreet. They arrived at the London tavern about five o'clock, amidſt the acclamations of a prodigious crowd; and at night the Manſion-houſe was illuminated, and there was the moſt general illumination throughout London and Weſtminſter ever known.

25th. The entertainment which was intended for Admiral Keppel by the Weſt-India planters and merchants, and which was fixed for to-day, was put off by the particular deſire of the Admiral, from an apprehenſion that the exceſſes which were committed on Saturday laſt, and which he or his friends could not repreſs, might be renewed on this occaſion.

Died, Iſaac de Groot, great grandſon to the learned Grotius. He had long been ſupported by private donations, and at length was provided for in the Charter-houſe, where he died.

MARCH.

3d. This day came on to be tried before Earl Mansfield, at Guildhall, a cauſe in which a free black of Anamaboe, on the coaſt of Africa, named Amiſſa, was plaintiff, and a commander of a Liverpool trader, defendant. The circumſtances of the plaintiff's caſe were theſe: In the latter end of the year 1774, the defendant was lying with his ſhip at Anamaboe, and being in want of hands, hired the plaintiff as a ſailor to aſſiſt in navigating the ſhip, and advanced him part of his wages. When the ſhip arrived at Montego Bay, in Jamaica, the plaintiff was ſent with three other ſailors to row ſome ſlaves on ſhore, which the defendant had ſold to a planter there; but as the defendant had previouſly ſold the plaintiff alſo as a ſlave, the planter would not ſuffer him to return, but ſent him up to the mountains, and there employed him as a ſlave. When the defendant returned with his ſhip to Anamaboe, he gave out to the plaintiff's friends that he had died on his paſſage; but a black happened to return to Anamaboe a year or two afterwards, and giving an account that he had left the plaintiff in ſlavery at Jamaica, the king, and other great people of the country, deſired Capt. E. who was then on the coaſt with his ſhip, on his arrival at Jamaica, to purchaſe the plaintiff's redemption, and to ſend him back to his friends, the expences of which they undertook to pay; and the better to identify his perſon, they directed the ſon of one Quaw, a gold-taker at Anamaboe, to accompany Capt. E. on his voyage. Soon after their arrival at Jamaica, they found out the plaintiff, redeemed him after a ſlavery of near three years, and brought him to London, where the matter was laid before the African Committee, who ordered the defendant to be proſecuted, as a means of deterring captains of ſhips from the like practices in future. The learned judge who tried the cauſe, ſummed up the evidence with ſuitable remarks on the good policy and humanity of ſuch

such actions, and recommended to the jury to give exemplary damages. The jury, after staying out of court about a quarter of an hour, returned, and found a verdict for the plaintiff, with 500l. damages.

Extract of a letter from Madrid, dated Feb. 22.

"An express is arrived at court with an account of the following melancholy event:——Count O'Reilly having planned and built a new bridge at Puerta de St. Maria; as soon as it was finished, the 14th of this month was appointed to confer a benediction upon it, when a vast number of persons assisted at the ceremony, in the middle of which the bridge fell in. The number of persons who were drowned, killed, or wounded, is not yet ascertained, but it is computed to be about 600, and among the rest the ecclesiastic who officiated, and several persons of the most distinguished families in the kingdom. The detail of this accident forms a most melancholy story; the Countess O'Reilly was saved in a providential manner, while many noblemen and ladies who were also there were lost."

16th. The following bills received the royal assent by Commission:

A bill for raising a certain sum by annuities, and a lottery.

A bill for preventing mutiny and desertion.

A bill for the better government of his Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces at sea.

A bill for the better supply of mariners and seamen, to serve in his Majesty's navy.

A bill for the better regulation of mad-houses.

A bill for raising a fund for the relief of the widows and children of the clergy in Scotland.

A bill for the better relief and employment of the poor in certain hundreds in Suffolk.

And several road and private bills.

17th. Yesterday morning, between two and three o'clock, a fire broke out at a ship-chandler's between the Hermitage-bridge and Union-stairs, Wapping, which burnt both sides of the way. Upwards of 30 houses in front were consumed, with most of their furniture. Many houses were burnt down between Hermitage-street and the river; and several oil and hemp warehouses, full of those articles, were likewise consumed. It is computed that about 100 houses were burnt down and damaged, besides warehouses with pitch, tar, masts, &c. and other out-buildings; some ships were likewise consumed, and several of the small craft, &c. damaged. Several persons were buried in the ruins of a house which fell down, but happily dug out alive: the house was thrown down by the explosion of some gunpowder lodged in the cellar. Five men are said to be killed by the falling of one of the houses, being all buried in the ruins.

19th. This day the report was made to his Majesty in council by the Deputy-recorder, of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate: when the following were ordered for execution on Wednesday the 31st instant, viz. Naphthali Jacobs, for stealing in the house of Joseph Smith, at Hoxton,

ton, a quantity of kitchen furniture; Rowland Ridgley, who in December seſſion was convicted of having in his poſſeſſion an implement for coining, and whoſe judgment was reſpited for the opinion of the Judges; and Frederick John Euſtace, for ſtealing ſome linen and ſtockings, the property of Henry Johnſon, in the rooms over the Earl of Clarendon's ſtables, in Groſvenor-ſtreet.

The following were reſpited during his Majeſty's pleaſure, Robert Dare, for ſtealing a gold ſlide, ſet with diamonds, the property of Mrs. Egerton, to whom he was ſervant; John Richmond, alias Browes, for breaking open the houſe of Agnes Herbins, and ſtealing gowns, linen, &c. James Wooley, for ſtealing in the houſe of Robert Sudlow, in Wigmore-ſtreet, 24 pair of thread ſtockings; John Huddey, for a burglary in the houſe of Henry White, in Kenſington, and ſtealing linen and apparel; Sarah Hill, for ſtealing ſome wearing apparel, &c. the property of Elizabeth Martin; William Germain, for ſtealing a gelding; and Thomas Norman, for robbing Elizabeth Cornet, in Hart-ſtreet, Crutched-friars, of a quantity of linen

20th. At Thetford aſſizes, Norfolk, this week, a cauſe was tried by a ſpecial jury, between a young lady, plaintiff, and a clergyman, defendant. The action was brought for non-performance of a marriage contract; when it appeared on the trial he preferred his ſervant maid, whom he married, although the young lady had a fortune of 70,000 l. when a verdict was given for the plaintiff with 800 l. damages.

23d. It was reſolved in the Houſe of Commons, that the act prohibiting the growth of tobacco in Ireland be repealed; and that tobacco, the produce of Ireland, be imported into Great Britain, under the ſame privileges as were formerly enjoyed by the colonies.

This evening the ceremony of the chriſtening of the young Prince was performed in the Great Council-chamber, St. James's, by his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. His Royal Highneſs was named Octavius.

The fine ſeat of Sir Thomas Dyke Ackland, at Halincourt, was burnt to the ground, and very little of the furniture ſaved.

26th. At Doctors Commons, the Merits of a libel, brought by the Marquis of Carnarvon againſt his lady, on a charge of adultery, was argued; and her ladyſhip's criminality being fully proved, ſentence of divorce was pronounced by Dr. Betteſworth, chancellor of the dioceſe of London.

The Arethuſa frigate, Captain Holmes, commander, was wrecked upon the rocks near Uſhant, in purſuit of an enemy. The crew were ſaved, and treated by the French with every mark of humanity.

Paris, March 19. M. de Sartine, miniſter of the marine department, has wrote the following circular letter to all captains of armed veſſels, privateers, &c.

" Capt. Cook, who ſailed from Plymouth in July, 1778, on board the Reſolution, in company with the Diſcovery, Capt. Clarke, in order to make ſome diſcoveries on the coaſts, iſlands, and ſeas of Japan and California, being on the

point

point of returning to Europe, and as ſuch diſcoveries are of general utility to all nations, it is the king's pleaſure, that Capt. Cooke ſhall be treated as a commander of a neutral and allied power, and that all captains of armed veſſels, &c. who may meet that famous navigator, ſhall make him acquainted with the king's orders on this behalf, but at the ſame time let him know, that on his part he muſt refrain from all hoſtilities."

DIED, Mrs. Clarke, aged 102, the mother of Mr. Clarke, of Covent-garden theatre.

APRIL.

LENT ASSIZES.

At Oxford three condemned—all reſpited.

At Reading four—all reſpited.

At Northampton three—left for execution.

At Wincheſter eleven—all reprieved for the land or ſea ſervice.

At Cambridge four—one left for execution.

At Huntingdon two—both reprieved.

At Worceſter four—all reprieved.

At Maidſtone eight.

At Ayleſbury eight—five reprieved.

At Bedford one—reprieved.

At Saliſbury one—reprieved.

At Glouceſter ten—one reprieved.

At York ſix—one reprieved.

At Leiceſter two.

At Kingſton, Surry, ſeven.

At Eaſt Grinſtead one.

At Exeter five.

At Lincoln one.

At Lancaſter two.

At Bury Aſſizes (holden for the county of Suffolk) came on the trial of two midſhipmen, and 14 others of a preſs-gang, committed to Ipſwich gaol in December laſt, for the murder of one Thomas Nichols, a publican there; when the Jury, by the direction of the Judge, brought in a Special Verdict, containing all the material facts proved on the trial, and praying the judgment of the Court of King's Bench upon the ſeveral points of law ariſing thereon, among which is that moſt important and long-conteſted queſtion reſpecting the right of impreſſing ſeamen for his Majeſty's ſervice.

At Warwick ſeven—four (one for murder) executed.

At Shrewſbury ſeven—two (one for murder) executed.

At Stafford four—one of whom (George Eaſthop, for murdering a man who attempted to impreſs him) was executed.

At Taunton four—three reprieved.

At the above aſſizes came on the trial of Count Rice for the death of Viſcount Du Barré. When the evidence on the ſide of the crown was cloſed, the Count in a ſhort defence ſtated the commencement and progreſs of his connections with Viſcount Du Barré nearly as follows;

"My acquaintance, ſaid he, with Viſcount Du Barré originated at Paris in the year 1774. His family were then ſoliciting ſome favour at Vienna, and my connections at that Court, which he thought might be ſerviceable to him, engaged his attention to me.

We

We lived from that period, till the day before his death, in an intercourſe of mutual good offices and civility. An expenſive line of life, and conſiderable loſſes at play, frequently involved him in difficulties, to extricate himſelf from which he often borrowed large ſums of money from me. I have in my poſſeſſion letters, which I ſhall now produce, acknowledging the receipt of various ſums of money, as well as bills and notes of hand, to the amount of ſome thouſands of pounds ſtill unpaid, and which, from the embarraſſed ſtate of his affairs, I muſt look on as totally loſt.

"A gouty humour which fell upon his bowels and legs laſt ſummer induced ſome Engliſh phyſicians he met at Spa to recommend the uſe of the Bath waters. Determined, as it appears by theſe letters written a few days before he ſet off for England, to play no more, and to regulate his affairs with prudence, he reſolved upon this excurſion, in order to attend to his health, and reſtore his peace of mind. He frequently ſolicited me to accompany him, to which I at laſt conſented; and accordingly we came to England together at a mutual and proportional expence. We took a houſe at Bath, and lived there upon the ſame terms. For ſome weeks we continued to live at Bath on our former and accuſtomed intimacy, and, though the Viſcount Du Barré was a man of an impetuous temper, without any material diſagreement till the unfortunate diſpute, which terminated in the loſs of his life, and the imminent hazard of mine. It is needleſs here to enter into the origin of that diſpute, or impute blame to the deceaſed, who can no longer vindicate his conduct."

The Count, after ſome pathetic obſervations on the ſufferings he had undergone from his wound, concluded by referring to the evidence already given, as ſome reaſons, he ſaid, prevented his calling the ſeconds before the Court with propriety, and committed himſelf with confidence into the hands of his Jury; perſuaded, to uſe his own words, that, in order to determine juſtly upon his conduct, in the crime imputed to him, they would put themſelves in his ſituation, and adopt thoſe feelings by which he was neceſſarily actuated on the unfortunate occaſion.

Mr. Juſtice Nares addreſſed the Jury in an affecting ſpeech; remarked to them in particular the unuſual backwardneſs the priſoner had ſhewn in this tranſaction, and his humanity to the unfortunate Viſcount after his fall, and directed a verdict for Manſlaughter. The Jury, after a ſhort conſultation, deſired to know if they might not totally acquit the priſoner; and after a few minutes deliberation, pronounced him Not Guilty.

This day, by virtue of a commiſſion from his Majeſty, the royal aſſent was given to the following bills, viz. 1ſt.

The bill for laying additional duties on certain goods under the inſpection of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe and Cuſtoms.

The Bill for allowing the importation of certain goods ſold to foreigners in Britiſh-built ſhips.

The bill for the better encouraging the white herring-fiſhery.

The bill for better encouraging the Iriſh linen manufactory.

The

The bill to revive and continue certain expiring laws.

The bill for better regulating lottery-office keepers; and alſo to ſeveral other public and private bills.

7th. This evening, as Miſs Reay was coming out of Covent-garden theatre, in order to take her coach, accompanied by two friends, a gentleman and a lady, between whom ſhe walked in the Piazza, a man ſtepped up to her without the ſmalleſt previous menace, or addreſs, put a piſtol to her head, and ſhot her inſtantly dead. He then fired another at himſelf, which, however, did not prove equally effectual. The ball grazed upon the upper part of the head, but did not penetrate ſufficiently to produce any fatal effect; he fell, however; and ſo firmly was he bent upon the entire completion of the deſtruction he had meditated, that he was found beating his head with the utmoſt violence with the butt end of the piſtol, by Mr. Mahon, apothecary, of Covent-garden, who wrenched the piſtol from his hand. He was carried to the Shakeſpeare, where his wound was dreſſed. In his pockets were found two letters; one a copy of a letter which he had written to Miſs Reay, and the other to his brother-in-law, in Bow-ſtreet. The firſt of theſe epiſtles is replete with warm expreſſions of affection to the unfortunate object of his love, and an earneſt recommendation of his paſſion. The other contains a pathetic relation of the melancholy reſolution he had taken, and a confeſſion of the cauſe that produced it. He ſaid, he could not live without Miſs Reay; and ſince he had found, by repeated application, that he was ſhut out from every hope of poſſeſſing her, he had conceived this deſign as the only refuge from a miſery which he could not ſupport. He heartily wiſhed his brother that felicity which fate had denied him, and requeſted that the few debts he owed might be diſcharged from the diſpoſal of his effects. When he had ſo far recovered his faculties as to be capable of ſpeech, he enquired with great anxiety concerning Miſs Reay; being told ſhe was dead, he deſired her poor remains might not be expoſed to the obſervation of the curious multitude. About five o'clock in the morning Sir John Fielding came to the Shakeſpeare, and not finding his wounds of a dangerous nature, ordered him to be conveyed to Tothill-fields bridewell. This ill-fated criminal was a clergyman; about four years ago he was an officer in the army; but not meeting with ſucceſs in the military profeſſion, by the advice of his friends he ſoon after quitted it, and aſſumed the gown.

The body of the unhappy lady was carried into the Shakeſpeare tavern for the inſpection of the coroner.

When the news of this misfortune was carried to a certain nobleman, the Earl of S——ch, it was received by him with the utmoſt concern; he wept exceedingly, and lamented with every other token of grief the interruption of a connexion which had laſted for 17 years with happineſs to both.

She had had nine children by the noble Lord, five of whom are now

now living, and have been inſtructed by her with motherly attention.

10th. The man who a few days ago was ſent to Liverpool by Sir John Fielding to apprehend a Mr. Lowe, ſuſpected of being concerned in ſetting the new hoſpital, for the reception of blind patients at Kentiſh Town, on fire, returned to London, with an account, that Lowe being apprehended, and examined before the mayor of Liverpool, had, in the night before he was to be brought to town, poiſoned himſelf. This Lowe was originally a livery ſervant. He afterwards kept a public houſe, in which he ſcraped up ſome money: when, by uſurious means, he made a ſmall fortune, and then commenced gentleman. He afterwards took a genteel houſe the corner of Queen-ſquare, Ormond-ſtreet, where he reſided till the late affair happened. He was a man of uncommon addreſs, for one whoſe mind was uncultivated with any degree of learning. He paſſed for a very benevolent, charitable man, having done many acts of beneficence through oſtentation, and has ſubſcribed to many of the public charities, to give the world a high opinion of his fine and generous feelings. By theſe means he obtained the late ſtation of treaſurer and chief conductor of the new-inſtituted charity; by which, it is averred, he obtained the poſſeſſion of near 5000 l. It appears that combuſtibles had been conveyed into the houſe through a pane of glaſs, though the ſame did not take effect till after he had ſet out for Liverpool, where he pretended buſineſs; yet, there having been neither fire nor candle uſed in the houſe, and ſome other circumſtances ariſing to create ſuſpicion, he was queſtioned about it by letter, and prevaricated ſo much, that there remained no ſort of doubt with Sir John Fielding but that he was the principal incendiary; which his untimely death has confirmed. He has ſince been buried in a croſs-road, and a ſtake is driven through his body, as a ſuicide.

16th. This morning, about nine o'clock, the Reverend Mr. Hackman was brought from Newgate to the bar of the Seſſions-houſe in the Old Bailey, where he was arraigned for firing a piſtol at Miſs Reay, as ſhe was coming out of Covent-garden playhouſe, on Wedneſday the 7th inſt. which killed her on the ſpot; to which indictment he pleaded Not Guilty; when the ſeveral witneſſes were examined, they gave the ſame evidence as they had given before Sir John Fielding, which being gone through with, Judge Blackſtone, who tried him, called on Mr. Hackman to make his defence, or, if he choſe it, he might leave it to his counſel. After Mr. Hackman had wiped a flood of tears from his eyes, he pulled out a ſheet of paper from his pocket, and read, the ſubſtance of which was nearly to this purport: "My Lord, I now ſtand arraigned for a heinous crime, and if found guilty, muſt ſuffer the death that the laws of my country have allotted in ſuch caſes; and as I have taken away the life of one whoſe life was dearer to me than my own, I therefore ſhall meet my unhappy fate with fortitude and reſignation, and acknowledge the juſtneſs of my ſentence." The Judge afterwards ſummed

ſummed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the Jury in an excellent ſpeech, in which he ſaid, that the letter found in the priſoner's pocket, directed to his brother-in-law, was ſufficient to conclude he was not inſane. The Jury, without going out of court, found him guilty, when the Deputy-recorder paſſed ſentence on him, and he was executed the Monday following.

17th. This day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following convicts received ſentence of death, viz. Thomas Fox, for ſtealing a mare from Richard Clewin, at Hendon, and on another indictment, for ſtealing a mare from William Hands in Northamptonſhire; John Harris, for a burglary in the dwelling-houſe of William Prior, in Coventry-ſtreet, and ſtealing a quantity of china; Capt. James Major, for ſending a threatening letter to Sir William Muſgrave, threatening to murder him; Elizabeth Lambert and Mary New, for robbing Mary Beachman on the King's highway; James Hackman, Clerk, for the wilful murther of Martha Reay, ſpinſter; William Walker, for burglariouſly breaking open the houſe of James Pentecroſs, in Shoe-lane, and ſtealing a quantity of copper, braſs, &c. Chriſtopher Foley and Peter Weldon, for coining and counterfeiting the King's ſilver coin, called Sixpences, at the houſe of Weldon, in Oat-lane, Noble-ſtreet; three were ſentenced to hard labour on the river Thames, eleven were burnt in the hand, and ordered to be kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction for divers terms; nine were ordered to be whipped, and ſeventeen diſcharged by proclamation; John Vincent, convicted of feloniouſly killing and ſlaying Mary Dollard, a woman with whom he had cohabited many years, by ſhooting at and wounding her in the back and ſhoulder, with a gun loaded with powder and ſhot, of which wound ſhe languiſhed ſome time, and then died, in the pariſh of Fulham, was branded, and ordered to be impriſoned one year in Newgate. William Stenſon was convicted of feloniouſly counterfeiting the copper money of this kingdom, called Halfpence, and ordered to be branded in the hand, and impriſoned one year in Newgate.

One Browne was tried for wilfully ſetting fire to his houſe at Wapping, which occaſioned the late dreadful conflagration. An Alibi was proved, on which the Jury, without going out of court, brought in their verdict, Not Guilty.

Soon after came on the trial of Thomas Hilliard, for wilfully ſetting fire to his houſe in Bird-in-hand Court, Cheapſide; he was acquitted on a point of law, viz. that the cloſet he ſet fire to, was not any part of the dwelling-houſe.

The Judges met in the evening at Lord Chief 29th. Juſtice De Grey's houſe in Lincoln's-inn-fields, to give their opinion on the caſe of James Donally, convicted the ſeſſion before laſt for a robbery on the perſon of the Hon. Charles Fielding, ſon of the Earl of Denbigh, when Counſel were firſt heard, viz. Mr. Howarth in behalf of the crown, and Mr. Graham in behalf of the priſoner, who having withdrawn, their Lord-

ſhips ſingly delivered their opinion, each of whom were clearly of opinion, that the threat of the priſoner, when he demanded Mr. Fielding's money, viz. "You had better comply, or I'll take you before a magiſtrate, and charge you with an unnatural crime," was equivalent to an actual violence, and was ſuch a method as in common experience was likely to occaſion fear, and induce any man to part with his property. Lord Mansfield with great energy obſerved, that it was a ſpecious mode of robbery of late grown very common, invented by fraud to evade the law, but which would not ſuffer itſelf to be evaded. God only knows what numberleſs robberies of this kind would have been perpetrated by theſe deteſtable wretches on timorous minds, if their Lordſhips had been of a different opinion.

DIED, At Perſhore, in Worceſterſhire, in his 55th year, the Rev. J. Aſh, LL.D. an eminent Diſſenting miniſter; author of a celebrated "Engliſh Grammar;" of "The Complete Engliſh Dictionary;" of "Sentiments on Education;" and ſeveral other publications.

MAY.

Extract of a Letter from Ireland, dated May 1.

"At an aſſembly held at the Tholſel of the city of Dublin the 16th of April, 1779, the following reſolutions were agreed to:

Reſolved, That the unjuſt, illiberal, and impolitic oppoſition given by many ſelf-intereſted people of Great Britain to the propoſed encouragement of the trade and commerce of this kinghom, originated in avarice and ingratitude.

Reſolved, That we will not, directly or indirectly, import or uſe any goods or wares, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, which can be produced or manufactured in this kingdom,—till an enlightened policy, founded on principles of juſtice, ſhall appear to actuate the inhabitants of certain manufacturing towns of Great Britain, who have taken ſo active a part in oppoſing the regulations propoſed in favour of the trade of Ireland: and that they appear to entertain ſentiments of reſpect and affection for their fellow-ſubjects of this kingdom."

Laſt week an application was made to the Court of King's Bench, by Mr. Dunning, for an Habeas Corpus to bring up two lads from the Nore, who had been impreſſed. The affidavits on which the application for the Habeas were grounded, ſtated them to be apprentices; when Lord Mansfield ſaid, that inſtead of a Habeas Corpus he ſhould go a ſhorter way to work, and grant his warrant for bringing them before him, being apprentices. That he knew not of any ſuch authority till ſome years ago, reading ſome old law books; that he went to Lord Hardwicke, and conſulted him on it, who agreed that it was in their power to grant their warrant in ſuch a caſe for an apprentice; that Lord Chief Juſtice Holt was of the ſame opinion, and that there were ſeveral precedents for it. His Lordſhip ordered the regular 3d.

gular steps to be taken to obtain the warrant.

7th. Came on before the Barons of the Exchequer the hearing of a cause, wherein a gentleman of the town of Kingston upon Hull was plaintiff, and the Rev. William Huntingdon, vicar of Kirk Ella, defendant. The suit was for the tythe of a small quantity of potatoes, value 17s. which the plaintiff claimed as impropriator; when, after a fair hearing, it was determined that potatoes are a small tythe; and the Vicar's claim to all the small tythes being allowed, the Barons decided the cause in favour of the vicar, and ordered the plaintiff's bill to be dismissed.

Extract of a Letter from Winchester.

8th. "On Monday night a large body of French prisoners confined in the King's house here, found means to let themselves down into a vault in the north wing, from whence they cut a hole through the foundation of the building, and undermined the ground for some distance; and had it not been for an accident occasioned by their eagerness in getting out, in which a boy's arm was broke, and whose sudden cries instantly alarmed the centinels, it is supposed some hundreds would have got off undiscovered, but, owing to the above, only eleven made their escape."

10th. The bill for vesting in the two universities, &c. the exclusive right of printing almanacks, was read a second time; when a petition from Mr. Carnan, bookseller, was also read, praying to be heard by counsel against the said bill, which was granted; when Mr. Davenport and Mr. Erskine were both admitted to the bar, and on pleading the law against monopolies, and the legal determination of the courts of Chancery and Common Pleas, the bill was rejected on a division 60 to 40.

18th. This day the following bills were passed by commission:

An act for the further relief of Protestant Dissenting Ministers and Schoolmasters.

An act to repeal so much of several acts of Parliament as prohibit the growth and produce of tobacco in Ireland, and to permit the importation of tobacco of the growth and produce of that kingdom into Great Britain, &c.

An act for granting a bounty upon the importation into this kingdom of hemp, of the growth of Ireland, for a limited time.

An act for granting a drawback of the duties imposed by an act of the last session of Parliament upon all foreign wines exported from Great Britain to any British colony in America, or to any British settlement in the East-Indies.

An act to enable the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster to sell and dispose of certain fee farm rents, and other rents, &c.

An act for altering the times of holding the Martinmas and Candlemas terms in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland.

An act for better securing the duties on starch.

And to several road, inclosure, and other bills.

19th. This morning the Knights Elect of the Bath assembled in the Prince's Chamber, Westminster. About half past eleven o'clock

6'clock the proceſſion began to the Abbey, after walking round which they entered Henry the Seventh's chapel, where they were inſtalled with the uſual formality.

The Knights inſtalled were Sir Robert Gunning, Bart. Sir James Adolphus Oughton, R. H. Sir John Blaquiere, Sir George Howard, R. H. Sir John Irwine, Sir William Gordon, Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, Sir Edward Hughes, Sir Henry Clinton, Sir Hector Munro, Sir James Harris, and the Earl of Antrim.

Sir J. A. Oughton, Sir Edward Hughes, Sir Henry Clinton, Sir James Harris, and Sir Hector Munro, were inſtalled by Proxy.

His Royal Highneſs Prince Frederick ſat as Great Maſter, and did the buſineſs with eaſe and wonderful propriety.

A gallery was erected over the door of the chapel, in which the Prince of Wales, with two of the Princes his brothers, the Duke of Montagu, &c. ſat to ſee the ceremony.

The Queen, and others of the royal children, were placed in a gallery built for that purpoſe, near the great weſtern door of the Abbey, from whence they had a full view of the proceſſion through the Abbey to and from the chapel.

The whole ceremony was finiſhed by half after two, and in the evening a grand ball was given by the knights who were inſtalled, at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, at which upwards of 1000 of the nobility and gentry were preſent.

20th. This day James Mathiſon was tried at the Old Bailey, for a forgery upon the Bank of England.—There perhaps never appeared in any court of juſtice ſo capital, nor ſo ingenious a man in his ſtile as this priſoner. He has reigned longer in his villainy, and has executed it with more dexterity than any that probably ever preceded him. His practice for ſome time paſt had been to go to the Bank, and take out a note:—this he counterfeited, paſſed the copy, and after ſome time returned the original again. The frequency of his applications at laſt however excited ſuſpicions, which, added to ſome other circumſtances, ariſing from his appearance and figure in life, he was taken up. On his apprehenſion, he denied the accuſation, called himſelf a watch-maker, and ſaid he lived by the honeſt exerciſe of his employment; but when he was brought before Sir John Fielding, he was there known to be the perſon who had been charged with forgeries upon the Bank at Darlington; and being told there, that his name was Mathiſon, and not Mathews, as he had given out, he immediately loſt all confidence, and taking it for granted that there were circumſtances already diſcovered entirely ſufficient for his conviction; he ſaid, it was needleſs to conceal any thing then, and gave an ample information of his various frauds, and his mode of carrying them into execution. The particular forgery on which he was charged to-day, was, for uttering a twenty-pound bank note, Bank of England, at Coventry. The note was produced in Court, and witneſſes were brought to prove its having been negociated by him. This fact being eſtabliſhed, the next circumſtance in conſideration was, to

prove that the note was absolutely a counterfeit one. This his prosecutors were totally unable to do, by any testimony they could adduce, so minutely, and so dexterously had he feigned all the different marks. The note itself was not only so made as to make it altogether impossible for any human optic to perceive a difference, but the very hands of the cashier and the entering clerk were also so counterfeited, as entirely to preclude a positive discrimination, even by these men themselves. The water mark too, namely, Bank of England, which the bankers have considered as an infallible criterion of fair notes, a mark which could not be resembled by any possible means, was also so hit off by this man, as to make it not in the power of the most exact observer to perceive a difference. Several paper-makers were of opinion that this mark must have been put on in the making of the paper, but Mathison declared that he put it on afterwards by a method peculiar to himself, and known only to himself.—The extreme similitude of the fair and false notes had such an effect upon the Judge and Jury, that the prisoner would certainly have been discharged for want of evidence to prove the counterfeit, if his own information, taken at Fielding's, had not been produced against him, which immediately turned the scale against him, and he was found guilty.

21st. This day the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when five convicts received judgment of death; twelve were sentenced to hard labour on the river Thames; thirteen were ordered to hard labour in the houses of correction, several of whom were branded; four were ordered to be whipped; and sixteen discharged by proclamation.

A respite during his Majesty's pleasure was sent to Newgate for William Walker, a prisoner under sentence of death for burglary in the house of James Penticross.

Also a respite, until the 16th of June, was sent to the same jail for Capt. James Major, a prisoner under the like sentence, for writing an incendiary letter to Sir William Musgrave.

22d. Sir Thomas Clavering, Gen. Johnstone, and Miss Maria Clavering, niece to Sir Thomas, attended the quarter-sessions at Hicks's-hall, to prosecute the articles of the peace exhibited the day before against John Craggs, Esq; late a lieutenant in the East-India Company's service, on behalf of Miss Clavering. By the articles, it appeared that Miss Clavering lived in Orchard-street, Oxford-street, with her uncle; that for three months past the lieutenant had followed and pursued her with such an unwarrantable attachment and affection, as justly alarmed the fears of Miss Clavering; that on the 12th of May he wrote her a letter, in which, among other terrifying expressions, he made use of the following words:

"There is no distraction of mind equal to that I suffer for you. Go where you will, I will follow you, which may be attended with consequences too fatal to mention here; and as for myself, I have nothing but my life to lose." Miss Clavering also declared, that she did not exhibit the articles from malice

malice or hatred, but ſolely to protect herſelf, as ſhe was in fear of loſs of life, or bodily harm. For form's ſake, Sir John Hawkins aſked Miſs Clavering, if ever ſhe had given any encouragement to his addreſſes? To which Miſs Clavering replied in the negative, and ſaid ſhe had wrote to him, by her uncle and friends orders, deſiring him never to ſee her more. It appeared on the examination that he followed her to Court, to Saliſbury, Briſtol, Bath, &c.

The lieutenant was called, but did not appear, when the Bench, conſidering his conduct and terrifying threats, ordered that he be apprehended, and held to the peace, as well to all his Majeſty's ſubjects, as to Miſs Clavering in particular, to find ſureties in 500l. each, and himſelf in 1000l. for ſeven years, at the ſame time granting a warrant againſt him, with an order of Court for an hour's notice of bail, with references therein to Sir John Fielding to take bail.

Meſſrs. Kelly, Lindſay, Carter, Hill, Durell, and another, ſix Weſtminſter ſchool-boys, were likewiſe tried for an aſſault on a man in Dean's-yard, Weſtminſter, in January laſt, when they beat and wounded him in a moſt ſhocking manner, and after that Kelly, with a drawn knife in his hand, ſaid, 'If you don't kneel down and aſk pardon, I will rip you up,' which the man was compelled to do to ſave his life.

Hill and Durell pleaded not guilty, the reſt pleaded guilty. Hill was acquitted for want of evidence, and Durell found guilty, but fined only 1s. on a doubt of his being a principal among theſe polite young ruffians. The facts being fully proved, the other four were ſentenced to a month's impriſonment in Bridewell, and 100l. fine to be paid among them; but if they would in court aſk the proſecutor's pardon on their knees, as they had compelled him to aſk theirs, the court would take off the impriſonment: they abſolutely refuſed aſking pardon on their knees. The ſentence ſtood thus for about an hour, when the father of Carter, one of the four, applied to the court, and told them that his ſon was elected to Chriſt-college, Oxford, and muſt go there in a few days, or loſe the benefit of that election. On this the court took off his impriſonment.

This being done, ſome of the magiſtrates moved, that the reſt might have their impriſonment taken off alſo. This was ſtrongly oppoſed by the chairman, Sir John Hawkins, and ſeveral other juſtices, but on a diviſion it was carried to take off the impriſonment nine againſt 7.

They then were directed to make the proſecutor ſatisfaction, and he ſaid, as he had before offered to take 50l. beſides his coſts, he would take it then. The friends of the boys paid the proſecutor in court 50l. and Mr. Denton, his attorney 20l. for the coſts, who, to his honour, carried on the proſecution with a ſpirit due to the attrocious barbarity of the petty claſſical bravoes.

Peterſburgh, May 21. On Sunday the new-born Great Duke was baptized at Zarſco-Zelo, by the name of Conſtantine; the Em-

preſs was the ſponſor. After the ceremony the foreign miniſters and nobility dined with her Imperial Majeſty at a table of two hundred covers. On this occaſion ſeveral promotions were made in the civil and military departments.

DIED. Mr. Oakes, at Newington, aged 107.

In Derbyſhire, J. Simpſon, aged 114.

JUNE.

1ſt. Yeſterday the following bills received the royal aſſent by commiſſion.

The bill to prevent frauds by private diſtillers.

The bill to prevent frauds and abuſes in the payment of wages to perſons employed in the bone and thread-lace manufactory.

The bill for the preſervation of the river Lee.

The bill for granting to his Majeſty certain duties on licences to be taken out by perſons letting to hire horſes for travelling poſt.

The bill to continue the act of the 16th of his preſent Majeſty, for the puniſhment by hard labour of offenders, who ſhall become liable to be tranſported, &c.

The bill for taking off the duty upon all ſalt uſed in curing pilchards.

The bill to indemnify perſons who have omitted to take the oaths to qualify themſelves for offices, &c.

The bill for diſcontinuing the duties on cotton wool, the growth and product of the Britiſh colonies, in America.

The bill for allowing the importation of goods into this kingdom from Aſia and Africa.

The bill for diſſolving the marriage of the Marquis of Carmarthen with his now wife.

And ſeveral road and incloſure bills.

2d. Came on before Sir Francis Buller and a ſpecial jury, an action brought on behalf of the owners of the London Eaſt-Indiaman, who charged Captain Drake, of the Ruſſel man of war, with wilfully and neglectfully running down the London; and laid their damages, ariſing from his conduct, at 50,000l. The jury were out for about a quarter of an hour, and returned with a verdict in favour of the defendant.

By a liſt of the number of empty houſes in the city of London, as returned by the deputies of the ſeveral wards, the total appears to be 1104, the rents of which are calculated to amount to 26,375l.

4th. An important queſtion, in the cauſe between the Rev. Mr. Sellon, of Clerkenwell, and a clergyman of Northampton-chapel, came before the Eccleſiaſtical Court. Mr. Sellon inſtituted a ſuit againſt the clergyman, for quitting the cure of ſouls in his own proper pariſh, in Northamptonſhire, and for intruding into his pariſh of Clerkenwell, and there reading prayers, preaching, and doing other eccleſiaſtical offices. The clergyman proteſted againſt the proceedings, and ſet up a plea, that he was a chaplain to Lady Huntingdon, and that the right and privilege of peerage exempted him from the juriſdiction of the ſpiritual court, and that

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the matter ought to be tried only by the peers of the realm. This point was very ably and fully argued; and after a hearing of three hours, the judge declared that the defendant was subject to the jurisdiction of the court, and that the suit must proceed against him.

13th. Were called to the bar, by the society of the Inner Temple, Messf. Pepys, Franklin, and Bond. The celebrated Mr. Horne was likewise a candidate, but rejected. The society, upon his signifying a desire of being called this term, having, or pretending to have a doubt upon the propriety of calling him, applied to the other inns of court, to be informed by them, whether they judged it proper, that a clergyman in full orders should be admitted to the bar?—Answers importing their determination that it would be improper, being received from all the inns, that gentleman was in consequence refused.

14th. This morning Prince William Henry, his Majesty's third son, set off for Portsmouth, to go on board Admiral Digby's ship, the grand fleet going out on a cruize. His Highness goes as midshipman in the Prince George.

This day the following bills received the royal assent by virtue of a commission from his Majesty, viz.

The bill to amend the act for laying a tax on auctions and sales.

The bill for the augmentation of the judges salaries.

The bill for granting to his Majesty additional duties on vellum, parchment, and paper.

The bill for vesting in the East India company, for a limited time, certain territorial acquisitions obtained in India, &c.

The house and servants tax bill.

The bill for raising 1,500,000l. by loans, and the bill for raising 1,900,000l. by Exchequer bills.

And Bromfield's, Sealy's, and Sewell's divorce bills.

16th. Lately was deposited in the library of the University of Edinburgh a cabinet of medals, presented by Princess Daschaw, Countess of Woronzow; containing, 1. A series of the Sovereigns of Russia, from the Grand Duke Rurick, who reigned at Novogrod, A. D. 862, to the Empress Elizabeth, who was placed on the throne, A D. 1741. 2. The medallic history of Russia, in a series of medals struck in commemoration of the great events which have happened in that empire from the birth of Peter the Great, A.D. 1672, to the birth of Alexander, son of the present Grand Duke, A.D. 1777. 3. Medals struck under different Sovereigns, in honour of illustrious persons, who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. All the medals in this collection are of exquisite workmanship. Several of them finished by Russian artists; and, in elegance of design, as well as execution, not inferior to the medals of any nation in Europe.

Sixteen sailors, lately tried at Ipswich for the murder of a publican, at whose house they went to impress a man, and their case found *special*, were brought before the Court of King's-bench, to receive the final decision of that court; when, on some defect in the verdict in not fixing the murder on any one in particular, the

whole were judged innocent, and consequently discharged.

18th. Mr. Beacroft, in behalf of a great number of prisoners in the King's-bench, presented a petition to the court, with an affidavit annexed, praying their lordships interference and support, against several complaints therein stated, and ill treatment they have received from a number of associated prisoners, who had, in opposition to all law, in defiance of the marshal's power, and contrary to all ideas of honesty and humanity, erected themselves into a kind of tribunal, disposed of the property, and inflicted corporal punishment on all who refused to comply with their violent and unjust commands.

Mr. Beacroft said, that a Capt. Philips and a Mr. Chillingsworth had fashioned a Court of King's-bench within the walls of the prison, and that the former stiled himself marshall, the latter his deputy. That, assisted by about 80 more, they issued precepts, summonses, orders, decrees, executions, &c. against the persons and property of prisoners, and committed many flagrant acts of oppression and injustice, which Mr. Beacroft observed did not call for any particular motion, but might be submitted in the gross to the wisdom and humanity of the court. The petition and affidavit were read, which formed nine different complaints to the court. That there were only 140 rooms in the prison, and near 600 prisoners; that they were dispossessed of their rooms, at the will and discretion of the above court; that their property was also seized on and disposed of as that court thought fit: that the actual marshall of the King's-bench had not visited the bench above three times in the last year; that the above court consisted of prisoners, who had long been intitled to their discharges: that they refused to go out, because in that case they would be obliged to give up their property to their just creditors; that that court by their oppressions and extortions had even raised the price of rooms from 50l. to 70l. per annum: that they claimed them by seniority, and let rooms out, not chusing to live in them on that account: that numbers of them had been long supersedable, or intitled to their discharges under insolvent acts and lords acts: and lastly, that such was the violence and enormities committed by them, that it was dangerous to oppose or refuse to obey, and therefore prayed the court's interposition. This complaint Lord Mansfield said called for immediate redress, but in doing that he confessed himself at a loss how to steer, as in doing justice to the distressed prisoner, he might injure the creditor, who equally called for his attention. The court were forming several resolutions thereon, which seemed to militate against its own intention, such as discharging those intitled to their discharges, &c. when Mr. Dunning framed the following order of court, 'that every prisoner who had been supersedable six months, and who had not been superseded, should be discharged immediately, unless such prisoner should be charged with a fresh action, and that then he should lose the benefit of his seniority.' This fully met the intention of the court, and

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Lord Mansfield said he saw the wisdom of it, as many prisoners intitled to their discharges would procure friendly actions to keep them in prison, merely for the sake of holding the rooms, which this order would effectually stop. The court also came to another resolution, which was, that every prisoner should inhabit the room he held; and lastly, that Capt. Philips be brought up on Monday next, as the head of the association, to answer personally for the violence and outrages committed on distressed and injured prisoners, by him and his desperadoes; by the first order near 100 prisoners will be discharged, and new ones obtain rooms on moderate terms.

22d. Yesterday, pursuant to an order of the Court of King's-bench, on Friday last, Capt. Thomas Philips was brought up a prisoner from the King's-bench prison, touching the Court of King's-bench within the prison, of which court Captain Philips acted as Lord Chief Justice, and of whom complaint had been then made, as guilty of many acts of oppression to his fellow prisoners, in his assumed character. Captain Philips, in his affidavit, stated, that the court was formed before he became a prisoner; that soon after his confinement, he was unanimously elected Lord Chief Justice, and that the court was not of his substituting, but committed to his presidency. That the court was highly serviceable to the community, preventing confusion and disorder, and enforcing regularity.

Mr. Beacroft, counsel for the petitioning prisoners, the foremost of whom is a master smith, made no observation to the court on the alledged offence or open defence, but moved, "That as the Lord Chief Justice of the King's-bench prison, stood charged in execution as a prisoner at the suit of the crown (for smuggling), and as there were also several detainers lodged against him as well for criminal as civil matters, he be removed from the seat of his jurisdiction, to the New Jail in the Borough." Lord Mansfield recapitulated his former abhorrence of the illegal and oppressive measures of that self-created court, declared, that if it was continued, the members thereof should be proceeded against with the highest severity; and as an example, ordered his brother Justice to be instantly carried to the confined purlieus of the New Jail. His lordship mentioned also, that one hundred prisoners were, on examination, found to be dischargeable, and who were voluntary prisoners, in the benefit of letting out rooms, and for the convenience of smuggling, of which number was the Lord Chief Justice Philips, and that a very considerable seisure had been made on Saturday last. Mr. Philips was immediately put into a coach, and carried to his new lodgings.

24th. This day was held a Common Hall at Guildhall, for the choice of such officers belonging to the corporation as are annually elected on this day. As soon as the common cryer had opened the court, Mr. Alderman Townsend came forward with a letter in his hand, which he said he had received from Mr. Oliver, one of the representatives in Parliament for this city, which with their leave he would read.

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The purport of it was, that being obliged to ſail for the Weſt Indies ſooner than he expected, he begged Mr. Townſend would acquaint the livery of his intention to reſign his ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, but would not accept of a place from the crown to vacate it, till ſuch time as he had their concurrence, and therefore deſired him, at the firſt Common Hall that was called, to acquaint the livery thereof, and not make the intention known till that time, leſt any advantages might be taken of it;—that their determination might be ſent him, and his anſwer received time enough to chooſe a member in his room before the next ſeſſion.

The above was received with great applauſe, Mr. Townſend aſſuring the livery that Mr. Oliver knew he would not make any bad uſe of the prior knowledge of the intended vacancy, as he did not intend to offer himſelf as a candidate.

The election for ſheriffs then came on, when the ſeveral aldermen that had not ſerved that office were called over, viz. Meſſ. Kirkman, Wooldridge, Wright, Pugh, and Sainſbury; the firſt of theſe had a great number of hands, the ſecond was hiſſed immoderately. Meſſ. Wright and Pugh had almoſt all the hands up, and Mr. Sainſbury was very much clapped.

Meſſrs. Mackreth and Taylor, who had been drank to by the mayors, and Meſſrs. Watſon and Bloxam, propoſed by the livery, were put up, and were received with clapping of hands; on which the election was declared in favour of Meſſ. Pugh and Wright; but a poll was demanded for Mr. Kirkman, which was withdrawn by his own deſire, in a handſome ſpeech. The reſt of the officers were re-choſen; and a new ale-conner elected.

Died. Sir John Delafont, Kt. aged 96, Clerk Controller of the kitchen to George I.

At Mile-end, Mrs. M. Grimes, aged 106.

William Kenrick, LL.D. a gentleman well known in the literary world.

Lately, at Uttoxeter, Miſs Nangle: about two months ſince, while diverting herſelf with a ſpying-glaſs, the rays of the ſun ſet fire to her clothes, and burnt her ſo as to occaſion her death.

JULY.

1ſt. An action brought by Sir Alex. Leith, Bart. againſt Mr. Pope for falſe impriſonment, and a malicious proſecution for a pretended felony (which was tried at the Old Bailey, and the plaintiff in this action honourably acquitted), was tried before Sir William De Grey at Guildhall, and a verdict of 10,000l. damages given to the plaintiff.

Vienna, June 26. This capital was greatly alarmed this morning, about nine o'clock, by the blowing up of a large powder magazine in the out-ſkirts of one of the ſuburbs, in which about forty artillery-men were employed in filling cartridges, whereby many lives were loſt. The roofs of many houſes in the adjoining ſuburb were conſiderably damaged; and it is feared that numbers of people may have been maimed or deſtroyed.

deſtroyed. Prince Charles Lichtenſtein, the governor of the town, went immediately to the fort, and all poſſible aſſiſtance was given. The Emperor himſelf arrived from Laxenbourg with the utmoſt expedition; and, by his Imperial Majeſty's orders, all means were uſed to give the ſpeedieſt relief to the ſurviving ſufferers.

3d. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to,

An act for removing certain difficulties with reſpect to the more ſpeedy and effectual manning of his Majeſty's navy, for a limited time.

An act for augmenting the militia. And to one private bill.

Two hundred and twenty-two bills received the royal aſſent, which is the greateſt number known in one ſeſſions for many years.

9th. A proclamation was iſſued, charging all officers civil and military, in caſe of an invaſion, to cauſe all horſes, oxen, and cattle and proviſions, to be driven from the ſea coaſt to places of ſecurity, that the ſame may not fall into the hands of the enemy.

Cunningham, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the beginning of the American troubles, and who took the Dutch mail, was brought priſoner to Falmouth in the Grantham packet from New York, and lodged in the caſtle there.

10th. The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, which began on Wedneſday, ended, when the ſeven following received ſentence of death. James Barret, for a rape; Tho. Rickets, for houſe-breaking; Mich. Brannon, and Martin Gallavan, for a highway robbery; Lucy Johnſon, (a black), for a robbery in a houſe of ill fame; Rt. Roberts, Wm. M'Kenzie, for ſtealing a horſe, and Pat. Doyle for being an acceſſary before the fact.

The ſame day was tried at the Old Bailey, an indictment brought by a butcher in Whitechapel againſt a young gentleman of the clever, for publiſhing a libellous ballad, reflecting in the groſſeſt manner on the chaſtity of the proſecutor's daughter, to whom the defendant paid his addreſſes, which not meeting with ſucceſs, he in revenge made a ſong, that in direct terms charged the object of his affections with being a ſtrumpet. He employed a man to ſing this curious ditty in the open market. The father, being informed of the author, went to him, and was anſwered, 'What, does the cap fit you? then you may wear it.'—The daughter was now become the ſport of the market, and her lover even pointed her out to a throng of ſpectators, who joined in the ridicule. Mr. Howarth opened the proſecution very gravely; he allowed that the ſong was ſo ridiculouſly laughable, that the jury had a right to exerciſe their riſible features; but when that ſpirit of humour had ſubſided, they muſt agree with him, that it was a caſe that called for the moſt ſerious conſideration; the peace of a family, the reputation of a virtuous woman, had been ſcandalouſly defamed by the malicious and meditated contrivance of the defendant. Mr. Morgan, on the other ſide, kept the court in a roar of laughter, by a ſpeech excellently con-

contrasted to that of Mr. Howarth; but the attempt to turn the whole case into a trifling, unguarded step of his client, failed, as the Recorder, in his charge, considered it in an alarming point of view, as a preconcerted scheme to ruin the young woman, and destroy the happiness of the family. He was found guilty, paid 20l. costs of the prosecution, asked pardon in court, and agreed to recant his reflections in the public prints.

14th. Last week was tried in the Court of King's-bench, Guildhall, London, before Sir Frances Buller, and a special jury, the right of a claim set up by the city of London, to a duty of sixpence per load on hay sold in Smithfield, not the property of freemen of London. This claim was disputed by several of the inhabitants of Finchley, who set up a contrary claim to an exemption from paying the said duty. On the part of the city of London it was contended, that the corporation thereof were by immemorial custom, and royal grants, intitled to the receipt of hay-toll in Smithfield-market, from all non-freemen; and that the inhabitants of Finchley had, repeatedly, as was proved, paid the said hay-toll; to which case was added the testimony of divers old toll-gatherers, who deposed that they took the duty of all non-freemen whatever. The defendants set up a claim to an exemption granted in favour of the Bishop of London, and his men or tenants, by King John, whereby they were relieved from the payment of such duties and tolls; to which they added the testimony of divers old witnesses, who deposed that they had some thirty, forty, or fifty years since, sold hay at Smithfield, without paying the six-pence per load, of late years demanded, and received by the collectors of duties and tolls in that market; but as it did not appear that Finchley was a manor belonging to the Bishop of London, at the time the aforesaid exemption was granted to his tenants, and as the exceptions with respect to the payment of the disputed duty were dubious, a verdict was given for the city of London.

18th. A Register of the Weather for Seven Days past.

N. B. It was taken in London, the instrument on an Eastern aspect, and in the shade.

FARENHEIT'S THERMOMETER.

1779	Mo. 8.	Aft. 3.	Ev. 9.	Wind.
July 11	77	81	79	N.
12	75	78	76	N.
13	76	81	79	N.
14	76	78	76	N.E.byN.
15	76	80½	78	N.E.byN.
16	75	83	74	N.E.byN. E.
17	70	73	71	E.

The extreme heat felt in the course of last week occasioned the above observation, the truth of which may be depended upon. In the middle column, or afternoon 3, the heat has been so great as scarcely ever to have been remembered in this climate; and as a confirmation of its intenseness, Mr. Foster, in his last published observations on the South-American islands, which are in the torrid zone, and of course under a vertical sun, directly over their heads, with no shadow, says, that the heat is generally from 80 degrees to 90; now, upon inspection of

the above column, there will be found four days out of seven above 80; on the 16th even at 83, a great height indeed for us.

22d. On Friday last died, in the 31st year of his age, at Oxford, that king of horses, Old Mask, late the property of the Earl of Abingdon, and sire of many of the first racers ever known in this country; among which are Eclipse, Transit, Shark, Pretender, Magnolio, Leviathan, Masquerade, &c. &c.

29th. Capt. Caton, formerly master of a ship in the merchants service, but having acquired a fortune had quitted the sea, was during the course of the month forcibly seized by a press gang on the public exchange at Bristol, and carried on board a tender. He has since been released, but not before his friends had applied to the navy-board, and had moved for a habeas corpus to procure his enlargement.

Died. One Jean Aragus, a native of the village of Lastua, in Turkey, near Ragusa, died on the 6th of March last, in the 123d year of his age, leaving descendants to the fifth generation, consisting of 160 persons, all living in the same village: he had his health to the last, was blessed with an extraordinary memory and sound judgment, and passed his last moments without pain, extending his blessing to his surrounding family. He always lived a life of labour, and walked a great deal, a very little time before his death walked a very considerable distance to mass, according to his usual custom. The employment of his early days was to conduct the caravans; he afterwards took to farming, which he pursued with great industry, intelligence, and success; he always lived very temperately, and his known honesty and good qualities made him esteemed while living, and regretted when dead, even by the Turks themselves, who are not very apt to esteem people of a different persuasion from themselves.

AUGUST.

4th. At Newcastle was tried, before Mr. Justice Buller, and a Special Jury, an issue directed by the Court of Exchequer, in the long contested cause between the Rector of Simonburn and the occupiers of ancient farms within that parish, relative to a claim made by the former of agistment tithe in kind. The question for the determination of the jury in this issue was, whether a modus of 1d. which Dr. Scott insisted was for Hay-tithe, did or did not extend to grass agisted or eaten by unprofitable cattle? After a long hearing, the jury gave a verdict against the rector, upon the clearest evidence, to the entire satisfaction of the learned judge who tried the cause.

6th. At the assizes for the county of Surry was tried, before Lord Mansfield, a cause wherein the inhabitants of Walworth were plaintiffs, and the Commissioners of Sewers defendants. The matter in question was, "Whether a house no way benefited by the Sewers, or any of the said commissioners works, had a right to be by them assessed." After very learned

learned debates for upwards of three hours, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiffs.

13th. The deputy-recorder made the report to his Majesty in council of the seven capital convicts now under sentence of death in Newgate, when the five following were ordered for execution on Wednesday the 25th instant, viz. Michael Brannon and Martin Gallavan, alias Galláway, Lucy Johnson, a black woman, Thomas Ricketts, and James Barrett. Johnson was afterwards reprieved, and the others executed.

The two following were respited during his Majesty's pleasure, viz. Kenneth William Williams M'Kenzie, alias William Murray, and Patrick Doyle.

20th. This day the Duke of Northumberland, preceded by the Rev. Mr. Sellon, with many of the commissioners for pavements, and inhabitants of Clerkenwell; the artificers and workmen, with the several ensigns of their respective employments, and followed by a train of justices of the county of Middlesex, closed by Sir John Hawkins, chairman, went from Hicks's-hall to Clerkenwell-green, where his Grace laid the foundation stone of the new Court-house to be there erected in the room of Hicks's-hall. The following is a translation of the inscription placed under the stone:

"The first stone of this Session-house, erected for the use of the county of Middlesex, and for other good and necessary purposes, for the better performance of the King's service in the said county, in pursuance of an act of parliament made and passed in the 18th year of the reign of King George the Third, was laid by the most noble and puissant Prince Hugh Duke and Earl of Northumberland, Custos Rotulorum of the said county, at the request, and in the presence of the Commissioners appointed for building the said Session-house, on Friday the 20th day of August, 1779."

23d. The woman who set her house on fire in Warwick-lane, was examined before Alderman Pugh, at Guildhall, when it appeared that her goods were insured for 700l. though all she had in the house was not worth 60l. When she gave the alarm of fire, she thought the house past recovering, being in flames in several places; and she particularly made an outcry after a box, which she said was full of lace and other goods to the value of 300l. but when found, was full of nothing but combustibles. She had set it on fire, and the back part of it was burning, as were several other pieces of furniture in the same room. She behaved with uncommon audacity, and charged the person who was chiefly instrumental in her detection with a criminal intercourse with her maid, a Dutch girl, who could hardly speak English, and who had been with her but a few days. Circumstances were strong against her, and she was committed to gaol.

Extract of a Letter from Dublin, August 17.

"At the summer assizes for the county, and county of the city of Waterford, the High Sheriff, Grand Juries, and principal inhabitants met, for the purpose of taking into consideration the present ruinous state of the trade and manu-

manufactures, and the alarming decline in the value of the ſtaple commodities of this kingdom; and looking upon it as an indiſpenſible duty that they owed their county and themſelves, to reſtrain, by every means in their power, theſe growing evils, they came to and ſigned the following reſolutions, to the number of 166.

"Reſolved, That we, our families, and all whom we can influence, ſhall, from this day, wear and make uſe of the manufactures of this country, and this country only, until ſuch time as all partial reſtrictions on our trade, impoſed by the illiberal and contracted policy of our ſiſter kingdom, be removed: but if, in conſequence of this our reſolution, the manufacturers (whoſe intereſt we have more immediately under conſideration) ſhould act fraudulently, or combine to impoſe upon the public, we ſhall hold ourſelves no longer bound to countenance and ſupport them.

"Reſolved, That we will not deal with any merchant or ſhopkeeper who ſhall, at any time hereafter, be detected in impoſing any foreign manufacture as the manufacture of this country."

26th. Laſt week a labourer, in digging for the foundation of the intended portico for the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's grand entrance to his Park near Lambeth church, found a trunk, to appearance like the caſe of a fowling-piece, when packed up for exportation, which contained the leg-bones of a man, together with a curious antique ſhoe; and notwithſtanding the bones, after being expoſed to the air, fell to duſt, the ſhoe, though leather, ſtill remained perfect and intire. It is ſuppoſed by the gentlemen of the Antiquarian Society to have been the leg-bones of the Rev. Mr. Rogers, whoſe leg, from being loaded with a heavy chain during his impriſonment at the time of the confinement of the Biſhops Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer, in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's tower, near about the time of the recantation of Archbiſhop Cranmer, had mortified, and was cut off. This happened in the year 1555, in the reign of Queen Mary.

We have from Kingſton, 28th. in Jamaica, the following account of the burning of his Majeſty's ſhip Glaſgow: it was occaſioned by the careleſſneſs of the Steward, in going down to the hold with a candle in his hand to draw rum, and the ſhip was intirely conſumed, notwithſtanding every effort was uſed by Captain Lloyd, his officers and crew. The Captain ſeeing no proſpect of ſaving the ſhip, ordered the powder to be thrown overboard; to which conduct the ſhipping in the harbour, and even the town, owe their preſervation: no lives were loſt except the Maſter, who was ſnatched out of the flames miſerably ſcorched, and died next morning on board his Majeſty's brigantine Badger, in which Capt. Lloyd, his officers, and men, ſailed on Thurſday laſt for Port Royal. The inhabitants were thrown into confuſion, as her broadſide lay towards the town, and the guns being all loaded, went off as the fire approached them, the ſhot of which damaged ſeveral houſes, but happily did no other execution.

SUMMER

SUMMER ASSIZES.

At Oxford, two were capitally convicted.

At Saliſbury, two—one of whom was the noted highwaywoman—both were reprieved.

At Hereford, two.

At Cambridge, one—reprieved.

At Huntingdon, one—reprieved.

At Chelmsford, ſix—four reprieved.

At Worceſter, one—reprieved.

At Stafford, three—two reprieved.

At Croydon (for Surry) ſix.

At the aſſizes for the county of Somerſet, Sir William Yea, Bart. by the ſentence of the Crown Judge, under three proſecutions, two for forcible entries, and the other for a very outrageous aſſault on his tenant's wife, was fined 100l. and ordered to be impriſoned in the county jail for two months.

At Bridgewater, two.

At York, four—three reprieved.

At Bury, one.

Dorcheſter, Durham, Newcaſtle, Norfolk, and Buckingham, proved maiden.

Naples, Aug. 10. On Sunday night, the 8th inſtant, we had the moſt tremendous eruption of Mount Veſuvius that can be imagined, and ſuch as the oldeſt perſon here never experienced. For ſome preceding days the volcano had been very noiſy and unquiet, throwing up red-hot ſtones, and emitting lava at times, but not freely. Between nine and ten o'clock the diſcharge of ſtones and inflamed matter from the crater increaſed every inſtant, and then burſt into one complete ſheet of fire, which mounted ſtrait, and continued in full force about 25 minutes, when it ceaſed abruptly. The elevation of that column of fire was at leaſt equal to three times that of Mount Veſuvius itſelf, which riſes upwards of three thouſand ſeven hundred feet perpendicularly above the level of the ſea. The whole cone of Veſuvius, and part of the neighbouring mountain of Somma, were ſoon covered with red-hot ſtones and liquid burning matter, which ſet fire to woods, houſes, vineyards, &c. The great fall of this tremendous column of fire was chiefly on the country of Ottaiano, where it has deſtroyed the habitations of twelve thouſand people, and the land is covered with a ſtratum of ſcoriæ and erupted matter of about the thickneſs of two or three feet: ſome of the ſtones that fell there weighed above an hundred pounds; and as that country, on the other ſide of Somma, muſt be (in a direct line) at leaſt four miles from the crater of Veſuvius, the extreme height of the column of fire above mentioned ſeems to be confirmed.—Caccia-Bella, a hunting-ſeat of their Sicilian Majeſties, ſituated between Ottaiana and Nola, is likewiſe deſtroyed, and it is feared many people have periſhed; but as yet no exact account of this melancholy accident is publiſhed, all being in the utmoſt conſternation. The inhabitants of Portici, Torre del Greco, and of Torre del Annonciata, have fled; and as their ſituation is much nearer to the volcano than the country deſtroyed, they muſt have ſuffered more, had not the wind been much in their favour, and carried all the erupted matter in a contrary direction.

Yeſterday

Yesterday Vesuvius was much agitated, and threw violently, but nothing in comparison of what is above related. Until the lava (which by its confinement in the bowels of the mountain occasions these horrid spasms) finds a vent, we cannot be free from the apprehensions of an earthquake, which might do great damage to this capital.

The appearance of the eruption on Sunday night was far beyond description: clouds of the blackest smoke accompanied the liquid fire that was thrown up; and from these clouds constantly issued the brightest forked lightning. The rest of the sky was free from clouds; and before the eruption it had been a clear star-light night. We are in the midst of processions; and the head of St. Januarius has been exposed, which is considered as the last resource in times of danger. We hope we shall soon see the lava break out, when all will be calm again.

Naples, Aug. 17. On Wednesday last Mount Vesuvius alarmed us again; but a quantity of lava being discharged, it is hoped this tremendous eruption is nearly at an end. The whole country, for three miles round Ottaiano, lies buried under ashes; and had that shower continued one hour longer, every inhabitant of that town must have perished under the ruins of the houses, as in the city of Pompeii, in the reign of Titus. As yet we have only heard of two lives being lost; though the destruction and desolation of the country about Ottaiano is beyond description; and the damage estimated at least to 300,000 ducats.

DIED, Mr. Samuel Buck, aged 83, the survivor of the two ingenious brothers who first attempted and executed a series of views of monastic and other ruins in England in 400 plates.

SEPTEMBER.

Manchester, September 3. At the last assizes at Lancaster, causes were brought against three of the principal linen-drapers of this town for selling prohibited East-India silk handkerchiefs: verdicts against them all were found, without any difficulty, and they were each fined in the penalty of 200l. one-third to the King, and the other two-thirds to the prosecutors.

As a total suppression of the sale of these kind of handkerchiefs for home consumption will be of great advantage to the silk weavers, several thousands assembled together this morning with green aprons on, cockades in their hats, the colours belonging to the trade; and a number of pieces of East-India silk handkerchiefs fixed on the top of long poles; they walked through the town, the bells ringing, and at the New Cross burned the handkerchiefs.

The last arch over the new bridge at Newcastle was closed this day. The whole structure, for strength, elegance, and good workmanship, reflect much credit on the architects and builders. 11th.

From Thetford we have an account of the following singular instance of fertility: Mr. Bidwell of that town planted in his yard last October a Geniting tree, from

which he gathered in July nine apples; in Auguſt it bloſſomed again, and is at preſent full of fruit, ſome as large as Blackbirds eggs. This may afford matter of curious inquiry to botaniſts.

15th. A moſt daring and inhuman murder was committed on the afternoon of this day near the eighteen mile ſtone, between Hoddeſdon and Ware in Hertfordſhire, about four o'clock, the uſual hour that the ſtage-coaches from Hertford paſs that ſpot. A perſon going to Ware about three o'clock, obſerved four Iriſh haymakers coming out of that town, and upon his return heard the groans of a perſon from the bottom of a pit overgrown with buſhes, cloſe to the road. On examining the place, an unfortunate creature was diſcovered weltering in his blood, and ſo ſhockingly bruiſed and mangled about the head and face, as to render any knowledge of him impoſſible, unleſs from his dreſs. He expired in a few minutes after he was taken up. A ſuſpicion aroſe that he was one of the four men ſeen coming out of Ware, and that he had been murdered by his companions. A purſuit was immediately ſet on foot; and through the great activity of ſome of the inhabitants of Hoddeſdon, three of the four men were taken about eight o'clock, at a private lodging-houſe out of the public road; and after a ſeparate examination, in which was much variation in their accounts of themſelves, and upon the oaths of very credible witneſſes, who ſaw all four in company near the ſpot, they were on Thurſday the 16th ſafely lodged in Hertford gaol, to take their trial at the aſſizes—It is generally ſuppoſed that the unfortunate object of their cruelty had prudently ſaved more money than the reſt, as his pocket was cut off, and above thirty ſhillings found upon one of his comrades, the other two having no apparent means of ſubſiſting on the road.

17th. The Ducheſs of Devonſhire, with Lord and Lady Spencer, and ſeveral other perſons of rank, arrived in town from Spa in Germany, but laſt from Oſtend, on board the Fly ſloop. In their paſſage they were attacked by two French cutters, which were beat off after a long engagement, in which ſeveral of the crew of the ſloop were killed and wounded.

18th. His Majeſty in Council was this day pleaſed to order, that the Parliament which ſtands prorogued to Thurſday the 16th of this inſtant September, ſhould be further prorogued to Thurſday the 17th of October next.

21ſt. This day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when the ten following priſoners received ſentence of death, viz. Sarah Budge, for ſtealing goods in the houſe of John Whitfield; James Lake, for robbing William Wheatley on the highway, near Nine-Elms, of a gold watch, half a guinea, &c.; Thomas King, a ſoldier, for ſtealing a quantity of plate in the dwelling-houſe of Robert Anderſon, a publican of Shadwell, upon whom he was quartered; Jeremiah Hetherley, for ſtealing five hats in the ſhop of Richard Burton and William Buſby; Margaret Creamer, for robbing John Scarlet of two guineas, three ſhillings, and a pocket book,

book, on Saltpetre-Bank; William Chamberlayne, for ſtealing out of a letter in the General Poſt-Office, in Lombard-ſtreet, directed to William Cunningham, Eſq; Chriſt Church, Oxford, a certain promiſſory note of Thomas Hammerſley, for the partners of the Exchange Banking Company and Self, for the payment of 10l. to William Cunningham or order, on demand; on his arraignment he pleaded guilty; John Pears, for ſtealing a mare, verdict found ſpecial; Mary Jones, alias Wood, for ſtealing divers linen-drapery goods, the property of William Jones, in his ſhop in Oxford-ſtreet; Iſabella, the wife of Thomas Condon, and John Field, for coining and counterfeiting ſhillings; nine were ordered to be kept to hard labour in raiſing ſand, &c. on the Thames; twelve to be impriſoned in Newgate; and nine to be kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction.

Philip Kiernan was convicted of feloniouſly killing and ſlaying Thomas Greaves, a porter in Gray's-Inn, in a quarrel; fined one ſhilling, and diſcharged.

William Atkins and George Wells, two watchmen, were convicted of killing and ſlaying Thomas Hughes, who having made ſome diſturbance in a public-houſe in George-ſtreet, was by the landlord put into their charge, in order to be ſent to the watch-houſe, in the way to which being very unruly, on his arrival there he was put into confinement in a room, where in a little time after he was found dead.

Mary Adey, alias Lloyd, alias Farmillo, was tried on an indictment, for the murder of William Barnet, by ſtabbing him in the breaſt with a knife, on his entering with others the apartment of one Farmillo, with whom ſhe cohabited, and, as ſhe thought, with intent to impreſs him. The Jury found the verdict ſpecial, and ſhe is referred for the opinion of the Judges.

Miſs Elizabeth Watkins, tried for the murder of her natural child, was acquitted.

Among thoſe convicted of felonies was one Richard Mealing, for receiving a quantity of braſs patterns and ſhruff, the property of Job Cox, and James Penticroſs; and immediately on his receiving ſentence to be kept to hard labour on the Thames for ſeven years, he drew a penknife unperceived, and in the face of the whole court plunged the ſame a little on one ſide the throat, ſomewhat above the collar bone, and worked the ſame about for ſome ſeconds before it was known what he was doing, when the knife was wrenched from him; though the wound was terrible, the blade being above three inches long, and he ſtabbed as far as the handle, it is ſaid not to be dangerous.

Thomas Wright, Eſq; 28th. Alderman and Stationer, and Evan Pugh, Eſq; Alderman and Skinner, were ſworn into the office of Sheriffs of this city, and ſheriffs of the county of Middleſex, for the year enſuing, at Guildhall.

The ſame day Brackley Kennett, Eſq; was choſen Lord Mayor of this city.

Rome, Sept. 29. Yeſterday, at ſeven in the morning, the lightning ſet fire to the magazine of powder in the citadel of Civita-

Vecchia.—The roof of the palace of the Governor was blown in the air, the walls rent, the Mount of Piety overturned and deſtroyed, and all the churches and houſes in the neighbourhood damaged.

The celebrated collection of pictures at Houghton, was lately ſold to the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and was ſhipped at the port of Lynn in the courſe of this month.

30th. The Sancte Ineas, Don Redoſſo, a Spaniſh man of war from the Manillas to Cadiz, laden with gold, ſilver, ſilk, coffee, china, cochineal, indigo, &c. which was taken and carried into the Shannon, by the Amazon privateer of Liverpool, and the Ranger of Briſtol, after an engagement of two hours, is ſuppoſed to be the richeſt prize taken ſince the Manilla ſhip by Admiral Anſon.

The number of priſoners of war now confined in this kingdom and Ireland, according to the lateſt returns, amount to 12,000, of whom 600 are Spaniards, 2200 Americans, and the remainder French; that is to ſay, taken in the French prizes.

Died, John Glynn, Eſq; ſerjeant at law, Recorder of London and Exeter, member for Middleſex, and one of the moſt celebrated conſtitutional lawyers of the age. He ſucceeded Baron Eyre as Recorder of London in 1772. The old ſalary is 180l. which the common council have uſually made up 400l. The ſervices of Mr. (now Baron) Eyre occaſioned an addition of 200l. and thoſe of Mr. Glynn were rewarded by increaſing the ſalary to 1000l.

John Armſtrong, M.D. a phyſician of great eminence, and not leſs diſtinguiſhed as a poet.

At Enfield, aged 86, Benj. Boddington, Eſq; formerly an eminent Turkey-merchant, and one of the ſurvivors in the annuities granted by King William the Third, who received 1000l. clear yearly income; they are now reduced to three. For ſome years paſt the ſurplus of the intereſt, by the original conſtitution of the tontine, has been applied to the uſes of government.

At Eltham, Mr. and Mrs. Gambrey, brother and ſiſter, at the age of 96 and 93; a twin ſiſter to the lady is left a ſurvivor: the father of the above died a few years ſince in the ſouth of France, at the age of 109.

OCTOBER.

5th. A Court of Common Council was held, when, according to the notice inſerted in the ſummons, the court proceeded to take into conſideration the motion, That 600l. be the ſalary of the perſon who ſhall be elected recorder in the room of John Glynn, Eſq; deceaſed, and on the queſtion being put, it was carried unanimouſly in the affirmative.

A motion was made, and queſtion put, that the ſalary of the late recorder be paid to Michaelmas laſt, the ſame was reſolved in the affirmative.

Mancheſter, Oct. 9. During the courſe of the week ſeveral mobs have aſſembled in different parts of the neighbourhood, and have done much miſchief by deſtroying the engines for carding and ſpinning cotton wool (without which the trade of this country could never be poſſibly carried on to any great

great extent). In the neighbourhood of Chorley, the mob deſtroyed and burned the engines and buildings erected by Mr. Arkwright at a very great expence. Two thouſand, or upwards, attacked a large building near the ſame place, on Sunday, from which they were repulſed, two rioters killed, and eight wounded, taken priſoners; they returned ſtrongly re-inforced on Monday, and deſtroyed a great number of buildings, with a vaſt quantity of machines for ſpinning cotton, &c. Sir George Saville arrived (with three companies of the York militia) while the buildings were in flames; the report of their intention to deſtroy the works in this town brought him here yeſterday noon. At one o'clock this morning two expreſſes arrived, one from Wigan, another from Blackburn, intreating immediate aſſiſtance, both declaring the violence of the inſurgents, and the ſhocking depredations yeſterday at Bolton: it is thought they will be at Blackburn this morning, and at Preſton by four this afternoon. Sir George ordered the drums to beat to arms at half after one, when he conſulted with the military and magiſtrates in town, and ſet off at the head of three companies ſoon after two o'clock this morning for Chorley, that being centrical to this place, Blackburn, and Wigan. Captain Brown, of the 25th regiment, with 70 invalids, and Capt. Thomaſon, of Col. White's regiment, with about 100 young recruits, remained at Preſton, and for its further ſecurity, Sir George Saville offered the juſtices to arm 300 of the reſpectable houſe-keepers, if they would turn out to defend the town, which was immediately accepted.

In conſequence of theſe preparations, the mob did not think it prudent to proceed to any further violences.

An order was made laſt term in the Court of King's-bench, that all thoſe priſoners who were under confinement in that priſon, and whoſe actions were ſuperſedable, ſhould, if they did not ſue out the ſame before a certain day, be ſtruck off the books, and turned out of the priſon: the reaſon of this order was, that a number of priſoners who were in poſſeſſion of rooms, remained in the priſon for the purpoſe of letting them to advantage, by which they gained a weekly income of one pound three ſhillings, receiving twenty-four ſhillings, and paying only one ſhilling to the marſhal for his rent. As there were not rooms for thoſe debtors who were obliged to be in priſon, the court thought it a hardſhip, and on Thurſday their order was put in execution, when near 100 were diſcharged for the above reaſon, to the great joy and comfort of the priſoners, who now will get habitations for one ſhilling per week for which they had paid twenty-four. 11th.

This day the conteſt for the office of recorder of this city was determined in the court of aldermen, by a majority of one in favour of Mr. Serjeant Adair; for that gentleman there were 13, for Mr. Howarth 12. The only abſentee in the court was Mr. Alderman Lee. 12th.

For Mr. Serjeant Adair.

Bridgen	Lewes
Croſby	Plomer

Bull	Hayley
Wilkes	Newnham
Sawbridge	Woolridge
Hallifax	Sainſbury
Kirkman	

For Mr. Howarth.

The Lord Mayor	Thomas
Alſop	Peckham
Harley	Clark
Townſend	Hart
Eſdaile	Wright
Kennet	Pugh

14th. Yeſterday the report was made to his Majeſty of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, when the following were ordered for execution on Wedneſday the 27th inſt. viz. Iſabella Condon, for felonioufly and traiterouſly making, coining, and counterfeiting the current ſilver coin of this realm called ſixpences; John Field, for felonioufly and traiterouſly making, coining, and counterfeiting the current ſilver coin of this realm called ſhillings and ſixpences; William Chamberlain, for ſtealing out of a letter which came to his poſſeſſion as a forter of letters in the General Poſt-office, Lombard-ſtreet, a promiſſory note for payment of 10l. to William Cunningham, Eſq; or order; Margaret Creamer, for felonioufly aſſaulting John Scarlet on the highway at Saltpetre-bank, and robbing him of two guineas and other money; Sarah Budge, for ſtealing in the dwelling-houſe of John Whitefield, goods, value 40s. and upwards; Thomas King, for ſtealing in the dwelling-houſe of Robert Anderſon, a quantity of ſilver plate and other things, value 40s. and upwards.

The following were reſpited: James Lake, for felonioufly aſſulting William Wheately on the highway near the Nine-Elms-turnpike, and robbing him of a gold watch and ſome money; Jeremiah Hetherley, for privately ſtealing in the ſhop of Meſſrs. Burton and Buſby, three hats, value 5s. and upwards; Mary Jones, alias Wood, for privately ſtealing in the ſhop of William Jones, in Oxford-ſtreet, goods, value 4l. and upwards.

Dunwich, in Suffolk, Oct. 19. The volent blowing weather we have had for ſeveral days has done a great deal of damage amongſt the ſhipping on our coaſt; every tide preſents to our view a melancholy ſcene of dead bodies, and pieces of wrecks thrown on the ſands. It likewiſe did great havock on ſhore, blowing down rows of large trees, barns, outhouſes, &c. and unroofed dwelling-houſes; in ſhort, the damage done amounts to many thouſands of pounds. A man, his wife, and ſeveral children, were buried under the ruins of a houſe, and all killed.

Extract of a Letter from Edinburgh, October 8.

'This morning a mutiny among the Weſtern Fencibles, broke out here. Part of thoſe who were in the Caſtle drew up the bridge and excluded their officers, while another party at Leith threw away their fire-arms, and drew their ſwords, threatening death to all who came near them. The mutiny it ſeems was occaſioned by Lord Frederick Campbell's having purchaſed at London, purſes for his regiment, which conſtitute a part of the Highland dreſs, and on receiving the arrears 3s. 6d. was ſtopped from each man for his purſe, at which the men were greatly

greatly dissatisfied, saying they could purchase them for 1s. 8d. a piece. Lord Frederick very prudently told them, that he would give them their purses at 1s. each, and take the loss upon himself: but this did not pacify them; they continued mutinous, and the whole town was in an uproar. Six of the ringleaders were taken into custody, and a body of dragoons surrounded the rest. Being satisfied with respect to their purses, another mutiny was discovered, several of them absolutely refusing to carry cartouch-boxes, which must have rendered them quite useless as soldiers. On this the officers marched the whole body down to Leith, as on an ordinary field day, without cartouch-boxes, and on their arrival in the Links, to their surprise, they found a complete regiment of dragoons drawn up there, without the knowledge of any one but the commanding officer. The cartouch-boxes being sent after them in a cart, the men were ordered immediately to put them on, which they were compelled to do. Five of the leaders of this riot were immediately surrounded, tried by a Court-martial, and most severely whipped; after which the regiment was divided into different bodies, and sent to Dundee, Dunbar, and other places, in order to keep them separate. Three companies which were left in the Castle as a guard, hearing how their companions had suffered, seized the Castle-gates, drew up the bridge, and threatened the governor; upon which the dragoons immediately marched to Edinburgh, and two companies dismounting, proceeded to the Castle, which they found had been opened, and marched in. One of the Highlanders made a stroke at one of the officers, who instantly knocked him down, and forced his way through, so that all those men were taken prisoners; several of them, it is imagined, will suffer. The dragoons still keep guard in the Castle.'

Last week the Elaboratory at Woolwich blew up by accident, but fortunately no lives were lost. 23d.

At a court of aldermen at Guildhall, the recorder was requested to wait on the Rt. Hon. Lord Weymouth, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, praying his lordship to represent to his Majesty, in the name of that honourable court, that the members of that body, understanding the royal clemency had been extended to Grant, Jonquay, Ellis, Jones, and Barrington, who were convicted in September sessions, at Guildhall, of an outrageous assault on the marshals and several other officers of this city, they humbly conceive the mercy of the Sovereign would be converted into dangerous consequences to this city, and therefore begged the pardon to be restrained to a service in India or other foreign parts. The court ordered the recorder to present the said address to his lordship, who was pleased to answer the court's memorial by saying, that the sentence should be altered so far as was entirely agreeable to the city's request. 26th.

Coxheath. On Friday night last, a corporal and six men were planted at Mr. Collins's house (information having been given at the general's, that for several nights past an attempt had been made to break open his house); about half past eleven three men attempted

to force the outer front door; the guard went out privately at the back door, and came on them ſuddenly (juſt as they had opened the inner door and entered the houſe) and in ſecuring them, the corporal received a ball from a piſtol, which ſhot him dead; they were ſoon overpowered (but not till two of them were deſperately wounded) and conducted to the camp. They prove to be three privates belonging to the Glouceſter, and were immediately given over to the Captain Provoſt, till the coroner ſits on the body of the deceaſed corporal, when they will be delivered over to the civil law.

28th. The Court of Directors of the Royal Exchange Aſſurance Company have generouſly voted a piece of plate, value one hundred guineas, to be preſented to Captain Pearſon of the Serapis, as a teſtimony of their approbation of his bravery and conduct in protecting the valuable fleet from the Baltic under his care.

They alſo voted a piece of plate, value fifty guineas, to Capt. Piercy, of the Counteſs of Scarborough, with the ſame compliment.

Capt. Drew, from London to Quebec, was run down by the Ruſſel man of war (who a few months ago run down the London Eaſt-Indiaman) in the night, in a gale of wind, and all the crew periſhed.

Liſbon, Oct. 16. The Marquis de Pombal, late Prime Miniſter of State, who, during the preſent reign, has been a continual object of perſecution and hatred, is at laſt condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Two members of the council were for taking his life; but her Majeſty, hearkening only to her natural clemency, mitigated his puniſhment. This is probably the laſt time that this Miniſter will be heard of till his death.

Dieb, in the county of Glamorgan, Mr. Fluellyn Pryce, aged 101, whoſe organs had been ſo little affected by the weight of years, that within theſe three years he directed a village group of fingers in ſome variations for the Sunday. He had never uſed ſpectacles till within fifteen months of his diſſolution, and poſſeſſed a great flow of ſpirits, attended with ſound health and activity; which bleſſings were the reſult of his abſtemious manner of living.

At his houſe on Four-tree Hill, Enfield, William Bridgen, Eſq; upwards of 70, Alderman of Farringdon Within.

NOVEMBER.

3d. The corporation of Kingſton upon Hull, have voted the freedom of that place to Captain Richard Pierſon, and Capt. Thomas Piercy, late of his Majeſty's ſhips Serapis and Counteſs of Scarborough, for their gallant and brave conduct in the engagement with the ſquadron under the command of Paul Jones.

Extract of a Letter from Darmouth.

6th. "The following is an exact account of the cargo of the Spaniſh ſhip the N. S. de Piedat, taken by the Dart privateer of this port, and now ſafe in our harbour; ſhe is upwards of 600 tons burthen, has been built ſeven years, mounts 16 carriage guns, had 70 men, was fitted up for cloſe quarters, and yet ſtruck to the Dart, after firing only two guns, though ſhe mounts but 14 guns four-

pounders

pounders, had but 60 men, and is not 200 tons burthen:

142,117 silver dollars,
38,949 dollars in gold doubloons,
31 ingots of gold,
5 ingots of silver,
42 bales of fine beaver,
21,061 hides in the hair,
3 bales of fine wool,
1 ditto fine fur.

Exclusive of the ingots of gold and silver (the value of which is not known) the rest of the cargo, as far as it has been known by the bills of lading (though it is supposed there is more on board) amounts to 80,000l."

11th. At the quarter sessions held at Preston for the county of Lancaster, it was unanimously agreed, that the sole cause of the riots that have lately happened in that county is owing to the erection of certain engines for the manufacturing of cotton; that the erection of those engines have notwithstanding been of the greatest utility to the county by the extension and improvement of the cotton manufactory; that the destroying them in one county would only be the means of transferring them to another county; and that, if a total stop was put to the erection of them by the legislature in Great Britain, it would only tend to their establishment in foreign countries, to the great detriment of trade in this. For these reasons the court came to the resolution of transmitting to one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State a copy of their proceeding, intimating a desire at the same time that a special commission may be issued for the trial of the ringleaders now in Lancaster gaol.

15th. A Spanish ship, of between 600 and 700 tons, laden with sugar, coffee, logwood, and hard dollars, bound from the Havannah to Cadiz, valued at 200,000l. is taken by the Anti-gallican privateer, and carried into Lisbon.

A remarkable trial lately happened in the Court of King's-bench in Ireland. A Counsellor R—— had fought a duel with a gentleman and killed him. He traversed the indictment, and imagined the jury, as usual, would bring in their verdict man-slaughter. But the Barrister found himself mistaken — they deemed the intentions of two men going out premeditated to fight, to be malice aforethought, and to the astonishment of the court brought the prisoner in guilty — death. The judges desired them to recommend him to the Bench as an object of mercy — they did it with reluctance. This may probably put a stop to the practice of duelling in Ireland.

Extract of a Letter from Dublin, dated, Nov. 15.

"The present expectation of a free trade, or rather the dread of a disappointment, agitates every body here to a degree that you can hardly imagine. In order to compel England to grant it, the popular measure is, to grant a money-bill for six months only, instead of two years. Some of the best friends of this country, and the most sensible, seem to think this not the most effectual or eligible mode, as being too early a declaration of war, till we are refused what we ask; but they are obliged

obliged to concur, as it is the only ſcheme which can procure unanimity among oppoſition, and is ſo much the popular cry, that every county and town have inſtructed their Repreſentatives to vote for it. This morning the mob, not chooſing to wait for a parliamentary deciſion, took the matter into their own hands, and were of opinion, that the ſureſt method of ſucceeding in their object of a free trade, was to deſtroy the enemies of Ireland; they therefore marked out the Attorney General, Sir Henry Cavendiſh, and Mr. Monk Maſon, as the proper objects of their fury. About twelve o'clock they marched in a prodigious croud to Mr. Scot's, the Attorney General's houſe, with an intention of deſtroying it, but ſome of the potriotic leaders of this country contrived to get there, mixed among the mob, and at laſt perſuaded them to leave it, after deſtroying the windows on the ground floor, and doing ſome ſmall damage to the next ſtory. They then marched to the Parliament-houſe, and detached a body to the four courts, who ruſhed in, in ſearch of Mr. Scott, who kept out of their way, and of Sir Henry Cavendiſh, whom they ſeemed particularly anxious to find. On being diſappointed, they returned to the Parliament-houſe, and ſwore all the members whom they could find going in, to be true to Ireland, and vote for a ſhort money-bill. The lawyers corps were applied to by the lord mayor, and told, that they ſtood high with the people, and would probably be able to diſperſe them; they met, and agreed to go unarmed among them. Mr. Yelverton, who is one of the corps, made a moſt excellent ſpeech, which had great effect on them, and was wonderfully well timed; they then decoyed them away, marched them through ſeveral of the ſtreets, and prevailed on them to diſperſe."

The application for a new trial lately made by Mr. Pope to the Court of Common Pleas (in the cauſe of Sir Alexander Leith againſt Pope) on the plea of exceſſive damages, has proved fruitleſs, the court on Saturday laſt having diſcharged the rule. 22d.

A Common Hall was held at Guildhall for the election of a chamberlain of this city, in the room of Benjamin Hopkins, Eſq; deceaſed. About one o'clock, the lord mayor, aldermen, recorder, &c. went upon the Huſtings, when the recorder came forward, and addreſſed the livery in a well-adapted ſpeech, wherein he ſtated the peculiar privileges which were veſted in the people at large by the conſtitution of the city, of electing their own officers, &c.

There were only two candidates, John Wilkes, Eſq; and William James, Eſq; each of whom addreſſed the livery in a ſhort ſpeech; after which they were put up, and the ſhow of hands appeared five to one in favour of Mr. Wilkes, upon which he was declared duly elected; but a poll was demanded in favour of Mr. James.

The election for bridge-maſter in the room of the late Mr. Borwick, then came on, when there was a very great ſhow of hands in favour of Mr. Buffar, againſt five other candidates; the ſecond on the liſt was Mr. Betts; on which Mr. Buffar was declared duly elected; but

but a poll was demanded for two of the other candidates.

24th. At the close of the poll at Guildhall for chamberlain, the numbers were as follows:

For Mr. Alderman Wilkes, 2332
Mr. James - - 370

when Mr. James declined the poll, and Mr. Alderman Wilkes will be declared duly elected next Tuesday, chamberlain of this city for the remainder of the year.

On the close of the poll for bridge-master, the numbers were,

For Mr. Buffar - - 1304
Mr. Taylor - - 260
Mr. Betts - - 214

The majority on the poll being so very great in favour of Mr. Buffar, Messrs. Taylor and Betts declined giving the livery any further trouble.

The printer of the General Advertiser was ordered up by the Court of King's-bench to receive judgment, for publishing seditious hand-bills expressive of joy at the acquittal of Admiral Keppel; when he was sentenced to pay a fine of 6s. 8d. and to be confined in Newgate for *twelve months*.

30th. Mr. Fox having, in debate one day last week, animadverted with some degree of asperity on a particular species of argument frequently made use of by the friends of the Minister, viz. "that bad as the Ministry were, "it was not certain that the na- "tion would be at all bettered by "taking their opponents;" a Mr. Adam, who had made use of that argument in the same debate, called on Mr. Fox some days after for an explanation. The following letters passed on the above occasion,

St. Alban's Tavern, Sat. four o'clock afternoon.

"Mr. Adam presents his compliments to Mr. Fox, and begs leave to represent to him, that upon considering, again and again, what had passed between them last night, it is impossible for him to have his character cleared to the public, without inserting the following paragraph in the newspapers.

"We have authority to assure the public, that in a conversation that passed between Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam, in consequence of the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday last, Mr. Fox declared, that however much his speech may have been misrepresented, he did not mean to throw any personal reflection upon Mr. Adam.

"Major Humberston does me the honour of delivering this to you, and will bring your answer.

To Hon. Charles James Fox."

"SIR,

"I am very sorry that it is utterly inconsistent with my ideas of propriety, to authorise the putting any thing into the newspapers relative to a speech which in my opinion required no explanation. You, who heard the speech, must know that it did convey no personal reflection upon you, unless you felt yourself in the predicament upon which I animadverted. The account of my speech in the newspapers is certainly incorrect, and certainly unauthorised by me; and therefore with respect to that, I have nothing to say.

"Neither the conversation that passed at Brookes's, nor this letter, are of a secret nature, and if you have any wish to relate the one, or

to

to shew the other, you are perfectly at liberty so to do. I am, &c.

To —— Adam, Esq."

Chesterfield-street, half past 3, Sunday, Nov. 28.

"SIR,

"As you must be sensible that the speech printed in the Newspapers reflects upon me personally, and as it is from that only that the public can have their information, it is evident, that unless that is contradicted by your authority, in as public a manner as it was given, my character must be injured. Your refusal to do this, entitles me to presume that you approve of the manner in which that speech has been given to the public, and justifies me in demanding the only satisfaction that such an injury will admit of.

"Major Humberston is empowered to settle all particulars; and the sooner this affair is brought to a conclusion, the more agreeable to me. I have the honour to be, &c.

To Hon. Charles James Fox."

In consequence of the above, the parties met, according to agreement, at eight o'clock in the morning. After the ground was measured out, at the distance of fourteen paces, Mr. Adam desired Mr. Fox to fire, to which Mr. Fox replied, "Sir, I have no quarrel with you; do you fire." Mr. Adam then fired, and wounded Mr. Fox, which we believe was not at all perceived by Mr. Adam, as it was not distinctly seen by either of ourselves. Mr. Fox fired without effect; we then interfered, asking Mr. Adam if he was satisfied? Mr. Adam replied, "Will Mr. Fox declare he meant no personal attack upon my character?" Upon which Mr. Fox said, this was no place for apologies, and desired him to go on. Mr. Adam fired his second pistol without effect; Mr. Fox fired his remaining pistol in the air, and then saying, as the affair was ended, he had no difficulty in declaring he meant no more personal affront to Mr. Adam than he did to either of the other gentlemen present, Mr. Adam replied, "Sir, you have behaved like a man of honour." Mr. Fox then mentioned, that he believed himself wounded, and, upon his opening his waistcoat, it was found it was so, but, to all appearance, slightly. The parties then separated, and Mr. Fox's wound was, on examination, found not likely to produce any dangerous consequence.

Richard Fitzpatrick, Second to Mr. Fox.

T. Mackenzie Humberston, Second to Mr. Adam.

A Court of Aldermen was held, principally for the purpose of declaring Mr. Wilkes duly elected Chamberlain, and to receive his proposal of securities; when Mr. Wilkes proposed Geo. Hayley and John Sawbridge, Esqrs, Aldermen, Thomas Scott, and Rene Payne, Esqrs. to be sureties in the penalty of 40,000 l. for the due performance of the office of Chamberlain, which the Court unanimously approved of.

Petersburgh, Nov. 5. The Senate has received, from the inhabitants of Kamtschatka, advice, that, last year, about the time that the leaves, though still green, begin to fall from the trees, two large vessels arrived on their coast,

coaſt, one of three, and the other of two maſts; that they landed ſome men, and behaved with great courteſy to the inhabitants, giving them preſents; that the inhabitants in return offered them ſome whales fleſh, which they refuſed, after ſmelling to it; that they could not underſtand any thing they ſaid; that theſe veſſels afterwards ſailed towards the North, and touched at different parts of Kamtſchatka, where the ſame occurrences happened as before mentioned; that they ſailed out of ſight towards the North, but in ſome days returned, and ſailed to the South, ſince which they have not been ſeen.

We do not know what veſſels theſe can have been, unleſs they are Capt. Cook's, who ſailed from England three years ago to make diſcoveries, and who has not been heard of ſince he was at the Cape of Good Hope.

Stockholm, Nov. 15. The grand baſon which has been formed at Carlſcroon is reckoned one of the fineſt performances of the age. It contains 24 places, in which ſhips may not only be kept dry, but may be taken out by letting in water at any time, which may be done into any one of thoſe places ſeparately. The engineer who had the direction of this work is Mr. Tunberg, and he has acquired great reputation by it. He has alſo invented a ſort of ſpying-glaſs, with which one may diſcover the nature of the ſoils under water.

DIED, at Rumſey, in Hants, James Cordelon, a native of France, aged 108 years.

At Barbadoes, Mrs. Mary Pollard, aged 115 years. She was in perfect health till within a few days of her death; could read the ſmalleſt print without ſpectacles, and retained her ſenſes to the laſt minute.

At Hammerſmith, Mrs. Bonnel, wife of —— Bonnel, Eſq. It is remarkable of this lady, that ſhe was a mother at 16, a grandmother at 35, and had 17 children in the courſe of 11 years and a half.

DECEMBER.

4th. Mary Howard, a hawker of ballads, went voluntarily before the mayor of Kingſton, and made oath, that ſhe and one Iſaac Jones, a pedlar, were the perſons who murdered Mr. and Mrs. Cheney on the 11th of December 1762, for the diſcovery of which murder 100l. reward was offered by the inhabitants of Hungerford, and the ſame by his Majeſty. She ſaid ſhe was driven by the remorſe of her own conſcience to make the diſcovery, not from malice to the man.

6th. John Staples, for extorting money from Tho. Harris Croſby, by threatening to charge him with an abominable crime; Timothy Fitzpatrick, for ſtealing money; and John Taylor, for ſtealing a letter, in which was a bill of exchange for 30l. were executed at Tyburn, purſuant to their ſentence.

10th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old Baily, when the following priſoners received ſentence of death, viz. John Howell, for ſtealing 352 ſilk handkerchiefs, and other goods to a conſiderable amount, in the dwelling-houſe of Mr.

Mr. Davidſon, pawn-broker, in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet; William Kent, for robbing Henry Otto, one of his Majeſty's meſſengers, of his watch and money, on the highway, near Gunnerſbury-lane; Hugh Mulvey, Benjamin Fetter, John Wiley, and John Woolmore, for a burglary in the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Farley in Coldbath-fields, and ſtealing ſome wearing apparel, &c.; nine were ordered to be kept to hard labour for the benefit of the navigation of the river Thames, four to be kept to hard labour in the Houſe of Correction, and 13 diſcharged by proclamation.

12th. Laſt week a Court of Common Council was held at Guildhall, to re-conſider the order of the Committee appointed to conſider what mark of reſpect is moſt fit to perpetuate the memory of the late Earl of Chatham; when after ſome debate it was agreed to erect a ſtatue in Guildhall over the Huſtings, facing Alderman Beckford's; and it is to be executed by Mr. Bacon, at an expence not exceeding 3000l.—The thanks of the Court were alſo voted to ſeveral Peers for their ſteady behaviour and ſpirited conduct in the Houſe upon all occaſions for the good of their country.

One evening laſt month, a carpenter going accidentally through the tranſept of Ely cathedral, ſaw the chamber adjoining to the lantern on fire; he got aſſiſtance, and they tore up the flaming boards, and threw them down into the octagon; and thus ſaved that beautiful part of the building the lantern, and poſſibly the whole church. The fire is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by the uſual careleſſneſs of plumbers who had been repairing the lead.

On Wedneſday morning, the 15th, a barbarous murder was committed, in a copſe at Goodwood, in Suſſex, the ſeat of his Grace the Duke of Richmond, on the body of Thomas Hewitt, one of his Grace's grooms, by one Burnett, a poacher, in company with three others, who on the ſame morning had been deſtroying game in the above copſe, and who, on meeting with the deceaſed and two of his Grace's park-keepers, immediately fell upon them, and beſides killing the above unfortunate man, they ſo unmercifully beat one of the keepers, that his life was in danger for ſeveral days. Hewitt, we are informed, had thrown Burnett ſeveral ſucceſſive times, and it is believed would have ſecured him, (as Burnett hath ſince acknowledged) had he not unfortunately in the ſcuffle fallen backward over a wheel-track, in which ſituation his inhuman antagoniſt ſeized him faſt by the throat, and never quitted his hold till he had killed him, when the murderers immediately fled, leaving behind them ſome of their hats, and a bag containing three brace of pheaſants. The Coroner's Inqueſt ſat on the body of the unfortunate Hewitt, and brought in their verdict Wilful Murder; in conſequence of which, two of the criminals, James Burnett and George Dilloway, who were ſoon afterwards apprehended and taken, were committed to Horſham gaol, to take their trial at the next aſſizes for the ſaid murder. The other two offenders, Charles Dilloway

and Daniel Shepherd, are ſtill at large.

20th. This day came on before Lord Mansfield, in the Court of King's Bench, Weſtminſter, a trial on an information ordered by the Houſe of Commons, in the courſe of laſt ſeſſions, againſt Meſſrs. Stratton, Brook, Floyer, and Mackey, for the arreſt and impriſonment of Lord Pigot, when governor of Madraſs. The caſe was ably and pathetically opened by Mr. Wedderburne, in ſupport of the charge, and as ably anſwered by Mr. Dunning, in favour of the defendants. After the Judge had delivered his charge, the Jury found the defendants guilty. *See Appendix.*

23d. His Majeſty gave the royal aſſent to the following bills, viz. for granting a free trade to Ireland; for preventing the clandeſtine conveyance of ſugar, &c. from America into Great Britain; for indemnifying officers of the militia who have not qualified themſelves, &c.; and two private bills.

The Houſe of Peers adjourned to the 27th of January, and the Houſe of Commons to the 24th of the ſame month.

Briſtol, Dec. 25. The want of a ſupply of American tar has given us a diſcovery of the utmoſt utility, and which will be a great ſaving to this country; ſome gentlemen of Briſtol having ſet up works for extracting the oil out of pit-coal, uſed for making lampblack; this oil is alſo boiled down to the conſiſtence of tar, which it exactly reſembles in colour and quality, and is with difficulty diſtinguiſhed from real tar; ſeveral ſhips in this port have had their bottoms payed with it, and though it is found to be a more excellent preſervative againſt the worms, it has the happy advantage of being rendered at nearly half the price of real tar; it may be alſo uſed with ſucceſs in every caſe in which tar is employed. The oil is alſo boiled down to the conſiſtence of pitch, which it is alſo uſed for, and is found an excellent ſuccedaneum for that article. After the oil is extracted from the coal, the reſiduum is a very good coke.

In the account given laſt year of the number of ſhips cleared at the Cuſtom Houſe in the year 1777, it is to be underſtood of ſhips cleared at the Cuſtom Houſe, Newcaſtle. —We have been favoured with the following Liſt from an obliging correſpondent at that place, to whom we are alſo indebted for the above-mentioned correction.

Ships cleared outwards at the Cuſtom Houſe, Newcaſtle, *including their repeated voyages.*

	Coaſtwiſe.	Foreign.	Total.
Year 1777 —	*4410 —	403 —	4813
1778 —	4140 —	285 —	4425
1779 —	3670 —	230 —	3900

From the above it appears, that 1779 has fallen ſhort of 1778, 525 ſhips!—and of 1777, 913 ſhips!

* Theſe numbers differ a little from thoſe in the Regiſter of 1778, which may ariſe from the different terminations of the year;—theſe are from 5 Jan. to 5 Jan.—and thoſe may have been taken from 25 Dec. to 25 Dec.

Died, in a very advanced age, and in great obſcurity, at Rotherhithe, Dr. Gibbs, an excellent mathematician and muſician. He died with his pen in his hand, correcting a work he was juſt about to publiſh.

Martha Cove, aged 105, one of the poor belonging to the pariſh of St. James's, Weſtminſter.

A General Bill of all the Chriſtenings and Burials from December 15, 1778, *to* December 14, 1779.

Chriſtened,		Buried,	
Males	8640	Males	10208
Females	8129	Females	10212
In all	16769	In all	20420

Increaſed in the burials this year 21.

Died under two years of age		7261
Between 2 and	5	2100
5 and	10	703
10 and	20	692
20 and	30	1392
30 and	40	1635
40 and	50	2002
50 and	60	1680
60 and	70	1427
70 and	80	1038
80 and	90	413
90 and	100	69
	100	4
	101	1
	102	2
	103	1

Births *for the Year* 1779.

January. The Lady of Sir John Stanley, Bart. of a ſon.

The Lady of Sir Martin Brown Folkes, Bart. of a daughter.

The Queen of Naples, of a princeſs.

The Princeſs of Aſturias, of an Infanta, at the Pardo, Madrid.

The Princeſs Louiſa Henrietta Carolina, ſpouſe of his Serene Highneſs the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, of a princeſs.

February. The Lady of Sir James Langham, Bart. of a ſon.

The Counteſs of Roſeberry, of a daughter.

23d. This morning, between three and four o'clock, the Queen was happily delivered of a Prince.

March. The Right Hon. Lady Melbourne, of a ſon.

April. The Lady of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. of a daughter.

The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Warwick, of a ſon.

The Right Hon. Lady Boſton, of a ſon.

May. The Marchioneſs of Granby, of a ſon.

The conſort of the Great Duke of Ruſſia, of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Conſtantine.

Lady Downe, of a ſon.

June. Right Hon. Lady Craven, of a ſon.

The Lady of Sir J. Smith, Bart. of a daughter.

July. The Right Hon. Lady Amelia Byron, of a daughter.

Right Hon. Counteſs of Cowper, of a ſon, at Florence.

Auguſt. Right Hon. Counteſs of Suffolk, of a ſon and heir.

Lady of Sir Ch. Douglaſs, of a ſon.

Right Hon. Lady Algernon Percy, of a daughter.

Right Hon. Lady Brownlow, of a ſon.

Right Hon. Lady Anne Foley, of a ſon.

The Ducheſs of Leinſter, of a daughter, in Ireland.

The Lady of Sir J. Eden, Bart. of a daughter.

September. The Great Ducheſs of Tuſcany, of a prince.

The Princeſs of Prince Ferdinand of Pruſſia, of a Prince.

Princeſs of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, of a princeſs.

The Ducheſs of Chandos, of a daughter.

October. Lady of Sir John Taylor, Bart. of a ſon.

The Lady of the Hon. Francis Talbot, of a daughter.

Lady of Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Bart. of a daughter.

November. The Lady of the Hon. Col. Fitzroy, of a ſon.

Right Hon. Counteſs of Jerſey, of a daughter.

The Ducheſs of Chartres, of a prince.

The Archducheſs, conſort to the Archduke Ferdinand, of a prince, at Milan.

The Lady of Sir Thomas Beauchamp Proctor, Bart. of a daughter, in Saville-row.

Hon. Mrs. Vanſittart, of a ſon.

December. Lady of Sir Thomas Fowke, Bart. of a daughter.

Lady of Sir Wm. Aſhurſt, of a ſon.

MARRIAGES, 1779.

January. The Hon. Miſs Wrotteſley, one of the maids of honour to her Majeſty, and ſiſter to the Ducheſs of Grafton, to Colonel Gardner.

Sir John William Pole, of Shute, Bart. to Miſs Templer.

At Dublin, George Powel, Eſq; to the Right Hon. Lady Anne Stratford, daughter to the late Earl of Aldborough.

February. Miſs Baynton, daughter to Sir Ed. Baynton, Bart. to Andrew Stone, Eſq;

Hon. Henry Vernon, 2d ſon to Lord Vernon, to Miſs Sedley.

The Right Hon. Lady Priſcilla Barbara Elizabeth Bertie, eldeſt ſiſter of the Duke of Ancaſter, to Peter Burrell, Eſq;

March. Sir Roger Twiſden, Bart. of Bradburne, to Miſs Weldaſh, of Chatham.

The Hon. Felton Hervey, to Miſs Elville, only daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir John Elville, Bart.

The Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Gallway, to Miſs Elizabeth Mathew.

The Hon. Barth. Bouverie, 3d brother to the Earl of Radnor, to Miſs Arundell.

Sir William Smyth, of Hill Hall, in Eſſex, Bart. to Miſs Windham.

Richard Wilſon, Eſq; of Aytone, in Ireland, to the Hon. Miſs Townſhend, daughter of Lady Greenwich and the late Mr. Charles Townſhend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and half-ſiſter to his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh.

April. The Right Hon. Lord Binning, to Lady Sophia Hope.

John Hawkins, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir Cæſar Hawkins, Bart. to Miſs Colbourne.

May. The Right Hon. Hugh Earl and Baron Percy, ſon and heir apparent of the Duke of Northumberland, to Miſs Frances Julia Burrell, 3d daughter of the late Peter Burrell, Eſq;

The Earl of Harrington, to Miſs Fleming, daughter of the late Sir Michael Fleming.

June. Right Hon. Lord Forbes, to the Right Hon. Lady Selina Rawdon.

Right Hon. Lord Cathcart, to Miſs Elliot.

—— Byron, Eſq; Captain in the Guards, and eldeſt ſon of Admiral Byron, to Lady Amelia Conyers D'Arcy.

Anthony Chapman, Eſq; to the Hon. Miſs Charlotte Carey, daughter to Lord Viſcount Falkland.

John James Hamilton, Eſq; nephew to the Earl of Abercorn, to Miſs Catherine Copley, ſecond daughter of Sir Joſeph Copley, Bart.

Capt. Duffield, to the Right Hon. Lady Eliz. Birmingham, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Lowth.

Baron Nolken, Envoy from Sweden, to Mrs. Le Maitre, relict of the Hon. Mr. Juſtice Le Maitre.

July. The Hon. Henry Stawell Bilſon Legge, ſon and heir to the Right Hon. Mary Baroneſs Stawell in her own right, to Miſs Mary Curzon.

The Earl of Shelburne, to Lady Louiſa Fitzpatrick, ſiſter to the Earl of Upper Oſſory.

Sir F. Vincent, Bart. to Miſs Muilman.

Sir E. Lloyd, Bart. to Miſs A. Yonge.

Francis Head, Eſq; to Miſs Maria Juſtina Stepney, daughter of Sir Th. Stepney, Bart.

Thomas Wiggons, Eſq; to the Hon. Miſs Kinnaird, daughter to the Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird.

Auguſt. William Bowles, Eſq; to Miſs Dinah Frankland, daughter of Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart.

Thomas Horton, Eſq; to the Hon. Miſs Stanley, ſiſter to the Earl of Derby.

Rev. Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart. to Miſs Bennet.

The Hon. and Rev. John Hewitt, Deane of Cloyne, and ſon to the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to Miſs Jane More.

September. The Rev. Joſeph Smith, of Wendover, to Miſs Julia Bernard, youngeſt daughter of the late Sir Francis Bernard, Bart.

Sir John Berney, Bart. to the Hon. Miſs Neville, only daughter of Lord Abergavenny.

—— Butler, Eſq; to the Hon. Miſs Langdale, daughter of Lord Langdale.

Auguſtus Perkins, Eſq; to Miſs Warren, only ſiſter to Sir John Borlace Warren.

Sir Robert Barker, Bart. to Miſs Holloway.

Tho. Gage, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Tho. Gage, Bart. to Miſs Charlotte Fitzherbert.

October. John Engliſh Dolben, only ſon of Sir William Dolben, Bart. to Miſs Hallet.

November. Tho. Hanmer, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir Walden Hanmer, Bart. to Miſs Kennyon.

Hon. Miſs Sally Pratt, third daughter to Lord Camden, to Nich. Price, Eſq;

Dec. Sir Richard Clayton, Bart. to Miſs White.

John Honeywood, Eſq; to Hon. Miſs Courtnay, eldeſt daughter of Lord Viſcount Courtnay.

Charles Smyth, Eſq; brother to Sir William Smyth, Bart. to Miſs Vandeput,

Vandeput, daughter of Sir Geo. Vandeput, Bart.

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1779, *from the London Gazette, &c.*

Jan. Andrew Snape Hammond, Eſq; to the honour of Knighthood.

Whitſhed Keene, Eſq; to be Surveyor of his Majeſty's Works.

Feb. Earl of Farnham, Governor of the County of Cavan, in Ireland, *vice* late E. of Laneſborough.

His Grace D. of Ancaſter and Keſteven,—made Ld Lieut. of the County of Lincoln, and ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt hon. Privy Council.

Gen. Sir Geo. Howard, K. B. to the command of the 1ſt regiment of dragoon guards, *vice* Gen. Moſtyn.

The moſt honourable order of the Bath to James Harris, Eſq; his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Peterſburgh.

In purſuance of the King's pleaſure, the following Flag-officers of his Majeſty's fleet were promoted, viz. George Mackenzie, Eſq; Matthew Barton, Eſq; Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Hon. Samuel Barrington, Rear Admirals of the Red; Mariot Arbuthnot, Eſq; Robert Roddam, Eſq; George Darby, Eſq; John Campbell, Eſq; Rear Admirals of the White, to be Vice Admirals of the Blue.

James Gambier, Eſq; William Lloyd, Eſq; Fancis William Drake, Eſq; Sir Edward Hughes, Knight of the Bath, Hyde Parker, Eſq; Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the Red.

And the following captains were alſo appointed Flag-officers of his Majeſty's fleet, viz. John Evans, Eſq; Mark Milbanke, Eſq; Nicholas Vincent Eſq; John Storr, Eſq; Sir Edward Vernon, Knight, to be Rear Admirals of the White.

Joſhua Rowley, Eſq; Richard Edwards, Eſq; Thomas Graves, Eſq; Robert Digby, Eſq; Sir John Lockhart Roſs, Bart. to be Rear Admirals of the Blue.

His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint Major-generals William Amherſt, of 32d foot, Robert Watſon, Lieut. Governor of Portſmouth, Daniel Jones, of 2d foot, John Mackenzie, of the marines, John Bell, of the marines, Jorden Wren, of 41ſt foot, Lancelot Baugh, of 58th foot, Sir David Lindſay, Bart. of 59th foot, Henry Smith, of the marines, to be Lieutenant-generals in the army.

As likewiſe Colonels Spencer Cowper, Lieutenant-governor of Tinmouth, William Winyard, of 3d foot guards, Edward Mathew, of 2d foot guards, Richard Burton Phillipſon, of 1ſt dragoons, Francis Smith, of 10th foot, Auguſtine Prevoſt, of 60th foot, James Pattiſon, of the artillery, John Douglas, of 2d dragoons, Hon. Alexander Leſlie, of 64th foot, Samuel Cleaveland, of the artillery, Hon. Henry St. John, of 36th foot, William Thornton, of 1ſt foot guards, George Ogilvie, of 3d foot guards, Sir William Erſkine, Knt. of 80th foot, John Campbell, of 57th foot, Sir George Oſborn, Bart. of 3d foot guards, to be Major-generals in the army.

March, Martin Eden, Eſq; appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Copenhagen.

Thomas Rumbold, Eſq; Governor of Madraſs, created a Bart.

Hector Munro, Eſq; Major-general of his Majeſty's forces in the Eaſt-Indies, created a Knight of the Bath.

The King has been pleaſed to appoint John Elliot, Eſq; the Hon. Robert Boyle Walſingham, and Wm. Hotham, Eſq; to be Colonels of his Majeſty's marine forces, in the room of Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, and Joſhua Rowley, Eſqrs, appointed Flag-officers of his Majeſty's fleet.

The Rev. Cyril Jackſon, appointed preacher to the Society of Lincoln's-inn.

April. Admiral Mann, to be one of the Lords of the Admiralty, *vice* Sir Hugh Palliſer.

The Earl of Winchelſea, to be Lord Lieutenant of the County of Rutland.

Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. to be Colonel of the 7th regiment, *vice* Sir George Howard.

May. The following perſons were Knighted by the King, Geo. Munro, Eſq; of Poyntzfield, Cromarty; James Duff, Eſq; of Kenſtair, Aberdeenſhire; Tho. Fowke, Eſq; of Loweſby Hall, Leiceſterſhire; Cha. Gould, Eſq; of Ealing, Middleſex; and Hugh Dalrymple, Eſq; of the Athol regiment of Highlanders.

The Earl of Dalhouſie, appointed the King's High Commiſſioner to the Church of Scotland.

General Robinſon, Governor of New York.

The Rev. Dr. Thomas Thurlow, Dean of Rocheſter, to be Biſhop of Lincoln, in the room of Dr. Green, deceaſed.—The Right Hon. the Earl of Antrim, to be a Knight of the Bath.

June. Rev. Dr. Jefferys, to be Canon Reſidentiary of St. Paul's.—Rev. Dr. Cuſt, to be Dean of the Cathedral of Rocheſter.—Rev. Mr. Jackſon, to be a Canon of the Cathedral of Chriſt, in the Univerſity of Oxford.—Rev. Mr. Onſlow, to be a Canon of the Cathedral of Chriſt, in the Univerſity of Oxford.

Sir Henry Cavendiſh, Bart. and John Foſter, Eſq; to be of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council.

July. His Grace the Duke of Rutland, to be his Majeſty's Lieut. of and for the County of Leiceſter; and alſo to be the Cuſtos Rotulorum for the ſaid county, in the room of the late Duke of Rutland.—Bamber Gaſcoyne, Eſq; to be one of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, in the room of Lord Charles Spencer.—Edward Gibbon, Eſq; to be one of his Majeſty's Commiſſioners for trade and plantations.—The Right Rev. Father in God James late Biſhop of St. David's, to be Biſhop of Glouceſter, void by the death of Doctor Warburton.—John Warren, D. D. to be Biſhop of St. David's.—The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland, to be keeper of his Majeſty's Signet in Scotland.—Charles French, of Clogha, in the county of Galway, Eſq; and Hugh Hill, of Londonderry, Eſq; to be Baronets of the kingdom of Ireland.—Sir W. A. Cunynghame, Bart. Clerk Comptroller of the Board of Green Cloth.

Auguſt.

Auguſt. Brownlow, Duke of Ancaſter, to be Ld. Lieutenant of the county of Lincoln.—The Rt. Rev. Charles, Biſhop of Cloyne, to the Archbiſhopric of Caſhell in Ireland.—Right Hon. John Lord Viſcount Mountſtuart, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy council; and at the ſame time appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Turin.—James Douglas, Eſq; appointed his Majeſty's Conſul General at Naples.

Sept. Wm. Arnald, B. D. Canon of Windſor.

W. Baſtard, Eſq; of Kitley, Devon, a Baronet of Great Britain.

Robert Maxwell, Eſq; appointed (by patent under the great ſeal) Governor of the Bahama Iſlands.

Prince Wm. Henry appointed Poſt Captain in the navy.

Cha. Cowper, D. D. a prebendary of Durham.

Oct. Francis Baſſet, Eſq; to the honour of a Baronet of this kingdom.—Clement Cottrell Dormer, Eſq; to the honour of Knighthood, and Maſter of the Ceremonies.—Dr. Wynne, Chancellor of London, *vice* Dr. Betteſworth, dec.—Capt John Laforey, Commiſſioner of the Navy at Barbadoes, and the Leeward Iſlands.—Hon. Gen. Vaughan, Governor of Fort William in Scotland, *vice* Gen. Burgoyne, reſigned.—Hon. Wm. Harcourt, Col. of the 16th light dragoons, *vice* Gen. Burgoyne, reſigned.—James Hare, Eſq; Miniſter Plenipotentiary at Warſaw.

Dr. Wm. Newcome, Biſhop of Waterford, and Liſmore in Ireland.

Dr. John Hotham, Biſhop of Oſſory.

George Farmer, Eſq; (eldeſt ſon of the late George Farmer, Commander of his Majeſty's ſhip the Quebec) the dignity of a Baronet of this kingdom.

Right Hon. David Viſcount Stormont, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, *vice* Earl of Suffolk, deceaſed.

Nov. The Earl of Carliſle, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of Trade and Plantations.

Earl Bathurſt, Preſident of the Council, *vice* Earl Gower, reſigned.

Earl of Hilſborough, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, *vice* Lord Viſcount Weymouth, reſigned.

Right Hon. Lord Charles Spencer, to be Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Chamber.

Dec. Fred. North, one of the Chamberlains of his Majeſty's Exchequer.

Right Hon. Lord Onſlow, to be Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Houſehold.

Sir Richard Worſley, Bt. Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſehold.

DEATHS, 1779.

Jan. The Right Hon. the Counteſs Dowager of Buchan.

The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Litchfield, aged 60.

Geo. Macartney, Eſq; at Dublin, the father of Ld. Macartney.

The Right Hon. Brinſley Butler, Earl of Laneſborough, Viſc. and Baron Newtown, Governor of the county of Cavan, and one of his Majeſty's moſt Hon. Privy Council of the kingdom of Ireland.

Feb. Sir Everard Buckworth, Bart.

The Right Hon. Edm. Butler.

Viſcount Mountgarret, of the kingdom of Ireland.

The Right Hon. the Counteſs Cornwallis.

At the Hague, the Hon. Char. Bentinck, 3d ſon of the firſt Earl of Portland.

Sir Charles Holt, Bart.

The relict of Sir G. Oxendon, Bart.

March. Sir John Mordaunt Cope, Bart.

At Valleyfield in Scotland, Sir George Preſton, Bart.

At Bath, the Right Hon. Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk and Berkſhire, Viſcount Andover, Secretary of State for the Northern department, a Governor of the Charterhouſe, and Knight of the Garter. His Lordſhip ſucceeded his grandfather, Henry, the late Earl, on the 21ſt of March, 1757, and married Maria Conſtantia, eldeſt daughter of Robert Viſc. Hampden, on the 25th of May, 1764, by whom he had a daughter, who died the 21ſt of July, 1775; the Counteſs died the 7th of Feb. 1767. His Lordſhip married to his ſecond wife, the ſiſter of the Earl of Aylesford, whom he left *enceinte*, and who was afterwards delivered of a ſon, who only lived three days. His Lordſhip fell a martyr to the gout (which he ſeems to have had hereditary) at the very early age of 39.

Miſs Mary Boyd, daughter of Sir John Boyd, Bart.

April. The Right Hon. William Stanhope, Earl of Harrington, Viſcount Peterſham, a General of his Majeſty's forces, Colonel of the ſecond troop of horſe grenadier guards, and Comptroller of the Cuſtoms in the port of Dublin.

Richard Oakes, Eſq; Under-Secretary of State for the Northern department.

The Lady of the Lord Viſcount Hinchinbroke, Vice-chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſehold.

The Right Hon. Lord King.

Lady Dowager Viſcounteſs Montague, aged 80, relict of Anthony, late Lord Viſcount Montague, and mother of the preſent Lord Viſcount Montague.

Right Hon. Lady Auguſta Anne Kearney, half ſiſter to the Duke of Chandos.

The Right Rev. Dr. Green, Lord Biſhop of Lincoln.

Right Hon. the Counteſs of Dundonald.

At Hill Court, Glouceſterſhire, aged 54, Sir John Fuſt, Bart. the laſt of the male line of that ancient Saxon family. He was lineally deſcended from John Fuſt, the celebrated artiſt from whom the city of Mentz contends with Harlem, for the honour of having invented the art of printing.

In Scotland, the Right Hon. Amelia Murray, Lady Sinclair, ſiſter to the late Duke of Athol.

The only daughter of Lord Algernon Percy.

William Parry, Eſq; Admiral of the Blue.

At Paris, John Earl of Traquaire, aged 81.

The relict of Sir Robert Maude.

Sir Robert Lawrie, Bart. of Maxwelton.

May. The relict of Sir Wm. York.

Hon. Henry Finch, Eſq; brother to the Earl of Aylesford.

Miſs Alicia Knatchbull, youngeſt daughter of Sir Ed. Knatchbull, Bart.

Sir John Chetwode, Bart.

Hon.

Hon. Mrs. Cowper, daughter of Ld. Viſcount Townſhend, relict of the late Dean of Durham.

The Right Hon. Dowager Lady Sandys.

The Right Rev. Dr. Michael Cox, Archbiſhop of Caſhel, in his 88th year. He was conſecrated Biſhop of Oſſory in 1743; tranſlated to Caſhel 1754.

At his houſe at Knightſbridge, in the 83d year of his age, his Grace John Duke of Rutland, Marquis of Granby, Earl of Rutland, Baron Roos of Hamlake, Truſbut, and Belvoir, Baron Manners of Haddon, Knight of the Garter, and one of his Majeſty's Privy Council. His grace married Bridget, only daughter and heireſs to Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington; by whom he had the following iſſue, viz. 1. John Marquis of Granby, who died in his father's life-time. 2. Lord Robert Sutton, who died ſome years before his ſaid elder brother. And 3. Lord Geo. Sutton, now living. His grace was deſcended in a direct line from the family De Albini, Lords of Belvoir; which ancient ſtock hath (in its progreſſive courſe) by its ſeveral intermarriages, united itſelf with the families of Seymour, Ruſſell, Noel, Mountague, Roos, and Plantagenet. His grace's honours and eſtates deſcend to his grandſon Charles Marquis of Granby, now Duke of Rutland, who is the eldeſt ſon of the late illuſtrious Marquis, by the Lady Frances Seymour, daughter of Charles Duke of Somerſet.

June. Right Rev. Dr. William Warburton, Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter.

Sir Francis Bernard, Bart. late Governor of Maſſachuſet's Bay.

Sir John Shaw, Bart.

Relict of Sir Thomas Mannock, Bart.

Sir William Wolſeley, Bart.

The youngeſt ſon of Ld. North.

July. Rt. Hon. Counteſs Dowager of Macclesfield.

Hon. Thomas King, brother to Lord King.

The Lady of Col. Ackland.

In Dublin, the Rt. Hon. Lady Dowager Dillon.

Sir Alexander Parry, Bart.

In the 23d year of his age, Rob. Bertie, Duke of Ancaſter and Keſteven, Marquis of Lindſey, Lord Great Chamberlain of England by inheritance, Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Lincoln, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council. The moſt amiable and engaging manners diſtinguiſhed his private life, and the expectation and hopes of his country were raiſed high from the experiment which the very ſhort period of his public conduct had given. His grace ſucceeded Peregrine his father in Auguſt laſt, and dying unmarried, the title goes to Lord Brownlow Bertie his uncle. The ancient Barony of Willoughby of Ereſby, a Barony in fee, deſcends to the heirs female, and as ſuch is in abeyance between his two ſiſters, coheireſſes. And the office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England, which devolved to the firſt Earl of Lindſey, as ſon and heir to his mother, the ſole heir female of the great family of the Veres, Earls of Oxford, deſcends to his grace's eldeſt ſiſter, Lady Elizabeth Burrell.

Auguſt. Hon. Mrs. Cavendiſh.

Right Hon. George Rice, member for Caermarthen, Lieut. and

Cuſtos Rotulorum and Col. of militia of the ſaid county, Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Chamber, and ſon-in-law to Earl Talbot.

Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, Viſc. Mordaunt of Avalon, Baron Mordaunt of Furvey, and Baron Mordaunt of Ryegate. He ſucceeded Charles his grandfather (the celebrated hero in Queen Anne's reign) in 1735. His Lordſhip was twice married; by his firſt Lady he had two daughters; by his ſecond, Charles-Henry the preſent Earl, born May 16, 1758.

The new born ſon and heir of the late Earl of Suffolk, on the third day after his birth, Duke-ſtreet, Weſtminſter; he is ſucceeded by his uncle the Hon. Tho. Howard.

Right Hon. Ann, Counteſs of Arran.

William Henry Dawſon, Lord Viſcount Carlow, and Baron Dawſon of the kingdom of Ireland, aged 67. He was created Baron April 30, 1770, and advanced to the dignity of Viſcount June 28, 1776. He married Mary, ſiſter to the preſent Lord Milton; and is ſucceeded by John his eldeſt ſon (born Auguſt 23, 1744), member for Queen's County.

Sept. Margaret Counteſs Dow. of Moray, daughter of David Earl of Weymis, and mother to Francis the preſent Earl of Moray.

Maria Catharina Marchioneſs of Blandford, aged 96. This Lady (the daughter of Peter de Yong, a Burgo-maſter of the Province of Utrecht, and ſiſter to Iſabella Counteſs of Denbigh) was married April 25, 1729, to William Marquis of Blandford, and became a Dowager Aug. 24, 1731.

Sir Whiſtler Webſter, Bart.

The Rev. Sir John Moſeley, Bt.

Sir Cecil Biſhop, Bart.

The Right Rev. Richard Chenevix, Lord Biſhop of Waterford.

Capt. David Roach, lineally deſcended from the ancient Viſcounts Fermoy, of Ireland, which title he lately claimed in conſequence of diſcovering ſeveral errors in the outlawry laid to his anceſtor in the reign of Charles the Firſt, and having proved his deſcent, had it reverſed, and was to take his ſeat the enſuing Iriſh Seſſion of Parliament.

The Right Hon. Richard Grenville Temple, Viſcount Cobham, Earl Temple. His Lordſhip was thrown from his phaeton, and unhappily fractured his ſkull by the fall. His Lordſhip was Earl Temple by creation, Viſcount Cobham by deſcent, Lord Lieut. and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Buckingham, a Knight of the Garter, and Privy Counſellor. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his nephew George Nugent Grenville, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer.

The Lady of Sir Gervas Clifton, Bart. of a putrid fever, caught by conſtantly attending two of her ſons in that diſorder; the ſecond of whom (Gervas Clifton, Eſq;) died Auguſt 9.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Lincoln, aged one year and ten months, grandſon of the Duke of Newcaſtle, and of the Earl of Hertford. The title devolves to the Right Hon. Lord Thomas Pelham Clinton, member of Parliament for the city of Weſtminſter.

Oct. Sir Roger Twiſden, Bart.

Hon. Lieut. Napier, youngeſt ſon of the late Lord Napier.

Right Hon. Robert Maxwell Earl of Farnham.

Right Hon. Lord Willoughby of Parham, aged about 30. The title is now extinct.

Sir William Gardiner, Bart.

The eldeſt ſon of Sir Thomas Fowke.

Miſs Mary Ridley, ſiſter to Sir M. W. Ridley, Bart.

Sir Thomas Head, Bart.

Sir Robert Lawley, Bart.

Nov. Right Hon. Anne, Counteſs of Northeſk.

Sir James Daſhwood, Bart.

Sir Simeon Stewart, Bart.

Right Hon. Tho. Lord Lyttelton, Baron of Frankley; a Privy Councellor; Chief Juſtice in Eyre of his Majeſty's foreſts North of Trent; High Steward of Bewdley, in Worceſterſhire, &c. His Lordſhip was born January 30, 1744, and ſucceeded his father, George Lord Lyttelton, Aug. 22, 1773. He took his ſeat in Parliament the ſucceeding ſeſſion, and has been diſtinguiſhed as a very eloquent ſpeaker. He married June 26, 1772, Apphia, daughter of Broome Witts, Eſq; of Chipping-Norton, in Oxfordſhire, and widow of Joſeph Peach, Eſq; late Governor of Calcutta, in the Eaſt Indies; but dying without iſſue, the title is extinct. The preſent repreſentative of the family of Lyttelton, is the Right Hon. William Henry Lyttelton ſixth ſon of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Bart, deceaſed, and uncle to the late Thomas Lord Lyttelton, created a peer of Ireland, July 21, by the title of Lord Weſtcote, of Balamore, in the county of Longford.

The Hon. Mrs. Hamilton, daughter of Sir John Home, Bart. and mother of the Counteſſes Morton and Selkirk, &c.

Right Hon. William Sinclair, Earl of Caithneſs, and Lord Beriendale. He is ſucceeded in Barony and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon John Lord Beriendale, Major in the 76th regiment, now in America.

Dec. Sir Thomas Samwell, Bt.

The Right Hon. Lady Catherine Noel, daughter of the late Earl of Gainſborough.

The Right Hon. Lady Seaforth.

Hon. Byſſe Moleſworth, youngeſt ſon of Robert Lord Viſcount Moleſworth.

The Ducheſs Dowager of Gordon.

Sir Robert Pringle, Bart.

Right Hon. Auguſtus John Harvey, Earl of Briſtol, Lord Harvey, and a Vice Admiral of the Blue. Dying without iſſue, the title devolves to his brother the Lord Biſhop of Derry in Ireland.

PRICES

PRICES of STOCKS, for the YEAR 1779.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the course of any Month, is put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	India Stock	S. Sea Stock	S. Sea old Ann.	S. Sea new An.	3 per Ct. Ind. An.	3 per Ct. Reduc.	3 per Ct. Consol.	3 per Ct. B. 1726.	3½ per C. B. 1751.	3½ per C. B. 1758.	4 per Ct. 1762.	Navy Bills.	Long Ann.	India Bonds	Ann. 1778. Yrs. p.
January.	107½	130¼	70	60⅛	59½	57¾	61⅛	60⅛	61	60¼	62⅝	61⅜	5¼	11¼	1 4	12½
	110⅛	142	—	62½	61⅛	58¼	63½	62½	—	60½	—	64	6	—	1 11	—
February.	109¼	139¼	—	—	—	59	63⅛	62	61½	59⅞	—	62	5⅜	18⅝	1 14	11
	110¾	143	70¼	60	60⅞	57⅝	61	59½	—	60½	59½	63⅝	7¼	18	0 5	11½
March.	—	140	—	—	59⅛	58	—	64	—	59	64	62	8	17⅝	1 2	—
	115½	153½	—	63⅛	61⅞	—	—	61½	—	60½	62⅜	62⅛	6⅛	18⅞	0 12	12
April. —	114¾	152¾	—	60¾	60¼	—	—	—	60	—	62⅛	—	8	17⅞	0 17	—
	118½	156	72½	63¼	64¼	59½	64	65¼	61½	63½	64⅜	64⅜	7½	18⅜	1 6	—
May. —	112¾	—	—	—	63	58½	63¾	63⅞	—	62⅝	—	63⅞	8	18	0 13	12⅝
	—	151½	—	61¾	62½	59½	62½	62⅝	61¼	61¼	63	63	7¼	18¼	1 14	—
June. —	—	—	71	—	—	—	63	63¼	61½	61½	63¼	63¼	—	—	1 15	12⅜
	106¾	141½	70	58⅝	60½	56¾	59	60	60⅜	60½	62½	60⅜	11½	18½	0 4	11 5/16
July. —	—	—	—	59⅜	60	—	60	61	—	—	—	—	10¾	—	0 9	11¾
	109	138¼	69½	60⅛	59⅝	57½	61½	59⅛	—	59¼	59¾	62	10	17⅝	1 8	—
Auguſt.	—	—	—	—	—	57⅛	60⅜	60	59¾	60¾	—	—	9¾	—	1 12	11 13/16
	111½	139	—	61½	60¼	58¾	62⅝	61¼	—	59½	61½	62¾	10½	18½	1 6	—
Septemb.	111¼	—	71	—	60½	—	62¼	—	—	—	61	63⅛	—	—	1 12	11 5/16
	114	143¼	—	62½	61½	58⅞	—	62⅜	60⅛	62¼	62¼	62⅞	11⅝	18	0 15	—
October.	113¼	142¾	—	—	60½	—	—	61⅛	—	60⅝	60½	—	—	—	0 16	11⅞
	109⅝	144¾	—	60	61⅛	57	61	62	60½	—	62⅛	—	—	18⅛	1 6	—
Novemb.	110	144½	71½	—	—	—	61½	61¾	—	—	62	62	11⅛	18¼	1 8	—
	110¾	144¾	—	59⅜	60½	57¾	60¼	61¼	—	61⅞	61⅜	61½	11½	18½	1 1	—
Decemb.	110	144	—	—	60¼	57⅛	60	—	—	—	60½	60⅝	—	18	0 15	11¾
	107½	143¾	—	60⅛	60⅞	—	61⅝	61⅝	—	—	61¾	61⅜	5¼	18⅛	1 5	—

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Abſtract of the late Act for altering the Duty on Houſes and Servants.

THE preamble recites, that the duties granted laſt ſeſſion of Parliament on inhabited houſes, not bearing a proper proportion to each other, and the payment being greatly evaded, the duties paid by that act are therefore repealed.

The duties now impoſed, in lieu of the former, took place on the 5th of July, and are as under:

On all dwelling-houſes, with the offices, courts, yards, and gardens, worth of yearly rent from 5l. to 20l. ſix-pence in the pound.

From 20l. to 40l. nine-pence in the pound.

From 40l. a year upwards, one ſhilling in the pound.

Gardens, not exceeding one acre of land, are within the limits of taxation with the houſe.

All ſhops and warehouſes attached to, or communicating with dwelling-houſes, are to be charged with the reſpective houſes; excepting warehouſes and buildings adjoining to wharfs, occupied by perſons carrying on the buſineſs of wharfingers, whoſe dwelling-houſes only are to be charged.

No warehouſes, being diſtinct buildings, and not parcels of dwelling-houſes, though they may have internal communications with them, are chargeable.

Houſes, in which there is only a ſervant, or other perſon reſiding to take care of them, are not conſidered as inhabited.

Where houſes lett in different apartments, the landlord is chargeable as the occupier.

Halls and offices belonging to perſons or bodies corporate, and chargeable with other taxes or pariſh rates, are ſubject to theſe duties.

With regard to ſervants, no aſſeſſment is to be impeached for any miſtake in the names of ſervants, provided the perſons intended are ſervants to the perſons aſſeſſed.

Perſons, who have different places of reſidence, are to declare under their hands, when called upon, the number of ſervants they mean to pay for at their reſpective habitations; which liſts are to be tranſmitted,

Perſons making falſe returns of their ſervants are ſubject to a penalty of 40l.

Abſtract of an Act for extending the Proviſions of the Twelfth of George *the Firſt, intitled An Act to prevent frivolous and vexatious Arreſts.*

IT recites an act of the 12th of George the Firſt, for preventing frivolous and vexatious arreſts, and

and ſets forth, that by the ſaid act no perſon ſhall be held to ſpecial bail upon any proceſs iſſued out of any ſuperior court, where the cauſe of action ſhall not amount to the ſum of ten pounds, or upwards; nor out of any inferior court, where the cauſe of action ſhall not amount to the ſum of forty ſhillings, or upwards.

It further recites, that the power of arreſt and impriſonment on meſne proceſs, iſſuing out of ſuch inferior court, where the cauſe of action does not amount to ten pounds, is found by experience to be attended with much oppreſſion to great numbers of his Majeſty's ſubjects; for remedy whereof, it enacts, that from the paſſing of this act, no perſon ſhall be arreſted or held to ſpecial bail, upon any proceſs iſſuing out of any inferior court, where the cauſe of action ſhall not amount to ten pounds, or upwards; but the like copies of proceſs ſhall be ſerved, and the like proceedings had thereupon in ſuch inferior court, as are directed to be had, by the ſaid recited act, in ſuch inferior court, in all caſes where the cauſe of action ſhall not amount to the ſum of forty ſhillings.

It further enacts, that in all inferior courts (having juriſdiction to the amount of ten pounds or upwards) the like affidavit ſhall be made and filed of ſuch cauſe of action, and the like proceedings ſhall be had thereupon, as are directed by the ſaid recited act, where the cauſe of action amounts to the ſum of forty ſhillings, or upwards.

It then recites, that ſo much of the ſeveral acts paſſed for the recovery of debts within certain diſtricts and juriſdictions as authoriſe the arreſt and impriſonment of defendants, where the cauſe of action amounts to leſs than ten pounds, be repealed.

That, in caſe of final judgment obtained in any inferior court, the certificate of the Judge of ſuch inferior court to the ſuperior court at Weſtminſter ſhall enable ſuch ſuperior courts to iſſue writs of execution to take the perſon and effects of the defendant out of the juriſdiction of ſuch inferior court.

It alſo enacts, that on a judgement in an inferior court, where the damages are under ten pounds, before any execution ſhall be ſtayed by writ of error, the defendant ſhall give ſecurity to proſecute his writ of error with effect.

And then enacts, that no cauſe ſhall be removed by Habeas Corpus, unleſs the defendant ſhall enter into recognizance for payment of the debt and coſts.

Abſtract of the late Act paſſed to prevent Smuggling.

AFTER the firſt of Auguſt, a penalty of 300l. is laid on any maſter of a ſhip coming from abroad, having more than 100lb. of tea on board, (not being an Eaſt-India ſhip) or more than 100 gallons of foreign ſpirits in caſks under 60 gallons (beſides two gallons for each ſeaman on board.)

Foreign ſpirits imported from any part of Europe, in a veſſel containing leſs than 60 gallons, are forfeited, with the ſhip, furniture, &c.

When any tea, coffee, or goods liable to forfeiture, is found on board

board any ſhip coming from foreign parts, at anchor, or hovering within two leagues of the coaſt, the ſhip, if not above 200 tons, is forfeited, with her furniture, &c.

Every perſon who ſhall ſell coffee, tea, cocoa-nuts, or make or ſell chocolate, muſt paint over his door, 'dealer in coffee, &c.' on penalty of 200l.

Every importer or dealer in foreign ſpirits, muſt paint over his door, 'importer of or dealer in foreign ſpirits,' on penalty of 50l.

Every dealer in tea, foreign ſpirits, &c. who ſhall buy any of the ſaid goods of any perſon that has not the words aforeſaid over his door, is liable to an additional penalty of 100l.

Every perſon, not a dealer, who ſhall buy any tea, ſpirits, &c. of any perſon that has not the words aforeſaid over his door, will forfeit 10l.

All foreign thread-lace imported after the firſt of Auguſt to be marked at each end at the Cuſtom Houſe; and perſons poſſeſſed of foreign lace may have it marked at the neareſt Cuſtom Houſe, making oath that the duties were paid.

All foreign thread-lace found in this kingdom after the firſt of February next, not marked, will be forfeited. And any perſon counterfeiting the mark, or that ſhall ſell or have in his cuſtody lace with a counterfeit mark, will forfeit 100l. and be adjudged to ſtand in the pillory two hours; and their aiders, abetters, and aſſiſtants, will be liable to the ſame fine and puniſhment.

Abſtract of an Act for laying a Duty on Poſt-Horſes, &c. which commenced on Tueſday *the 6th of* July.

ON and after the 6th day of July, every perſon going poſt is to pay the duty of a penny per mile for each horſe ſo hired to the inn-keeper, poſt-maſter, or other perſon letting ſuch horſes, who at the ſame time is to deliver to him a Stamp-office ticket, expreſſing the number of horſes and miles he has paid for, and the day of the month: this ticket is to be left at the firſt turnpike the traveller comes to, otherwiſe the turnpike-man muſt not let him paſs till he has paid him eighteen-pence for each horſe for ſuch his neglect, which money the turnpike-man may keep for his own uſe.

Every perſon who hires horſes by the day, or for leſs than a day, is to pay the duty of one penny per mile for each horſe to the inn-keepers, poſt-maſters, or other perſon who lets the ſame, before they are uſed, provided the diſtance he is going is declared at the time of hiring; but if the diſtance is not declared, then he is to pay one ſhilling for each horſe he hires, and is to receive likewiſe a Stamp-office ticket, expreſſing the number of horſes, and having the words 'for a day' printed thereon, and is likewiſe to declare whether he intends to return the ſame day; in which caſe the inn-keeper, &c. is to write upon the ticket 'to return;' and if he actually does return before twelve o'clock at night, then ſuch money is to be returned to him by the inn-keeper, poſt-maſter, or other perſon, who received the ſame.

Mem.

Mem.—This ticket for a day is to be ſhewn at the ſeveral turnpikes, but is not to be left at any.

Abſtract of an Act for recruiting his Majeſty's Land and Sea Forces.

JUSTICES of peace, Commiſſioners of the land-tax, and Magiſtrates of corporations, in the commiſſion of the peace, are impowered, within their ſeveral juriſdictions, to impreſs all able-bodied, idle, and diſorderly perſons, who cannot, upon examination, prove themſelves to exerciſe ſome lawful trade or employment, for their ſupport: and are to order a general ſearch for all perſons under this deſcription. Perſons convicted of running goods or ſmuggling, in a penalty not exceeding 40l. may be raiſed and levied in like manner, in lieu of the puniſhment to which they are otherwiſe liable: as are perſons convicted of running away and leaving families chargeable on their pariſhes. Bailiffs-followers are left open to the powers conferred by this act, being expreſsly declared not to exerciſe an employment within the meaning of it. The men, thus enliſted, are to be free from bodily infirmities; between the ages of ſixteen and fifty; if under the age of eighteen, they muſt be five feet three inches high; and, if above that age, five feet four inches high, without ſhoes.

No perſon, intitled to vote at an election for a Member of Parliament, is liable to be impreſſed either as a ſoldier or a ſeaman.

The inhabitants of every pariſh and townſhip are to aſſiſt in the execution of this act; and a reward of ten ſhillings is to be paid for the diſcovery of any proper perſon, ſo that he be enliſted. Perſons obſtructing the powers of the act are ſubject to a penalty of 10l.

Perſons impreſſed under this act are intitled to their diſcharge on demand after five years ſervice, provided the nation be not then engaged in war; in which caſe they muſt ſerve during the continuance of the war.

Perſons who enter voluntarily into his Majeſty's ſervice are to receive three guineas bounty money, to enter into immediate pay, are to be diſcharged at the end of three years, or of the war then in being, on demand; are exempted afterwards from ſtatute duty, pariſh offices, and the militia ſervice, and may ſet up and exerciſe any trade, agreeable to the ſtatute 3 Geo. III. c. 8.

To prevent the inconvenience of impreſſing men during the time of harveſt, labourers working at hay or corn harveſt, who procure certificates from the pariſh where they live, which are to be furniſhed gratis, are thereby protected from May 25 to October 25.

This act is to remain in force until May 1, 1780; and repeals the act 18 Geo. III. cap. 53, paſſed laſt year.

Proceedings at the Trial of Admiral Keppel.

ON the 7th of January the ſignal was made for all the admirals

miral and captains of his Majesty's fleet to come on board the Britannia in Portsmouth harbour. When they were assembled, the names of the admirals and captains on board, according to their rank and seniority, were called over by George Jackson, Esq; the Judge Advocate, till a sufficient number answered to their names to compose the Court, those being passed over who had been summoned to give evidence on the trial. This being objected to by the Hon. Captain Walsingham, the Judge Advocate read the following case, and the opinion of his Majesty's Attorney and Sollicitor General and Mr. Cust thereon, to the Court:

The 22nd of Geo. II. chap. 33. *sect.* 11. enacts, "That from and "after the 25th day of December 1749, it shall be lawful for "the said Lord High Admiral of "Great Britain, or the Commissioners for executing the office "of Lord High Admiral of "Great Britain; or the Commissioners for executing the office "of Lord High Admiral for the "time being, and they are hereby respectively authorised from "time to time, as there shall be "occasion, to direct any flag officer or captain of any of his "Majesty's ships of war, who "shall be in any port of Great "Britain, or Ireland, to hold "Courts Martial in any such "port, provided such flag officer "or captain be the first, second, "or third in command, in such "port as shall be found most expedient and for the good of his "Majesty's service; and such flag "officer or captain, so directed to "hold Courts Martial, shall preside at such Court Martial; "any thing herein contained to "the contrary notwithstanding."

Sect. 12*th.* "That from and "after the 25th of December, "1749, no Court Martial to be "held or appointed by virtue of "this present act shall consist of "more than Thirteen, or of less "than Five persons, *to be composed of such flag officers, captains, or commanders then and there present, as are next in seniority to the officer who presides at the Court Martial.*"

Notwithstanding the words in Italic in the 12*th section*, the usage at Courts Martial has been, for officers who have given evidence at the trials, not to sit as members of the Courts; although they were senior to others who sat, and consequently would have sat as members if they had not been examined as witnesses.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having lately received a complaint in writing, charging an officer of rank in the royal navy with one of the offences specified in the Articles of War, which are created and set forth by the abovementioned act of parliament; their Lordships have therefore thought fit to issue their order, or warrant in writing, to Admiral Sir Thomas Pye at Portsmouth, requiring him forthwith to assemble a Court Martial for the trial of the said officer. And it having been suggested to their Lordships that several officers and commanders of the King's ships at Portsmouth (who, on account of their seniority, must sit as members of the said Court Martial, if the letter of the 12*th section* in the said act is conformed to) will be summoned as witnesses, either in support of the charge or in behalf of the accused,

You

You are therefore requeſted to adviſe their lordſhips, whether in caſe ſuch ſenior officers ſhould be called upon to give evidence at the trial, they may likewiſe ſit as members of the court martial?—And alſo,

Whether the court can be legally held without the ſenior officers (who ſhall happen to be called upon to give evidence) in caſe it is neceſſary for their juniors to ſit as members, in order to make up the number required by the ſtatute to conſtitute a court?

"The uſage of the ſervice is very material upon this caſe, for naval courts martial are evidently conſidered in the ſtatutes concerning them, as known and eſtabliſhed courts, conſequently in matters not eſpecially provided for, the ſettled courſe of proceedings muſt have great weight—That the characters of witneſs and judge are not conſiſtent, is very obvious; and though in the common law of England there is no challenge to a judge, yet in the only inſtance we know where judges were called upon to give evidence in a criminal caſe, [*Kelyng's Rep.* 12.] it is obſerved, that they ſat no more during that Trial.—By a ſtrict and literal conſtruction of the ſtatute of the 22d of Geo. II. chap. 33, ſect. 12. neither the proſecutor, nor the priſoner, would ceaſe to be judges.—But this conſtruction would be abſurd, and the act muſt from common ſenſe admit as the uſage is, that officers to whom there is a juſt ground of exception, or who have a juſt ground of excuſe, ſhall not be included in the number of thoſe of whom the court is to be compoſed; conſequently if any officer entitled by his rank to ſit, is either proſecutor, party, or witneſs, the perſon next in ſeniority muſt ſupply his place, and the court ſo compoſed, will be legally held according to the intent of the act.

AL. WEDDERBURN.
JA. WALLACE.
F. C. CUST."

Then the Judge Advocate read the order ſent by the Lords of the Admiralty to Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white, to hold the court martial, dated the 31ſt December, 1778, ſigned Sandwich, T. Buller, Liſburne; and for adjourning to the Governor of Portſmouth's houſe.

The following members were then ſworn, agreeable to act of Parliament,

Preſident, Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white.

Matthew Buckle, Eſq; vice-Admiral of the red,

John Montagu, Eſq; vice-admiral of the red.

Marriot Arbuthnot, Eſq; rear-Admiral of the white.

Robert Roddam, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white.

Captains. M. Milbank
Francis Samuel Drake
Taylor Penny
John Mourtray
William Bennet
Adam Duncan
Philip Boteler
James Cranſton

Then the Judge Advocate was ſworn not to diſcloſe or diſcover the opinion of any particular member of the court martial, unleſs thereunto required by act of Parliament.

The

The court was then adjourned to the houſe of the Governor of Portſmouth, when the Preſident deſired the Judge Advocate to read the charge.

The Judge Advocate then read Sir Hugh Palliſer's letter to Philip Stephens, Eſq; Secretary to the Admiralty, dated London the 9th of December, 1778, deſiring the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to order a court martial to be held for the trial of the Honourable Auguſtus Keppel, admiral of the blue, for miſconduct and neglect of duty on the 27th and 28th of July, 1778, as mentioned in the incloſed paper containing the charges againſt him.

The charge was then read as follows:

A Charge of Miſconduct and Neglect of Duty againſt the Honourable Admiral Keppel, *on the 27th and 28th of* July, 1778, *in divers Inſtances undermentioned.*

I. That on the morning of the 27th of July, 1778, having a fleet of thirty ſhips of the line under his command, and being then in the preſence of a French fleet of the like number of ſhips of the line, the ſaid admiral did not make the neceſſary preparations for fight, did not put his fleet into a line of battle, or into any order proper either for receiving or attacking an enemy of ſuch force: but on the contrary, although his fleet was already diſperſed and in diſorder, he, by making the ſignal for ſeveral ſhips of the vice-admiral of the blue's diviſion to chace to windward, increaſed the diſorder of that part of his fleet, and the ſhips were in conſequence more ſcattered than they had been before; and whilſt in this diſorder, he advanced to the enemy and made the ſignal for battle.

That the above conduct was the more unaccountable, as the enemy's fleet was not then in diſorder, nor beaten, nor flying, but formed in a regular line of battle on that tack which approached the Britiſh fleet (all their motions plainly indicating a deſign to give battle), and they edged down and attacked it whilſt in diſorder: by this un-officer-like conduct, a general engagement was not brought on, but the other flag-officers and captains were left to engage without order or regularity, from whence great confuſion enſued, ſome of his ſhips were prevented getting into action at all, others were not near enough to the enemy, and ſome from the confuſion fired into others of the King's ſhips, and did them conſiderable damage, and the vice-admiral of the blue was left alone to engage ſingly and unſupported. In theſe inſtances the ſaid Admiral Keppel negligently performed the duty impoſed on him.

II. That after the van and center diviſions of the Britiſh fleet paſſed the rear of the enemy, the admiral did not immediately tack and double upon the enemy with thoſe two diviſions, and continue the battle, nor did he collect them together at that time, and keep ſo near the enemy as to be in readineſs to renew the battle as ſoon as it might be proper; but on the contrary, he ſtood away beyond the enemy to a great diſtance before he wore to ſtand towards them again, leaving the vice-admiral of the blue engaged with the enemy, and expoſed to be cut off.

III. That after the vice-admiral of the blue had paſſed the laſt of

the enemy's ships, and immediately wore and laid his own ship's head towards the enemy again, being then in their wake and at a little distance only, and expecting the admiral to advance with all the ships to renew the fight, the admiral did not advance for that purpose, but shortened sail, hauled down the signal for battle; nor did he at that time, or at any other time whilst standing towards the enemy, call the ships together in order to renew the attack as he might have done, particularly the vice-admiral of the red, and his division, which had received the least damage, had been the longest out of action, were ready and fit to renew it, were then to windward and could have bore down and fetched any part of the French fleet, if the signal for battle had not been hauled down, or if the said Admiral Keppel had availed himself of the signal appointed by the thirty-first article of the Fighting Instructions, by which he might have ordered those to lead who are to lead with the starboards tacks on board by a wind, which signal was applicable to the occasion for renewing the engagement with advantage after the French fleet had been beaten, their line broken, and in disorder. In these instances he did not do the utmost in his power to take, sink, burn, or destroy the French fleet, that had attacked the British fleet.

IV. That instead of advancing to renew the engagement, as in the preceding articles is alledged, and as he might and ought to have done, the admiral wore and made sail directly from the enemy, and thus he led the whole British fleet away from them, which gave them the opportunity to rally unmolested, and to form again into a line of battle, and to stand after the British fleet: this was disgraceful to the British flag, for it had the appearance of a flight, and gave the French admiral a pretence to claim the victory, and to publish to the world that the British fleet ran away, and that he pursued it with the fleet of France, and offered it battle.

V. That on the morning of the 28th of July, 1778, when it was perceived that only three of the French fleet remained near the British, in the situation the whole had been in the night before, and that the rest were to leeward at a greater distance, not in a line of battle but in a heap, the admiral did not cause the fleet to pursue the flying enemy, nor even to chace the three ships that fled after the rest; but on the contrary, he led the British fleet another way, directly from the enemy.

By these instances of misconduct and neglect, a glorious opportunity was lost of doing a most essential service to the state, and the honour of the British navy was tarnished.

When the evidence on the part of the prosecutor (which lasted to the 30th of Jan.) was gone through, the admiral opened his defence with the following speech:

The Speech of the Honourable Augustus Keppel, *before the Court Martial, in opening his Defence, Jan. the* 30*th*, 1779.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court,

I AM brought before you, after forty years service, on the charge of an officer under my com-

mand, for a variety of offences, which, if true or probable, would be greatly aggravated by the means I have had, from a long experience, of knowing my duty, and by the ſtrong motives of honour, which ought to have incited me to perform it to the very utmoſt extent of my ability.

Sir Hugh Palliſer, an officer under my orders, conceives that I have acted very irregularly and very culpably in the engagement with the French fleet on the 27th of July laſt; ſo very irregularly, and ſo very faultily, that I have tarniſhed the luſtre of the navy of England.

Poſſeſſed with this opinion, on our return to port after the action, he has a letter from the Lords of the Admiralty put into his hands, giving me, in the moſt explicit terms, his Majeſty's approbation for a conduct, which he now affects to think, deſerves the utmoſt diſapprobation, and the ſevereſt cenſure; and he, with the other admirals and captains of the fleet, to whom it was likewiſe communicated, perfectly acquieſces in it.

With the ſame ill opinion of my conduct in his boſom, he goes to ſea again under my command; he goes to ſea under me, without having given the leaſt vent to his thoughts, either by way of advice to myſelf, or of complaint to our common ſuperiors.

He afterwards correſponds with me on terms of friendſhip; and in this correſpondence he uſes expreſſions, which convey a very high opinion of my diſintereſtedneſs, and of my zeal for the ſervice.

After all this I come home; I am received by his Majeſty with the moſt gracious expreſſions of favour and eſteem; and I am received in the moſt flattering manner by the firſt Lord of the Admiralty.

Severals weeks paſt, when at length, without giving me any previous notice, the Board of Admiralty ſend me five articles of charge, on which they declare their intention of bringing me to my trial; theſe charges are brought by Sir Hugh Palliſer; who nearly at the ſame time publicly declared, that he had taken this ſtep from an opinion, that he himſelf lay under an imputation of diſobedience to my orders, and that this imputation was countenanced by me. I may ſay, without the leaſt heſitation, that if I ſhould be cenſured on ſuch a charge (which in this court, and with my cauſe, I think impoſſible) there is an end of all command in the navy. If every ſubordinate officer can ſet up his judgment againſt that of his commander in chief; and after ſeveral months of inſidious ſilence, can call him to trial, whenever he thinks it uſeful for the purpoſe of clearing away imputations on himſelf, or in order to get the ſtart of a regular charge, which he apprehends may poſſibly be brought on his own conduct; there can be no ſervice.

If the charges of my accuſer could be juſtified by his apprehenſions for himſelf, he has taken care to prove to the court, that he had very good reaſon for his fears; but if theſe charges are to be conſidered as ſupported upon any rational ground, with regard to the nature of the offence, or any ſatisfactory evidence with regard to the facts, as againſt me; he makes

that figure, which, I truſt in God, all thoſe who attack innocence will ever make.

In your examination into that judgment, which my officer, in order to depreciate my ſkill and to criminate my conduct, has thought proper to ſet up againſt mine, you have very wiſely, and according to the evident neceſſity of the caſe, called for the obſervations and ſentiments of all the officers who have ſerved in the late engagement; ſo far as they have been brought before you by the proſecutor, I take it for granted, you will follow the ſame courſe with thoſe that I ſhall produce. If this ſhould not be done, an accuſer, (according to the practice of mine) by the uſe of leading queſtions, by putting things out of their natural order, by confounding times, and by a perplexed interrogatory concerning an infinite number of manœuvres and ſituations, might appear to produce a ſtate of things directly contrary to the ideas of thoſe who ſaw them with their own eyes. I am aſtoniſhed, that, when an officer is accuſed by another of crimes, which, if true, muſt be apparent to a very ordinary obſervation and underſtanding, that any witneſs ſhould, on being aſked, refuſe to declare his free ſentiments of the manner in which the matters to which he depoſes have appeared to him: I never wiſhed, that any gentleman ſhould withhold that part of his evidence from tenderneſs to me; what motives the accuſer had for objecting to it, he knows.

The plaineſt and fulleſt ſpeaking is beſt for a good cauſe. The maniſeſt view and intention that things are done with, conſtitute their crime or merit. The intentions are inſeparably connected with the acts; and a detail of military or naval operations, wholly ſeparated from their deſign, will be nonſenſe. The charge is read to a witneſs, as I apprehend, that he may diſcern how the facts he has ſeen, agree with the crimes he hears charged. Otherwiſe I cannot conceive why a witneſs is troubled with that reading. The court can hardly enter fully into the matter without ſuch information; and the world out of our profeſſion cannot enter into it at all. Theſe queſtions I am informed are properly queſtions of fact; and I believe it; they are perfectly conformable to the practice of court martials; but if they were queſtions to mere opinion, yet the court, not the witneſs, is anſwerable for the propriety of them. Maſters have been called here by the proſecutor (and the propriety not diſputed) for mere opinions, concerning the effect of chacing on a lee-ſhore. In higher matters, higher opinions ought to have weight; if they ought, there are none more capable of giving the court information than thoſe who are ſummoned here; for I believe no country ever was ſerved by officers of more gallantry, honour, ability, and ſkill in their profeſſion.

You are a court of honour as well as of ſtrict martial law. I ſtand here for my fame, as well as for my life, and for my ſtation in the navy. I hope therefore, that in a trial, which is not without importance to the whole ſervice, you will be ſo indulgent as

to

to hear me with patience, whilſt I explain to you every thing that tends to clear my reputation as a man, as a ſeaman, and as commander. I will open it to you without any arts; and with the plain freedom of a man bred and formed as we all are.

As I am to be tried for my conduct in command, it is proper I ſhould lay before you, my ſituation in that command, and what were my motives for the ſeveral acts and orders, on account of which I ſtand charged. I muſt beg leave to make ſome explanation of theſe before I enter upon the accuſations, article by article.

To the five ſpecial articles of the charge, you may depend upon it, I ſhall give full, minute, and ſatisfactory anſwers, even on the narrow and miſtaken principles on which ſome of them are made. But I beg leave to point out to you, that there is a general falſe ſuppoſition, that runs through the whole; in cenſuring me for miſconduct and neglect of duty, my accuſer has conceived very miſtaken notions of what my duty was; and on that bad foundation he has laid the whole matter of his charge.

I think myſelf particularly fortunate, in being able to make out by evidence, at this diſtance of time, with ſo much exactneſs as I ſhall do, the various movements which were made or ordered in the action of the 27th of July: it is a piece of good fortune which cannot often happen to a commander in chief in the ſame circumſtances. In an extenſive naval engagement, and in the movements preparatory to it, ſubordinate officers, if they are attentive to their duty, are fully employed in the care of their own particular charge; and they have but little leiſure for exact obſervation on the conduct of their commander in chief; it is their buſineſs to watch his ſignals, and to put themſelves in a condition to obey them with alacrity and effect. As they are looking towards one thing, and he is looking towards another, it is always a great chance whether they agree, when they come to form an opinion of the whole.

You are ſenſible, gentlemen, that one of the things which diſtinguiſh a commander in chief, is to know how to catch the proper moment for each order he gives. He is to have his eye on the enemy, the reſt ought to have their eyes on him. If thoſe ſubordinate officers, who are inclined to find fault with him, do not mark the inſtant of time with the ſame preciſion which he does, their judgment will often be erroneous; and they will blame where perhaps there is the greateſt reaſon for commendation.

Beſides it muſt be obvious, when we conſider the nature of general engagements, that in the multitude of movements that are made, and the variety of poſitions in which ſhips are ſucceſſively found, with regard to one another, when in motion over a large ſpace, (to ſay nothing of the ſmoke) things ſcarcely ever appear exactly in the ſame manner to any two ſhips. This occaſions the greateſt perplexity and confuſion in the accounts that go abroad, and ſometimes produces abſolute contradictions between different relators; and that too without any intential fault in thoſe who tell the ſtory. But wherever the commander in chief is placed; *that* is the center of all

the operations; that is the true point of view from which they muſt be ſeen by thoſe who examine his conduct; becauſe his opinion muſt be formed, and his conduct regulated by the judgment of his eye upon the poſture in which *he* ſees his objects, and not from the view which another in a different, and perhaps diſtant poſition has of them; and in proportion as he has judged well or ill upon that particular view, taken from that particular poſition (which is the only point of direction he can have) he deſerves either praiſe or cenſure.

On theſe principles I wiſh my manœuvres to be tried, when the proper conſideration is whether they have been unſkilfully conceived, or as the charge expreſſes it, in an un-officer-like manner. But my reaſons for preferring any one ſtep to another, ſtand upon different grounds; all that he charges as negligence was the effect of deliberation and choice: and this makes it neceſſary for me to explain, as fully as I think it right to do, the ideas I acted upon.

I am not to be conſidered in the light in which Sir Hugh Palliſer ſeems to conſider me, merely as an officer with a limited commiſſion, confined to a ſpecial military operation, to be conducted upon certain military rules, with an eye towards a court martial, for my acquittal or condemnation as I adhered to thoſe rules, or departed from them. My commiſſion was of a very different ſort. I was entruſted with ample diſcretionary powers for the immediate defence of the kingdom. I was placed, in ſome ſort, in a political as well as a military ſituation; and though, at my own deſire, for the purpoſes of uniformity and ſecrecy, my inſtructions came to me through the Admiralty alone, yet part of them originated from the Secretary of State, as well as from the board. Every thing which I did as an officer was ſolely ſubſervient and ſubordinate to the great end of the national defence. I manœuvred; I fought; I returned to port; I put to ſea; juſt as it ſeemed beſt to me for the purpoſe of my deſtination. I acted on theſe principles of large diſcretion; and on thoſe principles I muſt be tried. If I am not, it is another ſort of officer; and not one with my truſt and my powers that is on trial.

It is undoubtedly the duty of every ſea officer, to do his utmoſt to take, ſink, burn and deſtroy the enemy's ſhips wherever he meets them. Sir Hugh Palliſer makes ſome charge on this head, with as little truth, reaſon, or juſtice, as on any of the others. He ſhall have a proper anſwer in its proper place; that is, when I come to the articles. But in juſtice to the principles, which directed me in my command, I muſt beg leave to tell you, that I ſhould think myſelf perfectly in the right, if I poſtponed or totally omitted that deſtruction of ſhips in one, in two, or in twenty inſtances, if the purſuit of that object ſeemed to me detrimental to matters of more importance, otherwiſe it would be a crime for a commander entruſted with the defence of the kingdom, to have any plan, choice, or foreſight in his operations; I ought to conduct myſelf, and I hope I did, in each particular, by my judgment of its probable effect on the iſſue of the whole naval campaign, to which all my actions ought to

have

have a relation. Without attending to that relation, ſome particulars of my conduct on the 27th and 28th of July, cannot appear in the light which I imagine they are fairly intitled to; and ſome circumſtances of my lenity towards Sir Hugh Palliſer, will incur a cenſure they do not deſerve.

I have reflected again and again on that buſineſs; and if I were to be once more in that ſituation, I am perſuaded that I ſhould act in all reſpects very much in the ſame manner. I have done my beſt and utmoſt; not merely to comply with an article of war (I ſhould be aſhamed that ſuch a thing, at ſuch a time, could have engaged my thoughts) but to defend the kingdom; and I have reaſon to thank God, that whatever obſtructions I met with in ſervice, or whatever ſlanders and accuſations have followed me afterwards, the kingdom has been defended.

My capacity may be unequal to the truſt which was placed in me. It is certainly very unequal to the warm wiſhes I have ever felt for the ſervice of my country. Therefore if I had intrigued or ſolicited the command, or if I had bargained for any advantage on accepting it, I might be blamed for my preſumption. But it came to me intirely unſought, and on accepting it, I neither complained of any former neglect, nor ſtipulated for any future gratification.

It is upwards of two years ago, that is, in November, 1776, that I received a meſſage from Lord Sandwich, brought to me by Sir Hugh Palliſer, that the appearance of foreign powers in our diſputes, might require a fleet at home; and that he had his Majeſty's orders to know whether I would undertake the command. I ſaid that I was ready to attend and give my anſwer in perſon to the King.

Being admitted into the cloſet, I gave ſuch an one as ſeemed ſatisfactory to his Majeſty; and having delivered my opinions with openneſs, I ended with a declaration of my willingneſs to ſerve him, in the defence of this country and its commerce, whenever I ſhould be honoured with his commands, and as long as my health permitted.

The appearance on the part of foreign powers not continuing (I ſuppoſe,) to give ſo much alarm, I heard no more of the command from November, 1776, to February or March, 1778. At that time I had hints conveyed to me that I might ſoon be wanted. I was as ready to obey the King as I had been ſixteen months before; and when required to ſerve, I had two or three audiences of his Majeſty before I left London finally to hoiſt my flag. I muſt remark, that I took the freedom to expreſs to his Majeſty, that I ſerved in obedience to *his* commands; that I was unacquainted with his Miniſters, as Miniſters; and that I took the command as it was, without making any difficulty, and without aſking a ſingle favour; truſting to his Majeſty's good intentions, and his gracious ſupport and protection.

Circumſtanced as I was, I could have no miniſter and no ambitious views in my obedience. I riſqued a great deal, and I expected nothing. Many things diſpoſed me rather to ſeek my eaſe than any new employment, and gave me a very

natural reluctance to put a ſituation ſo difficult to mend, to any new hazard.

That hazard, gentlemen, is very great to a chief commander who is not well ſupported at home; the greater the command, and the larger the diſcretion, the more liable the commander is, in the courſe of ſervice, to haſty, ignorant, envious, or mutinous objections to his conduct; and if he has not a candid, an equitable acceptance of his endeavours at home, his reputation may be ruined, his ſucceſſes will be depreciated, and his misfortunes, if ſuch ſhould befal him, will be turned into crimes. But the nation was repreſented to me, by thoſe who ought beſt to know its condition, as not in a very ſecure ſtate. Although my forty years endeavours were not marked by the poſſeſſion of any one favour from the crown (except that of its confidence in time of danger) I could not think it right to decline the ſervice of my country.

I thought it expedient to lay before you a true ſtate of the circumſtances under which I took the command, that you might ſee, that if I am that incapable and negligent officer which this charge repreſents me, I did not intrude myſelf into command; that I was called to it by the expreſs orders of my Sovereign; that theſe orders were conveyed to me by his chief Miniſter of the marine, with great ſeeming concurrence and approbation; that the meſſenger (who alſo appeared to be perfectly pleaſed with his errand) was no other than Sir Hugh Palliſer my accuſer; who ought to have been a judge of my ability from a very long acquaintance; and that laſtly, this was no matter of ſurprize and hurry; ſince they had ſixteen months time to conſider and canvaſs my fitneſs for a great diſcretionary truſt, before they placed it in my hands.

If I gave no juſt cauſe of doubt about my real character before my appointment, I gave as little cauſe of uneaſneſs afterwards. From the moment of my taking the command, I laid down to myſelf one rule, which in my opinion, where there are honeſt intentions on all ſides, does more to enſure ſucceſs to ſervice, than almoſt any other that can be conceived; which was, "*to make the beſt of every thing.*" The whole fleet will bear me witneſs, that it was not my cuſtom to complain, though it is generally thought good policy to be very exact by way of precaution. If any thing was defective, I ſtated it in confidence, and with good humour, to the firſt Lord of the Admiralty. I received my ſupplies with acknowledgment; what could not be helped, I concealed; I made no noiſe; nor encouraged, much leſs excited any murmurings in or out of the fleet.

I correſponded with the noble earl at the head of the Admiralty; and I did every thing with reference to him exactly in the ſame way as if my beſt and deareſt friends were in that department. Having none but the plaineſt intentions, I was much more willing to take any blame upon myſelf, than lay it upon thoſe who ſent me out, or on thoſe who ſerved under me; I was open and unguarded; in general I ſtudied my language very little, becauſe I little ſuſpected, that traps would be laid for me

in my expreſſions, when my actions were above reproach.

I very ſoon found how neceſſary it was for one in my ſituation to be well ſupported by office. On my firſt going to Portſmouth, which was in March laſt, I was made to believe, that I ſhould ſee a ſtrong and well-appointed fleet ready for ſea. An opinion of that kind was circulated very generally. There were not more than ſix ſhips of the line aſſembled and in any condition to go upon ſervice; of them, all I ſhall ſay is, that on reviewing them with a ſeaman's eye, they gave me no pleaſure. Whilſt I continued at Portſmouth, I believe four or five more arrived. I returned to town without making any noiſe. I repreſented amicably this ſtate of things. I was told that the ſhips were collecting from other parts, and from ſea; and I muſt ſay, that from that time forward, great diligence was uſed; as much, I believe, as was poſſible. If there had not, we never could have ſailed, even with the force we went out with.

On the thirteenth of June, I ſet ſail from St. Helens with twenty ſhips of the line; well enough equipped; that is, neither of the beſt nor the worſt I had ſeen. I was hardly on my ſtation, when a new occaſion occurred, to ſhew me, how much a commander, entruſted as I was, muſt take upon himſelf; how much he muſt venture on his own diſcretion, and how neceſſary it is for him to have a proper ſupport. The circumſtances of my falling in with the French frigates, Pallas and Licorne, and of the chace and the engagement with the Belle Poule, (ſo honourable to Captain Marſhal) are freſh in your memories. I undertook the affair at my own riſque. War had not been declared, nor even repriſals ordered. My ſituation was ſingular; I might be diſavowed, and a war with France laid to the account of my raſhneſs. There was not wanting ſome diſcourſe of that tendency, among people whoſe opinions are of moment.

I repreſented what I had done; and to this hour I have not received one ſyllable of direct or official approbation of my conduct.

I found however that the taking of the ſhips was important to the ſtate; the papers I found in them, and the intelligence I received by that means, filled me with the moſt ſerious apprehenſions. I was on the enemy's coaſt with twenty ſail of the line; there were thirty two in Breſt road and Breſt water, and frigates more than treble my number.

My orders to ſail with twenty ſhips could not have been upon a ſuppoſition of my having to deal with a ſuperior force.

I know what can be done by Engliſh officers and Engliſh ſeamen, and I truſt to it as much as any man. I ſhould not be diſcouraged by ſome ſuperiority againſt me in ſhips, men and metal, but I have never had the folly to deſpiſe my enemy. I ſaw that an engagement, under ſuch circumſtances of decided ſuperiority on the part of France, would hazard the very being of this kingdom. If our fleet ſhould be deſtroyed, it was evident that the French muſt become maſters of the ſea, for that campaign at leaſt; whether we could ever repair the loſs is not very clear to me, when I conſider the

the ſtate of our naval ſtores at that time, and the extreme difficulty of a ſupply, as long as the French ſhould continue ſuperior in the channel.

It is impoſſible to ſay to what ſuch a calamity might not lead; I was filled with the deepeſt melancholy I ever felt in my life. I found myſelf obliged to turn my back on France, but I took my reſolution. I again riſqued myſelf on my own opinion. I quitted my ſtation; my courage was never put to ſuch a trial as in that retreat; *but my firm perſuaſion is, that the country was ſaved by it.* Thoſe in power, who muſt have underſtood the ſtate of the fleet, and of the kingdom, were the beſt able to diſcern the propriety of my conduct. But I was permitted to go out again in the ſame important command, very unworthy of the truſt if I had done amiſs: very deſerving of commendation and thanks, if at my own riſque I had preſerved the country from no ſlight danger; one or other of theſe was certainly the caſe; but the fact is, that I was continued in the command, but did not then receive, nor have I yet received, any more than I had on the former occaſion of taking the French ſhips, one word of official approbation.

All theſe diſcouraging circumſtances did not abate the zeal I felt for the ſafety of my country, or diſguſt me with its ſervice, or diſturb my temper. On my return to Portſmouth I made no complaint; I did every thing to ſtifle diſcontent and to get forward for ſea again, without divulging the true ſituation of affairs, although I found myſelf in publications, which are conſidered as countenanced by authority, moſt groſly abuſed, and threatened with the fate of Admiral Byng.

I had returned to Portſmouth on the 27th of June, and on the ninth of July, finding my fleet made up to twenty-four ſhips of the line of battle, with four frigates and two fireſhips, I ſailed again in obedience to my inſtructions, truſting to ſuch reinforcement as I was given to expect would join me at Plymouth, off the Lizard, and at ſea: by ſeveral reinforcements of ſhips, manned as the exigency would permit, the fleet was made up to thirty ſail of the line. After this, although I was much ſhort of a proportionable number of frigates, and muſt naturally be ſubject to many inconveniencies from that want, I had, on the whole, no juſt cauſe for uneaſineſs. The greateſt part of the ſhips were in good condition, and well appointed; and where any thing was wanting, the zeal of the commanders abundantly ſupplied it.

The appearance of the French fleet confirmed the ideas upon which I had returned to Portſmouth; for on the 8th of July, the day before I left St. Helen's, they ſailed out of Breſt thirty-two ſail of the line. On the 23d the fleets of the two nations firſt came in ſight of each other. I believe the French Admiral found me much ſtronger than he expected; and from thence he all along ſhewed, as I conceived, a manifeſt diſinclination to come to an engagement. I do not ſay this as meaning to call his courage in queſtion, very far from it; I am certain that he is a man of great bravery;

bravery; but he might have many very reasonable motives for avoiding a decisive action.

Many objects of the French, and those very important, might be obtained without a battle. On my part I had every motive which could make me earnest to bring it on, and I was resolved to do so whenever and by whatever means I could.

I should be criminal indeed if I had not, for I had every motive for desiring to press on an action; the greatest body of the British trade was then on its return home. Two East-India and two West India fleets of immense value were hourly expected; from the course it was probable they would hold, and from the situation of the French fleet, they might be taken in my sight without a possibility of my preventing it. Besides this, I know that two fleets, where one of them chuses to decline battle, may be for a long time near one another, without any means of bringing on an engagement.

I cannot be certain whether the account I have read be quite exact: but it should appear by that account, that in King William's reign Admiral Russel continued for two months almost in the daily view of the French fleet without having it in his power to fight them: I do not think the thing at all impossible.

I had also other reasons for the greatest anxiety to bring on an engagement upon any terms that I could obtain it.

These reasons are weighty; and they are founded in my instructions. I gave notice to the Admiralty, that I might find it useful to my defence to produce those instructions on my trial. They communicated to me his Majesty's pleasure thereupon, and informed me, that they could not consent that my instructions should be laid before my council, or be produced at the court martial. I was much surprized at this answer, as I conceived that those who were much better judges than I could be of what was matter of state, could never have thought of putting me in a situation which might compel me, in my defence, to produce the instructions under which I acted, when at the same time they meant to refuse me the fair and natural means of my justification. It is my undoubted right, if I think proper, to avail myself of them. On former trials they have been generally sent down with the accusation, that the conduct of the Admiral might be compared with his instructions. But leaving the Admiralty to reflect on the propriety of their conduct, it is my part to take care of my own. I have always been willing to run any hazard for the benefit of the state. I shall not produce those instructions; I have not even shewed them to my council, nor communicated their contents. But my declining to make use of my own rights cannot, in a like case hereafter, affect the right of any other man.

The world will judge of the wisdom and equity of ordering trials under such circumstances.

On the 27th of July, I came to an action with the French: they were beaten, and obliged to retire into their own port. No one can doubt but a commander in chief, who is to reap the principal share of the glory, will be earnest to have

have his victory as compleat as poſſible. *Mine did not* anſwer to my wiſhes, nor to my juſt expectations. I was fully reſolved to renew the engagement: why it was not renewed, will appear when I come to the particulars of the charge.

As to my conduct after the engagement, I might have purſued a fruitleſs and a moſt hazardous chace of ſome few ſhips (I know not to this hour with certainty what they were, nor does my accuſer): if I had had my mind filled with notions unworthy of my ſtation I might eaſily have paraded with my ſhattered fleet off the harbour of Breſt. I choſe rather to return to Plymouth with all expedition, to put myſelf once more in a condition to meet the enemy, and defend the kingdom. But on my return I took care to leave two men of war of the line on a cruize to protect the trade. By the vigilance of the commanders, and the happy effect of the late advantage, the expected fleets all came in ſafe.

At Plymouth I loſt no time, and omitted no means of putting myſelf in a ſtate fit for action. I did every thing to promote an unanimous exertion; and I found my endeavours well ſeconded by all the admirals and captains of the fleet. This benefit I acquired, by avoiding a retroſpect into the conduct of the Vice-admiral of the blue; for if I had inſtituted an inquiry or trial, it would have ſuſpended the operations of the whole fleet, and would have ſuſpended them in the midſt of the campaign, when every moment was precious, and the exertion of every officer neceſſary. The delay which the preſent court-martial has occaſioned to the ſervice, even at this time, is evident to all the world. How much more miſchievous would it have been at that period? I was ſenſible of it, or rather, to ſpeak more correctly, my mind was ſo fully taken up with carrying on the great ſervice which was entruſted to my care, that I could not admit the thought of miſ-ſpending my own time, and waſting the flower of the Britiſh navy, in attending on a court-martial.

My letter to the Admiralty was written in the ſpirit which directed my conduct at Plymouth. All my letters were written with the ſame ſpirit. My letter publiſhed in the Gazette has been brought before this Court, for the purpoſe of convicting me of crimes, by the perſon whoſe faults it was intended to cover. He has attempted, very irregularly in my opinion, to call upon witneſſes for their conſtruction of my writing. No one has a right to explain my meaning, where it may be doubtful, but myſelf; and it is you, Gentlemen, who are to judge whether my explanation is fair.

That letter (as far as it goes) is an account of the action ſtrictly true. It is indeed very ſhort, and very general, but it goes as far as I intended it ſhould. It commends Sir Hugh Palliſer; it does what I meant to do.

I meant to commend his bravery (or what appeared to me as ſuch) in the engagement. As he ſtood high in command, to paſs over one in his ſtation, would be to mark him. It would have conveyed the cenſure I wiſhed for ſuch good reaſons to avoid, and I ſhould have

have defeated the one great object I had in view, the defence of the nation. In that letter I expreſſed alſo my hopes of bringing the French fleet to action in the morning.

I had ſuch hopes; and my accuſer, even in the ſecond edition of his log-book, ſhews that I was not wholly ungrounded in my expectations, ſince he has recorded himſelf as of the ſame opinion. I ſaid, that I did not interrupt the French fleet that evening in the formation of their line. I ſhall ſhew you by evidence (if it ſhould not have already fully appeared) that I was not able to do it, and that any random firing from me under my circumſtances would have been vain againſt the enemy, and a diſgraceful trifling with regard to myſelf.

You have ſeen my expreſſions, and ſuch is their meaning with regard to both the French and Sir Hugh Palliſer, ſo far as they applied to the particular times to which they ſeverally belonged. But there was an *intermediate time* with regard to both, of which, when I wrote my letter, I gave no account. I intended to conceal it. I do not conceive that a commander in chief is bound to diſcloſe to all Europe, in the midſt of a critical ſervice, the real ſtate of his fleet, or his opinion of any of his officers.

He is not, under ſuch circumſtances, bound to accuſe a Britiſh admiral. To me, ſuch an accuſation, under almoſt any circumſtances, is a very ſerious matter: whilſt a poſſibility of an excuſe for an officer remains in my mind, I am in my diſpoſition ready to lay hold of it; and I confeſs to you, that until Sir Hugh Palliſer himſelf had brought out to this Court all the particulars, I attributed much more to his misfortune, or miſtake, than I now find myſelf authorized to do; nor did I think his conduct half ſo exceptionable as he himſelf has proved it.

After the engagement, *he* never thought fit to explain to me the reaſons of his not bearing down into my wake, to enable me to renew the action, and *I* did not think fit to enquire into them.

I apprehend that a power of paſſing over faults or miſtakes in ſervice, (into which the very beſt officers may be ſurprized) to be ſometimes as neceſſary, if not to diſcipline, yet to the end of all diſcipline, the good of the ſervice, as any puniſhment of them can poſſibly be: and one of the ill effects of this proſecution will be, I fear, to terrify a commander in chief out of one of the moſt valuable parts of his diſcretion.

By uſing the diſcretion which I thought was in me, I preſerved concord in the fleet, promptitude in the ſervice, and dignity to the country. In my opinion, any complaint of ſuch a magnitude would have produced infinite miſchiefs.

Nobody can imagine, that in that moment, an accuſation of a Vice-admiral, who was beſides a Lord of the Admiralty, could be undertaken without a capital detriment to our naval operations, and even to the quiet of the public.

My letter was written ſolely upon the principles which I have now honeſtly and faithfully laid before you, and which I ſubmit to your judgment. If I have been

more

more indulgent than was wiſe, the public has had the benefit, and all the trouble and inconvenience of my indiſcretion has fallen upon myſelf. I never had a more troubleſome taſk of the ſort than in penning that letter, and it has ill anſwered my pains.

If I have not ſhewn myſelf able at concealment, it is a fault for which I hope I ſhall not loſe much credit with this court martial. I ſhall not be very uneaſy if I have been thought to have wrote a bad letter, if I ſhall be found, as I truſt I ſhall be found, to have done my duty in fighting the enemy.

The intruſion of my letter into the trial, has made it neceſſary for me to explain it. I now proceed with the account of my conduct.

I got ready for ſea again, with my uſual temper and diſpoſition to accommodate; after this I kept the ſea as long as I could. The French fleet carefully avoided my ſtation. I could obtain no diſtinct intelligence of them, though I omitted no means to procure it.

In conſequence of this, their deſertion of the ſeas, their trade fell into the hands of our privateers, to a number and value that I believe was never equalled in the ſame ſpace of time. His Majeſty was pleaſed to ſpeak of it in his ſpeech from the throne, and to attribute it to the good conduct of ſome of his officers.

When I conſidered this; when I conſidered the direct approbation of my conduct, and the circumſtances which attended my appointment, it was with difficulty I perſuaded myſelf that I was awake, when I found that I was treated as a criminal, and ordered, without the leaſt ceremony, or previous enquiry, to be tried by a court martial, on the accuſation of my officer, my old friend, one over whoſe faults I had ſo lately caſt a veil; the very perſon who was a meſſenger and congratulator of my original appointment. I acknowledge it was for ſome time before I could ſufficiently maſter my indignation, and compoſe myſelf to that equality of temper with which I came hither, and with which I have heard ſuch ſhocking and reproachful matter and words read to my face, in the place of ſupport I was made to look for. I feel very much inward peace at preſent; and the event I conſider with much leſs concern for myſelf, than for the ſervice. Your judgment, I am fully perſuaded, will be wiſe and well weighed, and ſuch as will be of credit to yourſelves, and of advantage and encouragement to that part of the military which is moſt intereſting to this kingdom. On my part, I truſt I ſhall intitle myſelf not only to an acquital, but to an honourable reparation at your hands, for the malicious calumnies contained in the charge againſt me.

Thus much I have ſaid as to the general matter which has ariſen on the trial, and the circumſtances by which that trial has been brought on, as well as to the motives and principles which regulated the diſcretion that I conceive was in me. If theſe motives were probable, and likely to be real, I cannot be guilty of the criminal negligence and want of knowledge in my profeſſion, with which I ſtand charged. As to the charges themſelves,

themſelves, let the firſt article be read again, and I will anſwer to it.

Judge Advocate. First Article of the Charge.

THAT on the morning of the 27th of July, 1778, having a fleet of thirty ſhips of the line under his command, and being then in the preſence of a French fleet of the like number of ſhips of the line; the ſaid admiral did not make the neceſſary preparations for fight; did not put his fleet into a line of battle, or into any order proper either for receiving or attacking an enemy of ſuch force: but on the contrary, although his fleet was already diſperſed and in diſorder, he, by making the ſignal for ſeveral ſhips of the vice-admiral of the blue's diviſion to chace to windward, increaſed the diſorder of that part of his fleet, and the ſhips were in conſequence more ſcattered than they had been before; and whilſt in this diſorder, he advanced to the enemy, and made the ſignal for battle.

That the above conduct was the more unaccountable, as the enemy's fleet was not then in diſorder, nor beaten, nor flying, but formed in a regular line of battle, on that tack which approached the Britiſh fleet, (all their motions plainly indicating a deſign to give battle) and they edged down and attacked it whilſt in diſorder. By this un-officer-like conduct, a general engagement was not brought on, but the other flag-officers and captains were left to engage without order or regularity, from whence great confuſion enſued; ſome of his ſhips were prevented getting into action at all, others were not near enough to the enemy; and ſome, from the confuſion, fired into others of the King's ſhips, and did them conſiderable damage; and the vice-admiral of the blue was left alone to engage ſingly and unſupported. In theſe inſtances the ſaid Admiral Keppel negligently performed the duty impoſed on him.

The Admiral. Mr. Preſident, to this charge, I anſwer, that I have never underſtood preparations for fight, to have any other meaning in the language and underſtanding of ſeamen, than that each particular ſhip under the direction and diſcipline of her own officers, *when in purſuit of an enemy*, be in every reſpect cleared and in readineſs for action; the contrary of which, no admiral of a fleet, without reaſonable cauſe, will preſume; *and as from the morning of the 24th, when the French fleet had got to windward, to the time of the action, the Britiſh fleet was in unremitting purſuit of them*, it is ſtill more difficult to conceive, that any thing more is meant by this charge, than what is immediately after conveyed by the charge that follows it, namely,

> "That on the ſame morning
> "of the 27th, I did not
> "put my fleet into a line
> "of battle, or into any
> "order, proper either for
> "receiving or attacking
> "an enemy of ſuch force."

By this ſecond part of the charge, I feel myſelf attacked in the exerciſe of that great and broad line of diſcretion, which every officer commanding either fleets or armies,

armies, is often obliged, both in duty and conſcience, to exerciſe to the beſt of his judgment, and which depending on circumſtances and ſituations infinitely various, cannot be reduced to any poſitive rule of diſcipline or practice; a diſcretion which I will ſubmit to the Court, I was particularly called upon by the ſtrongeſt and beſt motives to exerciſe, and which, in my public letter to the Board of Admiralty, I openly avowed to have exerciſed. I admit, that on the morning of the 27th of July, I did not put my fleet into a line of battle, becauſe I had it not in my choice to do ſo, conſiſtent with the certainty, or even the probability of either giving, or being given battle; and becauſe, if I had ſcrupulouſly adhered to that order, in which, if the election had been mine, I ſhould have choſen to have received, or attacked a willing enemy, I ſhould have had no enemy either to receive or to attack.

I ſhall therefore, in anſwer to this charge, ſubmit to the Court my reaſons for determining to bring the French fleet to battle at all events; and ſhall ſhew, that any other order than that in which my fleet was conducted, from my firſt ſeeing them, to the moment of the action, was incompatible with ſuch determination.

And in order to this, I muſt call the attention of the Court to a retroſpective view of the motions of the two fleets, from their firſt coming in ſight of each other.

On my firſt diſcovering the French fleet at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d of July, I made the neceſſary ſignals for forming my fleet in the order of battle, which I effected towards the evening, when I brought to, by ſignal, and lay till the morning, when perceiving that the French fleet had gained the wind during the night, and carried a preſſed ſail to preſerve it, I diſcontinued the ſignal for the line, and made the general ſignal to chace to windward, in hopes that they would join battle with me, rather than ſuffer two of their capital ſhips to be entirely ſeparated from them, and give me the chance of cutting off a third, which had carried away a topmaſt in the night, and which but for a ſhift of wind I muſt have taken. In this, however, I was diſappointed, for they ſuffered two of them to go off altogether, and continued to make every uſe of the advantage of the wind.

This aſſiduous endeavour of the French admiral to avoid coming to action, which, from his thus having the wind, was always in his option, led me to believe he expected a reinforcement; a reflection which would alone have been ſufficient to determine me to urge my purſuit in as collected a body as the nature of ſuch a purſuit would admit of, without the delay of the line, and to ſeize the firſt opportunity of bringing on an engagement.

But I had other reaſons no leſs urgent.

If by obſtinately adhering to the line of battle, I had ſuffered, as I inevitably muſt, the French fleet to have ſeparated from me; and if by ſuch ſeparation the Engliſh convoys from the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, which I have already ſtated in the introduction to my defence to have been then expected home, had been

been cut off, or the coaſt of England been inſulted, what would have been my ſituation? Sheltered under the forms of diſcipline, I perhaps might have eſcaped puniſhment, but I could not have eſcaped cenſure; I ſhould neither have eſcaped the contempt of my fellow citizens, nor the reproaches of my own conſcience.

Moved by theſe important conſiderations, ſupported by the examples of Admiral Ruſſel, and other great naval commanders, who in ſimilar ſituations had ever made ſtrict order give way to reaſonable enterprize, and particularly encouraged by the remembrance of having myſelf ſerved under that truly great officer Lord Hawke, when, rejecting all rules and forms, he graſped at victory by an irregular attack; I determined not to loſe ſight of the French fleet by being outſailed from preſerving the line of battle, but to keep my fleet as well collected as I could, and near enough to aſſiſt and act with each other, in caſe a change of wind or other favourable circumſtance ſhould enable me to force the enemy to action.

Such were my feelings and reſolutions when the day broke on the morning of the 27th of July; at which time the fleet under my command was in the following poſition: Vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland was about four miles diſtant on the Victory's weather quarter with moſt of the ſhips of his own diviſion, and ſome of thoſe belonging to the centre; and Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer at about three miles diſtance, a point before the lee beam of the Victory, with his mainſail up, which obliged the ſhips of his diviſion to continue under an eaſy ſail.

The French fleet was as much to windward, and at as great a diſtance, as it had been the preceding morning, ſtanding with a freſh wind cloſe hauled on the larboard tack, to all appearance avoiding me with the ſame induſtry as ever.

At this time, therefore, I had no greater inducement to form the line than I had on the morning of the former day; and I could not have formed it without greatly increaſing my diſtance from the French fleet, contrary to that plan of operations which I have already ſubmitted to the judgment of the Court.

The Vice-admiral of the blue next charges,

> "That although my fleet was already diſperſed, and in diſorder, I, by making the ſignal for ſeveral ſhips of his diviſion to chaſe to windward, increaſed the diſorder of that part of my fleet, and that the ſhips were in conſequence more ſcattered than they had been before; and that, whilſt in this diſorder, I advanced to the enemy, and made the ſignal for battle."

In this part of the charge there is a ſtudious deſign to miſlead the underſtanding, and, by leaving out times and intermediate events, to make the tranſactions of half a day appear but as one moment.

It is indeed impoſſible to read it without being poſſeſſed with the

idea, that at half paſt five in the morning, when I made the ſignal for ſix of the ſhips of the Vice-admiral of the blue's diviſion to chace to windward, I was in the immediate proſpect of cloſing with an enemy approaching me in a regular line, and all their motions plainly indicating a deſign to give battle; inſtead of which, both the fleets were then on the larboard tack, the enemy's fleet near three leagues to windward, going off cloſe by the wind with a preſſed ſail; my reaſon therefore for making that ſignal at half paſt five, was to collect as many of the ſhips to windward as I could, in order to ſtrengthen the main body of the fleet, in caſe I ſhould be able to get to action, and to fill up the interval between the Victory and the Vice-admiral, which was occaſioned by his being far to leeward; and it is plain that the Vice-admiral muſt have himſelf underſtood the object of the ſignal, ſince it has appeared in the courſe of the evidence, that on its being made the Formidable ſet her main-ſail, and let the reefs out of her topſails: and indeed the only reaſon why it was not originally made for the whole diviſion was, that they muſt have then chaſed as a diviſion, which would have retarded the beſt-going ſhips, by an attendance on the Vice-admiral.

Things were in this ſituation, when, about nine o'clock, the French fleet *wore* and ſtood to the ſouthward on the ſtarboard tack; but the wind, immediately after they were about, coming more ſoutherly, I continued to ſtand on till a quarter paſt ten, at which time I tacked the Britiſh fleet together by ſignal; and ſoon after we were about, the wind came ſome points in our favour to the weſtward, which enabled us to lie up for a part of them; but in a dark ſquall that almoſt immediately came on, I loſt ſight of them for above half an hour; and when it cleared away, at eleven o'clock, I diſcovered that the French fleet had changed their poſition, and were endeavouring to form the line on the larboard tack, which finding they could not effect without coming within gun-ſhot of the van of the Britiſh fleet, they edged down and fired on my headmoſt ſhips, as they approached them on the contrary tack, at a quarter after eleven, which was inſtantly returned; *and then, and not till then, I made the ſignal for battle—all this happened in about half an hour*; and muſt have been owing to the enemy's falling to leeward in performing their evolution during the ſquall, which we could not ſee, and by that means produced this ſudden and unexpected opportunity of engaging them, as they were near three leagues ahead of me when the ſquall came on.

If, therefore, by making the ſignal for the line of battle when the van of my fleet was thus ſuddenly getting within reach of the enemy, and well connected with the center, as my accuſer himſelf has admitted, I had called back the Vice-admiral of the red, the French fleet might either have formed their line complete, and have come down upon my fleet while in the confuſion of getting into order of battle, or (what I had ſtill greater reaſon to apprehend) might have gone off to windward out of my reach altogether;

gether; for, even as it was, the enemy's van, inſtead of coming cloſe to action, kept their wind, and paſſed hardly within random ſhot.

My accuſer next aſſerts, as an aggravation of his former charge,

> "That the French fleet was
> "in a regular line, on the
> "tack which approached
> "the Britiſh fleet; all
> "their motions plainly
> "indicating a deſign to
> "give battle."

Both which facts have already been contradicted, by the teſtimony of even his own witneſſes. That the enemy's fleet was not in a regular line of battle, appeared by the French admiral being out of his ſtation, far from the center of his line, and next, or very near, to a ſhip carrying a vice-admiral's flag; and from ſome of their ſhips being a-breaſt of each other, and in *one* as they paſſed the Engliſh fleet, with other apparent marks of irregularity: indeed every motion of the French fleet, from about nine, when it went on the ſtarboard tack, till the moment of the action, and even during the action itſelf, I apprehend to be deciſive againſt the alledged indication of deſigning battle: for, if the French admiral had really deſigned to come to action, I apprehend he never would have got his fleet on the contrary tack to that on which the Britiſh fleet was coming up to him, but would have ſhortened ſail, and waited for it, formed in the line on the ſame tack; and even when he did tack towards the Britiſh fleet, the alledged indication is again directly refuted, by the van of the French fleet hauling their wind again, inſtead of bearing down into action, and by their hoiſting no colours when they began to engage.

Notwithſtanding theſe incontrovertible truths, my accuſer imputes it to me that a general engagement was not brought on; but it is evident, from the teſtimony of every witneſs he has called, that a general engagement was never in my choice; and that, ſo far from its being prevented by my not having formed the line of battle, no engagement, either general or partial, could have been brought on, if I had formed it: indeed, it is a contradiction in terms, to ſpeak of a general engagement, where the fleet that has the wind, tacks to paſs the fleet to leeward on the contrary tack.

Such was the manner in which, after four days purſuit, I was at laſt enabled, by a favourable ſhift of wind, to cloſe with the fleet of France.

And if I am juſtifiable on principle, in the exerciſe of that diſcretion which I have been ſubmitting to your judgment, of bringing on, at all events, an unwilling enemy to battle, I am certainly not called upon to deſcend to all the minutiæ of conſequences reſulting from ſuch enterprize; even if ſuch had enſued, as my accuſer has aſſerted, but which his own witneſſes have not only failed to eſtabliſh, but abſolutely refuted. It would be an inſult on the underſtanding of the Court, were I to offer any arguments to ſhew, that ſhips which engage without a line of battle cannot ſo cloſely, uniformly, and mu-

tually ſupport each other, as when circumſtances admit of a line being formed; becauſe it is ſelf-evident, and is the baſis of all the diſcipline and practice of lines of battle: but, in the preſent caſe, notwithſtanding I had no choice in making any diſpoſition for an attack, nor any poſſibility of getting to battle otherwiſe than I did, which would be alone ſufficient to repel any charge of conſequent irregularity, or even confuſion, yet it is not neceſſary for me to claim the protection of the circumſtances under which I acted; becauſe no irregularity or confuſion, either exiſted or has been proved; all the chacing ſhips, and the whole fleet, except a ſhip or two, got into battle, and into as cloſe battle as the French fleet, which had the option by being to windward, choſe to give them.

The vice-admiral of the blue himſelf, though in the rear, was out of action in a ſhort time after the Victory; and ſo far from being left to engage ſingly and unſupported, was paſſed, during the action, by three ſhips of his own diviſion, and was obliged to back his mizen topſail to keep out of the fire of one of the largeſt ſhips in the fleet, which muſt have continued near him all the reſt of the time he was paſſing the French line, as I ſhall prove ſhe was within three cables length of the Formidable, when the firing ceaſed. Pleaſe to read the next article.

Judge Advocate. The ſecond article of the charge is, "That after "the van and center diviſions of "the Britiſh fleet paſſed the rear "of the enemy, the admiral did "not immediately tack and double upon the enemy with thoſe "two diviſions, and continue the "battle; nor did he collect them "together at that time, and keep "ſo near the enemy as to be in "readineſs to renew the battle, "as ſoon as it might be proper; "but, on the contrary, he ſtood "away beyond the enemy to a "great diſtance before he wore to "ſtand towards them again, leaving the vice-admiral of the blue "engaged with the enemy, and "expoſed to be cut off."

The Admiral. Sir, In anſwer to this article, the moment the Victory had paſſed the enemy's rear, my firſt object was to look round to the poſition of the fleet, which the ſmoak had till then obſcured from obſervation, in order to determine how a general engagement might beſt be brought on after the fleets ſhould have paſſed each other. I found that the vice-admiral of the red with part of his diviſion had tacked, and was ſtanding towards the enemy with top-gallant ſails ſet, the very thing I am charged with not having directed him to do; but all the reſt of the ſhips that had got out of action were ſtill on the ſtarboard tack, ſome of them dropping to leeward, and ſeemingly employed in repairing their damages:—The Victory herſelf was in no condition to tack, and I could not immediately wear and ſtand back on the ſhips coming up a-ſtern of me out of the action (had it been otherwiſe expedient) without throwing them into the utmoſt confuſion.—Sir John Roſs, who very gallantly tried the experiment, having informed the court of the momentary neceſſity he was under of wearing back

again to prevent the consequences I have mentioned, makes it unnecessary to enlarge on the probable effect of such a general manœuvre with all the ships a-head. Indeed, I only remark it as a strongly relative circumstance, appearing by the evidence of a very able and experienced officer, and by no means as a justification for having stood away to a great distance beyond the enemy before I wore, because the charge itself is grosly false in fact.

The Victory had very little way while her head was to the southward, and although her damages were considerable, was the first ship of the center division that got round towards the enemy again, and some time before the rest were able to follow her; since even as it was, not above three or four were able to close up with her on the larboard tack; so that had it even been practicable to have wore sooner than I did, no good purpose could have been answered by it, since I must only have wore the sooner back again, to have collected the disabled ships, which would have been thereby left still farther a-stern.

The Formidable was no otherwise engaged with the enemy during this short interval, than as being in the rear, which must always necessarily happen to ships in that situation, when fleets engage each other on contrary tacks, and no one witness has attempted to speak to the danger my accuser complains of, except his own captain, who, on being called upon to fix the time when such danger was apprehended, stated it to be before the Formidable opened her fire,—which renders the application of it as a consequence of the second charge too absurd to demand a refutation. Now please to read the third, Sir.

Judge Advocate. The third article of the charge is, "That after "the vice-admiral of the blue "had passed the last of the ene-"my's ships, and immediately "wore and laid his own ship's "head towards the enemy again, "being then in their wake, and "at a little distance only, and "expecting the admiral to ad-"vance with all the ships to re-"new the fight; the admiral did "not advance for that purpose, "but shortened sail, hauled down "the signal for battle; nor did he "at that time, or at any other "whilst standing towards the ene-"my, call the ships together in "order to renew the attack, as "he might have done, particu-"larly the vice-admiral of the red "and his division, which had re-"ceived the least damage, had "been the longest out of action, "were ready and fit to renew it, "were then to windward, and "could have bore down and "fetched any part of the French "fleet, if the signal for battle had "not been hauled down; or if "the said Admiral Keppel had "availed himself of the signal ap-"pointed by the thirty-first arti-"cle of the Fighting Instructions, "by which he might have odered "those to lead, who are to lead "with the starboard tacks on "board by a wind, which signal "was applicable to the occasion "for renewing the engagement "with advantage after the French "fleet had been beaten, their "line broken, and in disorder.—

" In theſe inſtances he did not do " the utmoſt in his power to " take, ſink, burn or deſtroy the " French fleet, that had attacked " the Britiſh fleet."

The Admiral. Sir, As ſoon as I had wore to ſtand towards the enemy, I hauled down the ſignal for battle, which I judged improper to be kept abroad till the ſhips could recover their ſtations, or at leaſt get near enough to ſupport each other in action; and in order to call them together for that purpoſe, I immediately made the ſignal to form the line of battle a-head, a cable's length aſunder, and the Victory being at this time a-head of all the center and red diviſion, I embraced that opportunity of unbending her maintop-ſail, which was totally unſerviceable, and in doing which the utmoſt expedition was uſed, the ſhips a-ſtern of me doing all they could in the mean time to get into their ſtations, ſo that no time was loſt by this neceſſary operation.

The Formidable was a-head of the Victory during this period; it was her ſtation in the line, on that tack; yet at the very moment my accuſer dares to charge me with not calling the ſhips together to renew the attack,—he himſelf, though his ſhip was in a manageable condition, as has appeared by the evidence of his own captain, —and though he had wore, expecting (as he ſays) the battle to be renewed, quitted his ſtation in the front of that line of battle, the ſignal for which was flying, paſſed to leeward of me on the ſtarboard tack, while I was advancing to the enemy, and never came into the line during the reſt of the day.

In this ſituation I judged it neceſſary that the vice-admiral of the red, who was to windward, and puſhing forward on my weather-bow with ſix or ſeven ſhips of his diviſion, ſhould lead on the larboard tack, in order to give time to the ſhips which had come laſt out of action, to repair their damages; and get collected together, and the ſignal appointed by the thirty-firſt article of the Fighting Inſtructions not being applicable, as the French fleet was ſo nearly a-head of us, that by keeping cloſe to the wind we could only have fetched them, I made the Proſerpine's ſignal, in order to have diſpatched Captain Sutton with a meſſage to Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Harland, to lead the fleet on the larboard tack; but before he had left the Victory with the orders he had received, the French fleet wore and ſtood to the ſouthward, forming their line on the ſtarboard tack, their ſhips advancing regularly out of a collected body, which they had got into from the operation of wearing, and not from any diſorder or confuſion; though had ſuch diſorder or confuſion really exiſted, I could have derived no immediate advantage from it, not having a ſufficient force collected to prevent their forming, by an attempt to renew the attack. The Victory was at this time the neareſt ſhip to the enemy, with no more than three or four of the center diviſion in any ſituation to have ſupported her, or each other in action; the vice-admiral of the blue was on the ſtarboard tack, ſtanding away from

from his ſtation, totally regardleſs of the ſignal that was flying to form the line; and moſt of the other ſhips, except the red diviſion, whoſe poſition I have already ſtated, were far a-ſtern, and five diſabled ſhips at a great diſtance on the lee quarter.

Moſt of theſe facts are already eſtabliſhed by my accuſer's own evidence; and I ſhall prove and confirm them all by the teſtimony of that part of the fleet, whoſe ſituations will enable them to ſpeak to them with certainty.

I truſt they will convince the court, that I had it not in my power to collect the fleet together to renew the fight at that time, and that from their not being able to follow me, I conſequently could not advance with them; that I did not ſhorten ſail, but only ſhifted an unſerviceable one when I was far a-head, and the ſhips unable to follow; that I did not haul down the ſignal for battle till it ceaſed to be capable of producing any good effect; that during the whole time I ſtood towards the enemy, I endeavoured by the moſt forcible of all ſignals, the ſignal for the line of battle, to call the ſhips together, in order to renew the attack; that I did avail myſelf of the ſhips that were with the vice-admiral of the red, as far as circumſtances admitted; and that I therefore did do the utmoſt in my power to take, ſink, burn, and deſtroy the French fleet, which had attacked the Britiſh fleet. Read the fourth article if you pleaſe.

Judge Advocate. The fourth article of the charge is, "That, "inſtead of advancing to renew "the engagement, as in the pre- "ceding articles is alledged, "and as he might and ought to "have done, the admiral wore "and made ſail directly from the "enemy; and thus he led the "whole Britiſh fleet away from "them, which gave them the op- "portunity to rally unmolleſted, "and to form again into a line of "battle, and to ſtand after the "Britiſh fleet.

"This was diſgraceful to the "Britiſh flag; for it had the ap- "pearance of a flight, and gave "the French admiral a pretence "to claim the victory, and to "publiſh to the world that the "Britiſh fleet ran away, and that "he purſued it with the fleet of "France, and offered it battle."

The Admiral. Sir, The French fleet having wore, and began to form their line on the ſtarboard tack by the wind, which if they had kept would have brought them cloſe up with the center diviſion, ſoon afterwards edged away, pointing towards four or five of the diſabled ſhips, which were at a diſtance to leeward, and with evident intention to have ſeparated them from the reſt of the fleet; to prevent which, I made the ſignal to wear, and ſtood athwart their van in a diagonal courſe, to give protection to theſe crippled ſhips, keeping the ſignal for the line flying, to form and collect the fleet on the ſtarboard tack: and as I had thus been obliged to alter my diſpoſition before Captain Sutton left the Victory with my former meſſage, I diſpatched him with orders to the vice-admiral of the red, to form with his diviſion at a diſtance a-ſtern of the Victory, to cover the

rear, and to keep the enemy in check 'till the vice-admiral of the blue ſhould come into his ſtation with his diviſion, in obedience to the ſignal. Theſe orders the vice-admiral of the red inſtantly obeyed, and was formed in my wake before four o'clock; when finding that while by the courſe I ſteered to protect the crippled ſhips, I was nearing the enemy, the vice-admiral of the blue ſtill continued to lie to windward, and by ſo doing kept his diviſion from joining me, I made the ſignal for ſhips to windward to bear down into my wake; and that it might be the better diſtinguiſhed (both being ſignals at the mizen peak) I hauled down the ſignal for the line for about ten minutes, and then hoiſted it again. This ſignal for ſhips to windward to bear down he repeated, though he had not repeated that for the line of battle; but by not bearing down himſelf, he led the ſhips of his diviſion to interpret his repeating it, as requiring them to come into his wake inſtead of mine.

Having now accompliſhed the protection of the diſabled ſhips, and the French fleet continuing to form their line, ranging up to leeward parallel to the center diviſion, my only object was to form mine, in order to bear down upon them to renew the battle: and therefore, at a quarter before five, after having repeated the ſignal for ſhips to windward to bear down into my wake with no better effect than before, I ſent the Milford, with orders to the vice-admiral of the red to ſtretch a-head and take his ſtation in the line, which he inſtantly obeyed; and the vice-admiral of the blue being ſtill to windward, with his fore topſail unbent, and making no viſible effort to obey the ſignal, which had been flying the whole afternoon, I ſent the Fox at five o'clock with orders to him to bear down into my wake, and to tell him that I only waited for him and his diviſion to renew the battle; and while I was diſpatching theſe frigates, having before hauled down the ſignal to come into my wake, I put abroad the ſignal for all ſhips to come into their ſtations, always keeping the ſignal for the line flying. All this producing no effect on the vice-admiral of the blue, and wearied out with fruitleſs expectation, at ſeven o'clock I made the ſignal for each particular ſhip of the vice-admiral of the blue's diviſion to come into her ſtation; but before they had accompliſhed it, night put an end to all further operations.

It may be obſerved, that amongſt theſe ſignals I did not make the Formidable's.—If the vice-admiral chuſes to conſider this as a culpable neglect, I can only ſay that it occurred to me, to treat him with a delicacy due to his rank, which had ſome time before induced me to ſend him the meſſage by Captain Windſor; the particulars of which he has already faithfully related to the court.

I truſt I have little reaſon to apprehend that you will be inclined to conſider my conduct, as I have ſtated it, in anſwer to this fourth article of the charge, as diſgraceful to the Britiſh flag! After I had wore upon the ſame tack with the enemy, to protect the diſabled part of my fleet, and to collect the reſt together, there would have been little to do to renew the battle,

battle, but bearing right down upon the enemy, if my accuſer had led down his diviſion in obedience to the repeated ſignals and orders which I have ſtated. The Victory never went more than two knots, was under her double reefed topſails and foreſail, much ſhattered, which kept the ſhips that were near her under their topſails, and ſuffered the French fleet, which might always have brought me to action, if they had inclined to do it, to range up parallel with the center under very little ſail: and it was to protect the five diſabled ſhips above mentioned, and to give the reſt time to form into ſome order, that I judged it more expedient to ſtand as I did, under that eaſy ſail, than to bring to, with my head to the ſouthward. The court will judge whether it was poſſible for any officer in the ſervice, really to believe that theſe operations could give the appearance of a flight, or furniſh a rational pretence to the French admiral to claim the victory, or publiſh to the world that the Britiſh fleet had run away. Pleaſe to read the next article.

Judge Advocate. The fifth article of the charge is, "That in "the morning of the 28th of July, "1778, when it was perceived "that only three of the French "fleet remained near the Britiſh "in the ſituation the whole had "been in the night before, and "that the reſt were to leeward at "a greater diſtance, not in a line "of battle, but in a heap; the "admiral did not cauſe the fleet "to purſue the flying enemy, nor "even to chace the three ſhips "that fled after the reſt; but, on "the contrary, he led the Britiſh "fleet another way, directly from "the enemy.

"By theſe inſtances of miſcon-"duct and neglect a glorious op-"portunity was loſt of doing a "moſt eſſential ſervice to the "ſtate, and the honour of the Bri-"tiſh navy was tarniſhed."

The Admiral. Sir, On the morning of the 28th of July, the French fleet (except three ſail, which were ſeen on the lee-quarter) was only viſible from the maſt heads of ſome of the ſhips of the Britiſh fleet, and at a diſtance from me, which afforded not the ſmalleſt proſpect of coming up with them, more eſpecially as their ſhips, though certainly much damaged in their hulls, had not apparently ſuffered much in their maſts and ſails; whereas the fleet under my command was generally and greatly ſhattered in their maſts, yards, and rigging, and many of them unable to carry ſail; as to the three French ſhips, I made the ſignal at five o'clock in the morning for the Duke, Bienfaiſant, Prince George, and Elizabeth, to give them chace, judging them to be the propereſt ſhips for that purpoſe; but the two laſt were not able to carry ſufficient ſail to give even countenance to the purſuit; and looking round to the general condition of my fleet, I ſaw it was in vain to attempt either a general or a partial chace. Indeed, my accuſer does not venture to alledge that there was any probability, or even poſſibility, of doing it with effect, which deſtroys the whole imputation of his charge.

Under theſe circumſtances I truſt I could not miſtake my duty; and

I was

I was resolved, as I have already before observed in the introduction to my defence, not to sacrifice it to an empty show and appearance, which is beneath the dignity of an officer, unconscious of any failure or neglect. To have urged a fruitless pursuit with a fleet so greatly crippled in its masts and sails, after a distant and flying enemy, within reach of their own ports, and with a fresh wind blowing fair for their ports, with a large swell, would have been not only wantonly exposing the British fleet under my command without end or object, but misleading and defeating its operations, by delaying the refitment necessary for carrying on the future service with vigour and effect.

My accuser asserts, by a general conclusion, to the five articles exhibited against me, that from what he states as instances of misconduct and neglect in me, a glorious opportunity was lost of doing a most essential service to the state, and that the honour of the British navy was tarnished.

The truth of the assertion, that an opportunity was lost, I am not called upon either to combat or deny; it is sufficient for me, if I shall be successful in proving that, that opportunity was seized by me, and followed up to the full extent of my power; if the court shall be of that opinion, I am satisfied; and it will then rest with the vice-admiral of the blue to explain to what cause it is to be referred, that the glorious opportunity he speaks of was lost, and to whom it is to be imputed (if the fact be true) that the honour of the British navy has been tarnished.

Having now offered to the court precise answers to all the charges exhibited against me; I shall proceed to call my witnesses to support those answers, and of course to refute the charges in the order in which they have been made. I shall call them not as a prisoner commonly calls his witnesses, to oppose them to those which appear for the prosecution—quite the contrary,—I bring them to support, confirm, enlarge, and illustrate almost the body of the evidence which has been given by my accuser.

But, before I sit down, I must discharge a duty which I feel myself to owe to the reputation of a service highly and justly favoured in this country, and which can never suffer in its honour, but the nation itself will suffer in proportion.

I have heard it asserted, and contended for during this trial, as an essential and indispensible right of a captain of a man of war, to make additions and alterations in the ship's log-book, even after the original entries had been seen, examined, and approved by himself. I have seen this attempted to be excused, nay, even justified and boasted of in a case where the alterations and additions introduced matter of criminal and capital offence, ackowledged by the party to have been introduced months after the original entries were inserted; and with knowledge that a criminal charge had then been exhibited against the person in whose trial they were first heard of. I have heard this attempted to be defended where the most material of the alterations and additions were certainly not supported by fact.

Upon

Upon this occaſion, ſurely, I am called upon to enter my proteſt againſt a claim which ſubjects the log-books of the King's ſhips, that ought to contain, if not always a perfect, yet always a genuine narrative of their tranſactions, when the events are freſh and recent, when they cannot be miſtaken, and can hardly be miſrepreſented, and which ought never to be altered after the entries have been made and authorized.

This is the caſe of the firſt alteration of the log-book.—Another alteration has ſince appeared in another log-book! that of the proſecutor himſelf! little differing from the former, except that the perſon that has actually made it does not appear to juſtify it; that the witneſs to it ſtates it to have been made ſoon after the engagement, and that the deſtruction of ſome leaves, and ſubſtitution of others, ſeems to be rather made for the purpoſe of exculpating another perſon than of criminating me. But whatever the intention was, the thing is equally unjuſtifiable in all reſpects. It tends equally to deſtroy all ſort of uſe in theſe kind of records, and to render them highly fallacious, and poſſibly highly dangerous. I do not dwell on all the particulars of that unhappy buſineſs! — It is painful to me, and the nature of the tranſaction is but *too* viſible. There has always been, and probably will always be, ſomething ſlovenly in theſe books, and the maſters have thought they have more power over them than is proper. There is, however, a great difference between inaccuracy and malicious deſign. There is a difference between the correction or ſupply of indifferent matters, and the cancelling of pages, and putting in others;—omitting, adding to, and varying the moſt important things for the moſt important purpoſes.

It is alſo proper for me to ſtate two or three facts to the court, in order to place the conduct of my accuſer in its proper point of view.

I admit that the charges he has exhibited againſt me are very heinous.—They expreſs miſconduct and negligence; they imply (and ſo the court has underſtood them to imply) cowardice alſo. If I ever committed them at all, it was in his preſence, and in the preſence of a numerous corps of officers, who being called upon by the court, have all unanimouſly refuſed, or I truſt will refuſe to fix any one charge upon me. I have mentioned before the circumſtance of my accuſer's ſilence for months, during which he was called upon by the duty he owed to his country to have ſtated my miſconduct, if any ſuch had exiſted; and his refuſal to do ſo is ſtrong evidence of itſelf, that even in his opinion my conduct was liable to no reproach.

But this is not all; even ſo late as the 5th of October laſt, I received a letter from him, dated at ſea, conceived in terms of great good will and reſpect for me; in which, having occaſion to mention ſome prizes, which had been taken by the fleet, he conſiders *that* as a ſubject of little moment to me, aſſigning *this* as a reaſon, "for I know you had rather meet "the French fleet."—That fleet which he ſays I fled from!

Is this conſiſtent with the tenor of thoſe charges?—Could the man who wrote the one, believe the other?—It is abſolutely impoſſible. —I cannot produce this letter in evidence;

evidence; but when I go out of the court, I will ſhew it to any gentleman who is deſirous to ſee it*.

Another thing more, and I have done.

Sir Hugh Palliſer thought proper to addreſs the public by a printed newſpaper, dated the 4th of November, principally, as it ſeems, for the ſake of aſſerting that he was not, and inſinuating that *I was*, the cauſe of the French fleet not being re-attacked in the afternoon of the 27th of July.

In that paper he poſitively denies that he received any meſſage by Captain Windſor ſaying a word about renewing the attack, and he calls the contrary aſſertion a falſe one.—Captain Windſor has been called, and he has proved, that at five o'clock he received from me, and at about half paſt five he delivered to Sir Hugh Palliſer himſelf, the *meſſage* to come with the ſhips of his diviſion into my wake, and that I only waited for him to renew the attack.

This account of Captain Windſor has been attempted to be diſcredited by the proſecutor, who has aſked Captain Bazely, and I believe one or two more, whether it was not at a later hour than Captain Windſor named.—I ſhall for that reaſon call witneſſes to confirm Captain Windſor in all the circumſtances of his teſtimony.

I owe it to him, as an honourable man, to ſhew that his evidence is correctly true.

I will prove that the meſſage ſent by me, was preciſely the meſſage delivered by him at the time he ſpeaks to, and that it was exactly repeated by him to the vice-admiral,—yet, after his own ears had heard, at half paſt five in the afternoon of a ſummer's day, that I waited only for him and his diviſion to renew the attack; this gentleman applies to me, ignorant, negligent, cowardly, as he now repreſents me, to certify his good behaviour, and to ſupport his character againſt the malice of his enemies.

He applies to me to ſign a paper, containing many particulars directly contrary to the evidence you have heard upon oath, and which I will alſo ſhew to any one †.

At preſent I have only to do with one of thoſe particulars. That paper (concurring with his attempts in this trial) contains this aſſertion, "that the calling his, "and vice-admiral Sir Robert "Harland's diviſions, into my "wake, in the evening, was not "for the purpoſe of renewing the "battle at that time, but to be "in readineſs for it in the morn-"ing." This my accuſer had the confidence to tender to me to ſign.

To ſign an aſſertion of a fact abſolutely unfounded; the contrary of which I know to be true, and the contrary of which Captain Windſor has proved, and my accuſer knew to be true.

How that gentleman felt when this came out I know not; but if I could conceive myſelf in the ſame ſituation, I know that it would be difficult to expreſs what I ſhould feel. *I cannot wiſh ſo heavy a puniſhment to my worſt enemy.*

The examination of evidence in the admiral's defence continued to the 8th of Feb. when it was finally cloſed; and Sir Hugh Palliſer the

* See this letter in page 293.

† See this paper in page 293.

proſe-

profecutor having claimed a right of replying to the defence, the fame was objected to; and the court having withdrawn, upon the queftion, came to a refolution, that the fame was unprecedented, and could not be complied with.

On the 11th of February the Court met; when the Judge Advocate read the opinion of the court martial, as follows:

At a Court Martial aſſembled on board his Majeſty's ſhip Britannia, in Portſmouth Harbour, the 7th of January, 1779, and held by Adjournment at the Houſe of the Governor of his Majeſty's Garriſon at Portſmouth, every day afterwards (Sundays excepted) till the 11th of February, 1779, incluſive;

PRESENT,

Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white, Preſident.

Matthew Buckle, Eſq; vice-admiral of the red; till the cloſe of the ſixth day, when he became unable any longer to continue his attendance on account of ſickneſs.

John Montagu, Eſq; vice-admiral of the red.

Mariot Arbuthnot, Eſq; Robert Roddam, Eſq; rear-admirals of the white.

Captains Mark Milbank,
Francis Samuel Drake,
Taylor Penny,
John Moutray,
William Bennet,
Adam Duncan,
Philip Boteler,
James Cranſton.

The Court, purſuant to an order of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, dated the 31ſt of December, 1778, and directed to Sir Thomas Pye, proceeded to enquire into a charge exhibited by Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer againſt the Honourable Admiral Auguſtus Keppel, for miſconduct and neglect of duty on the 27th and 28th of July, 1778, in ſundry inſtances, as mentioned in a paper which accompanied the ſaid order; and to try him for the ſame: and the Court having heard the evidence, and the priſoner's defence, and maturely and ſeriouſly conſidered the whole, are of opinion, that the charge is malicious and ill founded; it having appeared that the ſaid admiral, ſo far from having, by miſconduct and neglect of duty on the days therein alluded to, loſt opportunity of rendering eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, and thereby tarniſhed the honour of the Britiſh navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer: The Court do therefore unanimouſly and honourably acquit the ſaid Admiral Auguſtus Keppel of the ſeveral articles contained in the charge againſt him; and he is hereby fully and honourably acquitted accordingly.

GEORGE JACKSON,
Judge Advocate.

Thomas Pye.
John Montagu.
Mariot Arbuthnot.
Robert Roddam,
Mark Milbank.
Francis Samuel Drake.
Taylor Penny.
John Moutray.
William Bennet.
Adam Duncan.
Philip Boteler.
James Cranſton.

The

The Addreſs of Sir Thomas Pye, Peſident, on delivering the Admiral his ſword.

Admiral Keppel, It is no ſmall pleaſure to me to receive the commands of the Court I have the honour to preſide at, that, in delivering you your ſword, I am to congratulate you on its being reſtored to you with ſo much honour; hoping ere long you will be called forth by your Sovereign to draw it once more in the defence of your country.

Copies of Letters between the Hon. Admiral Keppel, *the Secretary to the Admiralty, the Judge Advocate, and Sir* Hugh Palliſer.

Admiralty-office, 9 *Dec.* 1778.

SIR,

Sir Hugh Palliſer, vice-admiral of the blue ſquadron of his Majeſty's fleet, having in his letter of this day's date tranſmitted to my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, a charge of miſconduct and neglect of duty againſt you, on the 27th and 28th of July, 1778, in divers inſtances therein mentioned, and deſired that a court martial may be held for trying you for the ſame; and their Lordſhips intending that a court martial ſhall be held for that purpoſe, I have it in command from them to ſend you herewith a copy of the ſaid charge, that you may be preparing for your defence.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
PH. STEPHENS.

Honble. Auguſtus Keppel, Admiral of the Blue, &c.

Audley-ſquare, Thurſday night, Dec. 10, 1778.

SIR,

The very extraordinary contents of your letter of laſt night made it impoſſible for me on a ſudden to make any other anſwer, than a bare acknowledgment of having received it; but it has not required much time to determine me, in juſtice to my own reputation, to inform you, that I am willing to meet a court martial whenever the Board of Admiralty ſhall think proper to order me.

At the ſame time, Sir, I deſire you will repreſent to the Lords Commiſſioners my utter aſtoniſhment at the countenance their Lordſhips have ſo far given to this proceeding, as to reſolve, on the ſame day on which ſuch a charge is exhibited, to order a court martial againſt the commander in chief of the fleet, on an attack from an inferior officer, under all the very peculiar circumſtances in which Sir Hugh Palliſer now ſtands.

I am, Sir, your humble ſervant,
A. K.

Ph. Stephens, Eſq.

Letter from PH. STEPHENS, Eſq;

Admiralty-office, 11th Dec. 1778.

SIR,

I received yeſterday afternoon your letter of the 10th inſtant, acknowledging the receipt of mine of the 9th, tranſmitting a copy of the charge exhibited againſt you by Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer; and this morning I received your letter, dated laſt night, intimating that you are willing to meet a court martial whenever the Board of Admiralty ſhall think proper

proper to order one; and having without loſs of time laid the ſame before my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, I am commanded by their Lordſhips to acquaint you, that they propoſe to order a court martial to be aſſembled on Thurſday the 7th of January next, if you think you ſhall be ready with your evidence by that time; but if not, their Lordſhips will order it to be held on a later day.

As to the aſtoniſhment you expreſs at the countenance you conceive their Lordſhips have given to this proceeding, by reſolving, on the ſame day on which the charge was exhibited, to order a court martial, their Lordſhips command me to acquaint you, that they know of no inſtance in which the Board of Admiralty, upon receiving a ſpecific charge of ſuch a nature, ſigned by an officer of rank ſerving under the party accuſed, and accompanied with a requeſt for the aſſembling a court martial thereupon, have delayed coming to a reſolution to order one, nor would they have thought themſelves juſtified, if they had heſitated to take the neceſſary ſteps for bringing the matter to an early and legal deciſion.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
PH. STEPHENS.

Honble. Admiral Keppel, town.

Audley-ſquare, 16th Dec. 1778.

SIR,

My counſel having informed me, that before they can give the beſt advice in their power upon the charge of Sir Hugh Pallifer, it will be neceſſary for them to ſee the whole of my inſtructions and correſpondence with you; and that it may be neceſſary to produce the whole or part of them before the court martial, I deſire you will acquaint the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty therewith.

I am, Sir,
Your humble ſervant,
A. K.

Ph. Stephens, Eſq.

Mr. Stephens's letter in anſwer to mine of the 16th.

Admiralty-office, 18th Dec. 1778.

SIR,

I received, and loſt no time in laying before my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, your letter of the 16th inſtant, reſpecting the communication of your inſtructions, and correſpondence with me, to your counſel, and perhaps to the court martial that is to be aſſembled for your trial. I was in hopes I ſhould have been enabled by this time to have ſent you their Lordſhips anſwer thereto; but as the inſtructions to which you allude are of a very ſecret nature, and were given in purſuance of his Majeſty's commands, ſignified by one of his Principal Secretaries of State, it is neceſſary that their Lordſhips ſhould receive his Majeſty's farther commands, before they can with propriety give you a full anſwer to your letter. Their Lordſhips are perſuaded in the mean time you will not communicate thoſe inſtructions to any perſon whatſoever; and they command me to aſſure you, that you ſhall have their farther anſwer

anſwer with as little delay as poſſible.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
PH. STEPHENS.

Hon. Admiral Keppel, London.

Letter from Ph. Stephens, Eſq; in further anſwer to mine of the 16th.

Admiralty-office, 21ſt Dec. 1778.

SIR,

My Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty having acquainted Lord Viſcount Weymouth, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State, with your having been informed by your counſel, that before they could give you the beſt advice in their power upon the charge of Sir Hugh Palliſer, it would be neceſſary for them to ſee the whole of your inſtructions, and correſpondence with this office; and that it might be neceſſary to produce the whole or part of them at the court martial; and my Lords having at the ſame time deſired his Lordſhip to ſignify his Majeſty's commands with reſpect thereto; his Lordſhip has in return informed them, that it is his Majeſty's pleaſure they ſhould ſignify to you, that you muſt be ſenſible that there are parts of your inſtructions which cannot be divulged without great detriment to the ſtate. I am commanded by their Lordſhips to ſignify the ſame to you accordingly, and to inform you, in further anſwer to your letter of the 16th inſt. that they cannot conſent that the whole of your ſaid inſtructions, and the correſpondence above mentioned, ſhould be laid before your counſel, or be produced at the court martial; but if you will point out any parts of the ſaid inſtructions or correſpondence which in your opinion have any relation to the operations of the fleet on the 27th and 28th of July laſt, you will be permitted to make uſe of them in the manner you deſire, if there ſhall appear to be no objections of the nature above mentioned.

I have the honour to be,
with great regard,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
PH. STEPHENS.

Hon. Auguſtus Keppel.

Audley-ſquare, Dec. 23, 1778.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 21ſt inſtant, in which you inform me, that the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty had acquainted Lord Weymouth, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, with the contents of my letter to you of the 16th. That his Lordſhip has in return informed them, "That it is his "Majeſty's pleaſure they ſhould "ſignify to me, that I muſt be "ſenſible there are parts of my "inſtructions which cannot be "divulged without great detri-"ment to the ſtate, and that the "Lords Commiſſioners of the "Admiralty had ordered you to "inform me, that they cannot "conſent that the whole of my "inſtructions and correſpondence "with you ſhould be laid before "my counſel, or be produced at "the court martial; but that if "I will point out any parts of "the ſaid inſtructions or corre-"ſpondence which in my opinion "has

" has any relation to the opera-
" tion of the fleet on the 27th
" and 28th of July laſt, I ſhall be
" permitted to make uſe of them
" in the manner I deſire, if there
" be no objection of the nature
" above mentioned."

I am alſo to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th, in which you informed me, " That " it was neceſſary their Lordſhips " ſhould receive his Majeſty's " farther commands, before they " could with propriety give me " a full anſwer to my letter; and " that their Lordſhips were per-" ſuaded that in the mean time " I would not communicate thoſe " inſtructions to any perſon what-" ſoever." In anſwer to which, I muſt deſire you will acquaint their Lordſhips, that I neither have made, nor will make, any unneceſſary communications of my inſtructions; nor are even my counſel yet apprized of any part of them. But in anſwer to your letter of the 21ſt, I muſt beg of you to inform their Lordſhips, that they have totally miſunderſtood my letter of the 16th, if they imagined that, when put upon my trial for the defence of my life and honour, I could think of aſking any permiſſion to produce before the court which is to try me, any circumſtance which, in my own opinion or that of my counſel, may in any degree be uſeful for my defence. No, Sir; my letter of the 16th was not to aſk leave to do what by every rule of juſtice is my right. In reſpect to the laſt paragraph of your letter of the 24th, " That if I will " point out any parts of ſuch in-" ſtructions or correſpondence " which in my opinion has any " relation to the operations of the " fleet on the 27th and 28th of " July laſt, I ſhall be permitted " to make uſe of them in the " manner I deſire, if theſe ſhall " appear no objections of the na-" ture above mentioned;" I can only ſay, that I conceive that my inſtructions, and every part of them, muſt neceſſarily have relation to the operation of the fleet on the 27th and 28th of July laſt, and on every day it was acting under my command, and that I was acting under thoſe inſtructions. As to my pointing out the particular parts which I conceive may be moſt uſeful to me, and opening my defence to that Board of whoſe conduct towards me in this buſineſs I have reaſon to complain, where the accuſations againſt me originated, and where my accuſer has a ſeat; it cannot on reflection be expected; nor can I believe their Lordſhips intend, that when they put me on my trial they are to limit me by their diſcretion in the uſe of ſuch means as I may think expedient for my defence, and that they propoſe to diſtreſs me by ſuch an alternative, as that I muſt neceſſarily (according to their ſtatement) either bring detriment on the ſtate, or prejudice to my own juſtification.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble ſervant,
A. K.

Ph. Stephens, Eſq.

Audley-ſquare, Dec. 26, 1778.

SIR,

I received yeſterday your letter of the 24th, in anſwer to mine to you of the ſame day, informing me, that in addition to what is mentioned in your letter of the

12th inſtant concerning the attendance of Captain Windſor, and the firſt lieutenant of his Majeſty's late ſhip Fox, at the court martial to be held for my trial on the 7th of next month, that their Lordſhips, on the ſame day, deſired Lord Weymouth, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to him to be proper for procuring their appearance at the time afore-mentioned; and further to inform me it is not their Lordſhips intention that the court ſhould ſit until the effects of the afore-mentioned application is known.

This information leads me to apprehend a poſſibility of the enquiry being put off; and any delay, I much fear, will be productive of ſerious detriment to my country, in the detaining ſo many other officers from the public ſervice.—From this conſideration I remain of opinion, that the evidence of Captain Windſor and of his lieutenant may be material at the trial: I muſt repeat what I wrote to you in my letter of the 11th inſtant, that from the uncertainty of the return of thoſe gentlemen to England, it is my wiſh not to have the court martial put off on that account.

I am, Sir,
Your humble ſervant,
A. K.

Ph. Stephens, Eſq.

PH. STEPHENS, Eſq; in anſwer to mine of the 23d.

Admiralty-office, 27th Dec. 1778.

SIR,

Having laid before my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 23d inſtant; their Lordſhips, in anſwer to that part of it which relates to the accuſation againſt you, command me to inform you, that the accuſation did not originate from their Board, but from Sir Hugh Palliſer, whoſe attendance there has been diſpenſed with ever ſince.

Their Lordſhips having already communicated to you his Majeſty's pleaſure with regard to your ſecret inſtructions, cannot think it neceſſary to ſay any thing further to you upon that ſubject.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
PH. STEPHENS.

Honble. Auguſtus Keppel, Admiral of the Blue, &c.

Admiralty-office, 27 Dec. 1778.

SIR,

Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer having, in his letter of yeſterday's date, acquainted my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that, as the witneſſes will be aſſembled at your trial, he ſhall be ready, as ſoon as that trial is over, to vindicate his own conduct and behaviour on the 27th of July, 1778; and he having therefore deſired that their Lordſhips will be pleaſed to require you to give in your charge as ſoon as may be, if you have any to make againſt him; I am commanded by their Lordſhips to ſend you herewith a copy of the ſaid letter, and to ſignify their direction, that if you have any thing to charge againſt the conduct of Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer, you do tranſmit the

the ſame to their Lordſhips as ſoon as may be.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
PH. STEPHENS.

Honble. Admiral Keppel.

Admiralty, 26 Dec. 1778.

SIR,

As the witneſſes will be aſſembled at the trial of the Honourable Admiral Keppel, I beg leave to acquaint the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that I ſhall be ready, ſo ſoon as that trial is over, to vindicate my own conduct and behaviour on the 27th of July, 1778: I therefore deſire their Lordſhips will be pleaſed to require Admiral Keppel to give in his charge as ſoon as may be, if he has any to make againſt me.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
HUGH PALLISER.

Ph. Stephens, Eſq.

Audley-ſquare, Sunday afternoon, 27 Dec. 1778.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, incloſing a copy of a letter from Sir Hugh Palliſer, acquainting the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that as the witneſſes will be aſſembled at my trial, he ſhall be ready, as ſoon as that trial is over, to vindicate his own conduct and behaviour on the 27th of July, and deſiring that their Lordſhips would be pleaſed to require me to give in my charge as ſoon as may be, if I have any to make againſt him; in conſequence of which, their Lordſhips are pleaſed to direct, that if I have any thing to charge againſt the conduct of Sir Hugh Palliſer, I do tranſmit the ſame to their Lordſhips.

I deſire you will expreſs to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty my great ſurprize at the contents of theſe letters. I learn, by another letter you have favoured me with of the ſame date, that Sir Hugh Palliſer's attendance at the Board has been diſpenſed with ever ſince he exhibited his charge againſt me. He appears to me, however, to think that he has loſt no part of his weight and influence at the Board, when he preſumes to deſire their Lordſhips to require me, in my preſent ſituation, to employ a thought about him, in any other character than as the author of that charge; and, for the preſent at leaſt, I muſt be excuſed in declining to give any other anſwer to your letter.

I am, Sir,
Your humble ſervant,
A. K.

Ph. Stephens, Eſq.

Audley-ſquare, 2d Jan. 1779.

SIR,

The Provoſt Marſhal, who was directed by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to take me into his cuſtody, informed me, that, as their Lordſhips do not mean to give me unneceſſary trouble, he was permitted to take my word of honour for my appearance at Portſmouth on the 7th of this month; I have given him my word of honour accordingly, and

am this day ſetting out upon my journey thither, of which I deſire you will inform their Lordſhips.—

And likewiſe that you will acquaint them, I beg to be informed whether the flag officers of the fleet who were commanding at the Nore, in the Downs, and at Plymouth, at the time their Lordſhips received the charge againſt me, have all of them been choſen by their Lordſhips to be at Portſmouth, in a ſituation to ſit at my trial.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

A. KEPPEL.

Ph. Stephens, Eſq.

Portſmouth, 4th Jan. 1779.

SIR,

I made an early application to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, after being acquainted by Mr. Secretary Stephens, that their Lordſhips intended that a court martial ſhould be held for trying me on a charge of miſconduct and neglect of duty on the 27th and 28th of July laſt, exhibited againſt me by Vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer, that the captains of the King's ſhips ſerving in the fleet under my command on the 27th of July, might be ſummoned, and likewiſe other officers: and ſince having notice given me, that the court martial is ordered to be aſſembled for my trial on Thurſday the ſeventh inſtant, and that you are to act in your office as Judge Advocate at the ſaid trial; I therefore think it proper to acquaint you, that I deſire the witneſſes whoſe names are inſerted in the liſt that accompanies this, may be ſummoned to attend to give their evidence before the court. Others that occur to me, that I may have occaſion to call for, I will tranſmit to you their names in time, as I may judge their evidence material or neceſſary.—You will obſerve in the liſt of witneſſes the names of the Honourable Captain Windſor and Lieutenant Bertie, late of his Majeſty's ſhip the Fox.—Mr. Secretary Stephens has acquainted me, in conſequence of my application to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that they have deſired Lord Weymouth, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to him to be proper for procuring their appearance at my trial.—Though the evidence of thoſe gentlemen may be material, I have informed their Lordſhips, through Mr. Stephens, that ſhould they not arrive by the day fixed for the aſſembling the court martial, I do not deſire it may be put off on that account; however, I ſhall be glad to know from you, Sir, the reſult of the meaſures taken for their return to England, and if they are likely to be here by the 7th inſtant.—I beg likewiſe to be informed if there is any objection to the captains ſitting as members of the court martial to be held for my trial, who have been ſummoned as witneſſes either by me or Sir Hugh Palliſer.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

A. KEPPEL.

George Jackſon, Eſq.
Judge Advocate.

PH.

PH. STEPHENS, Esq; in answer to mine of the 2d.

Admiralty-office, 4th Jan. 1779.

SIR,

I have communicated to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 2d instant, acquainting them, that you have given your word of honour to the Provost Marshal to be at Portsmouth on the 7th instant, at the court martial to be held for your trial; you was about to set out for that place, and desiring to be informed, whether the flag officers who were commanding at the Nore, in the Downs, and at Plymouth, at the same time their lordships received the charge against you, have all of them been chosen by their lordships to be at Portsmouth in a situation to sit at your trial; and I am in return to acquaint you, that their lordships have ordered the flag officers who were commanding at the above mentioned places, at the time they received the charge against you, to repair immediately to Portsmouth, and hoist their flags. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient,
humble servant,
PH. STEPHENS.

Hon. Admiral Keppel, Portsmouth.

Extract of a letter from Sir Hugh Palliser to Admiral Keppel, dated Formidable, at sea, 9th of October, 1778.

"These prizes coming in our "way are not unacceptable, but "I know you would rather meet "the French fleet.

"I am, with the greatest re-
"gard and respect, dear
"Sir, your most obedient
"humble servant,
"HUGH PALLISER."

Extract of a letter from Sir Hugh Palliser to Admiral Keppel, dated Pallmall, 3d Nov. 1778.

"I think myself much intitled "to have my conduct on the day "we engaged the French fleet "justified by you, Sir, as com-"mander in chief, from those "foul aspersions, that I confess I "have been expecting your offer "to do it; I have waited for "your coming to town to ask "it; being now informed of "your arrival, I lose no time "in desiring you will contradict "those scandalous reports that "have been propagated as afore-"mentioned, by publishing in your "own name the inclosed paper, "which I have the honour to in-"close herewith, or something to "that effect that may be more "agreeable to you, and as may "be agreed on, if you will per-"mit me the honour to wait on "you to-morrow morning.

"I must beg the favour of your "speedy answer, that my honour "and reputation may not be far-"ther wounded by delays.

"I am very respectfully,
"Sir,
"Your very obedient,
"humble servant,
"HUGH PALLISER."

To the Honourable Admiral Keppel, &c.

"Having seen a paragraph in "the Morning Intelligencer of "the 5th of last month, highly "reflecting on the conduct of "vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, "on the 27th of July last, when "the fleet under my command "engaged the French fleet; and "the vice-admiral having inform-"ed me, that reports to the same

" purpoſe have been propagated " by ſome of the officers of the " Victory; I think it neceſſary, " in juſtice to Sir Hugh Palliſer, " to publiſh to the world, that " his conduct on that day was in " every reſpect proper, and be- " coming a good officer; and I " further declare, that when I " made the ſignal in the evening " for the ſhips to windward to " bear down into my wake, and " afterwards for particular ſhips " of Sir Hugh's diviſion to do ſo; " he repeated thoſe ſignals pro- " perly, and that the calling his " and vice-admiral Sir Robert " Harland's diviſion into my wake " in the evening, was not for the " purpoſe of renewing the battle " at that time, but to be in readi- " neſs for it in the morning; that, " in obedience to the ſaid ſignals, " ſuch of the ſhips of Sir Hugh " Palliſer's diviſion as were in " condition for it, did immediate- " ly bear down, as did the reſt ſo " ſoon as they were able; ſo that " Sir Hugh Palliſer and his whole " diviſion were all in my wake " accordingly the next morning " before day-light, ready for en- " gaging."

Votes of Thanks of the two Houſes of Parliament, and of the City of London, *to the Hon. Admiral* Auguſtus Keppel.

(COPY)

SIR,

I have the ſatisfaction to have received the commands of the Houſe of Lords, *nemine Diſſentiente*, to tranſmit to you the thanks of their lordſhips for your conduct in defending this kingdom, protecting its trade, and maintaining the honour of the Britiſh flag, expreſſed in the fulleſt and higheſt ſenſe of applauſe.

No private voice can add to ſo ſplendid an encomium: — permit me, however, to congratulate you on this diſtinguiſhing mark of approbation, which a grateful country confers on your zeal and merit in the ſervice of the public.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
THURLOW.

Ormond-ſtreet, 16 *Feb.* 1779.

To the Hon. Adm. Keppel.

Die Martis, 16 *Februarii*, 1779.

Ordered, *nemine Diſſentiente*, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the thanks of this Houſe be given to the Hon. Admiral Auguſtus Keppel, for his diſtinguiſhed courage, conduct and ability in defending this kingdom in the courſe of the laſt ſummer, effectually protecting its trade, as far as his command extended, and more particularly for his having glorioufly upheld the honour of the Britiſh flag on the 27th and 28th of July laſt; and that the Lord Chancellor do cauſe the ſame to be tranſmitted to the ſaid admiral.

ASHLEY COWPER,
Cler. Parliamentor.

My Lord,

The very diſtinguiſhed notice which the Houſe of Lords has been pleaſed to take of my ſervices in the courſe of the laſt ſummer, confers on me the higheſt honour;

the

the advantages which their lordships have thought worthy of their thanks, are due to God's blessing, to the gallant behaviour of many great and able officers who have served in the fleet, and to the bravery of the seamen. I can only say, that the warmest gratitude for this great honour and favour will make me ever desirous of meriting it by the most strenuous endeavours to serve my country.

I beg leave to return your lordship my best thanks for the flattering and polite manner in which you have been pleased to communicate to me the resolution of the House.

I have the honour to be,
with much respect,
Your lordship's most obedient,
and very humble servant,
A. KEPPEL.

Audley-Square,
Feb. 17, 1779.
To the Rt. Hon. Lord Thurlow,
Lord Chancellor.

(COPY)

Jovis 18° *Die Februarii*, 1779.

Admiral Keppel being come to the House; Mr. Speaker acquainted him, that the House had, on the 12th instant, ordered that the thanks of this House be given to him, for his distinguished courage, conduct, and ability, in defending this kingdom in the course of the last summer, effectually protecting its trade, and more particularly for his having gloriously upheld the honour of the British flag on the 27th and 28th of July last; and Mr. Speaker gave him the thanks of the House accordingly, as followeth, *viz.*

Admiral Keppel,

This House have done you the distinguished honour of ordering their thanks to be given to you; an honour never conferred but upon extraordinary merit; which thanks it is my duty to communicate to you in your place.

After having sat so long in this chair, I hope it is unnecessary to declare that I have been always happy to obey the orders of the House; and I have now a particular satisfaction in that obedience. Indeed, every generous mind must feel satisfaction, when the day of honourable acquittal succeeds to the day of severe trial: and this pleasure was, I believe, never more general, nor more sincere, than upon the present occasion.

You, Sir, was called by your Sovereign, with the approbation of all descriptions of men, particularly those of your own profession, to a station of the utmost difficulty, and of the highest importance. The safety of this country, and the honour of the British flag, were trusted in your hands, when the enemy was expected upon our coast; and, notwithstanding the most able discharge of this great and momentous trust, you was accused of misconduct and neglect of duty. But, after a very long and full investigation, by men in every respect the best qualified to judge, that charge appeared to be ill-grounded and malicious; and your judges have unanimously and honourably acquitted you, and have further added, that your conduct on the 27th and 28th days of July last, was that of a judicious, brave, and experienced officer. Surely then it cannot be matter of surprize that extraordinary marks of respect and esteem are shewn to such a character. We now know with certainty that our confidence in

you was not misplaced; and we entertain a well-grounded hope that there still remain amongst the naval officers talents and abilities fully equal to this dangerous crisis.

Amidst this general joy, I cannot help repeating the singular pleasure which I feel in giving you the thanks of this House, which I now do, for your distinguished courage, conduct, and ability, in defending this kingdom in the course of the last summer, effectually protecting its trade, and more particularly for your having gloriously upheld the honour of the British flag on the 27th and 28th of July last.

Upon which Admiral Keppel said,

Mr. Speaker,

It is impossible, by any expressions I can use, to do justice to my feelings of gratitude to the House, for the honour they have done me by their approbation of my conduct.

The good opinion of my fellow citizens, expressed by the representatives of the nation, cannot but be received by me as a most acceptable addition to the satisfaction I felt in the recent sentence, to which you have been pleased to allude, of a court martial; the result of a full and deliberate inquiry, expressive of their sentiments of the subject referred to their examination, in terms equally honourable to themselves and to me.

The pleasure I feel at this moment is not a little heightened by the unavoidable recollection of the very different emotions I felt when I was last in this House, and in this place.

I should be guilty of great injustice, if, on an occasion like the present, I neglected to inform this House, that my efforts for the public service, in the instances in which the House has been pleased to distinguish them, were most zealously seconded by many as gallant and able officers as the navy of England ever produced; to whose attention and spirit, next to the divine providence, the success of these efforts ought to be in a great measure ascribed.

I cannot sit down without returning to you, Sir, personally, my particular thanks, for the very obliging terms in which you have executed the commands of the House.

On Saturday the 20th of Feb. the committee appointed to present Admiral Keppel with the freedom of the city, having waited on him at his house; Mr. Crosby, the senior alderman, addressed him in the following manner:

"Admiral Keppel,

"The citizens of London, amidst the acclamations of a grateful people, beg leave to express their joy on your honourable acquittal from a very heavy and severe charge of neglect and misconduct on the 27th and 28th of July last; a charge which appeared on your trial to be ill-founded and malicious.

"The committee, Sir, who now have the honour to wait on you by order of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, are happy in this opportunity to testify their approbation of your conduct in the many signal services done to your country.

"I think, Sir, I cannot express their sentiments better, than by reading to you the unanimous resolutions of the court of common council."

Plumbe, Mayor.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this court be given to the Honourable Augustus Keppel, admiral of the blue, for his long and faithful services to this country; for his ready acceptance, at the call of his Sovereign, of the important charge of commander of the British fleet in time of imminent danger; for the anxious attention that appears in every instance of his conduct, to the safety of this country; for his judicious, able, and spirited behaviour on the 27th of July last, in his attack on the French fleet; for his glorious and gallant efforts to renew the engagement in the afternoon of that day; efforts rendered unsuccessful through the want of obedience to his orders by the vice-admiral of the blue; for the great protection given by him to our trade, to which entirely we are indebted for the safe arrival of the East and West India fleets; for his animating conduct and example, happily followed by such signal exertion of spirit and intrepidity in the officers and seamen of the British fleet, as conveyed terror to our enemies, and obliged them to seek shelter in their own ports by an ignominious flight.

Resolved unanimously, That the freedom of this city be presented in a box, made of heart of oak, with a proper device, ornamented and embellished with gold, to the Hon. Augustus Keppel, admiral of the blue, as a testimony of the very high respect and gratitude which the members of this court entertain of his long and faithful services to his country.

R I X.

Admiral Keppel's answer.

"I receive, with the greatest sense of gratitude, the approbation which the city of London has been pleased to shew of my endeavours to serve my King and country. The constitutional zeal which this great city has ever testified for the liberties of this kingdom, and for the succession in his Majesty's Royal House, renders every mark of their regard a very high honour. I am happy, that the care of many excellent officers and brave seamen, under my command last summer, has contributed to the preservation of their trade, which makes so large a part of the national interest."

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne *to his Constituents, upon his late Resignation; with the Correspondence between him and the Secretaries of War, relative to his return to* America.

ON the 9th of October, 1779, Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne resigned the command of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, the government of fort William, and his appointment on the American staff. As this resignation appears to have been occasioned by circumstances of a very extraordinary and singular nature, we have thought it proper, in a work of this kind, to lay before the public the correspondence at large which passed between him and the Secretaries of War, together with such

ſuch parts of his letter to his conſtituents, as tend to explain more fully the motives of his conduct on that occaſion.—After briefly ſtating his political ſituation previous to his being firſt ſent to America, and the ſteps by which the command of the troops deſtined to make a junction with Sir William Howe naturally devolved to him, the General proceeds in the following manner:

"With thoſe claims, Gentlemen, to the countenance and goodwill at leaſt of government, I proceed to relate the treatment I received.

I had expreſſed, in my private letter from Albany to the Secretary of State, my "confidence in the juſtice of the King "and his councils to ſupport the "general they had thought proper to appoint to as arduous an "undertaking and under as poſitive a direction as a cabinet "ever framed." I had in the ſame letter given an opinion of the enemy's troops, upon near inſpection of their numbers, appointment and diſcipline.

Furniſhed with theſe materials, and ſupported by the fidelity with which I had acted, it was not thought expedient I ſhould have acceſs to the King. What other facts might have been cleared up by my interview, and were wiſhed not to be cleared up, the Secretary of State* only can inform the world. Direct means of effecting my excluſion from the King's preſence were not practicable; for the caſe was unprecedented. The pretext adopted was as follows:

It was ſuggeſted that an enquiry ſhould be made by a board of genenal officers into the cauſes of the miſcarriage of the northern expedition; and a court *etiquette* was invented, the foundation of which in reaſon or precedent I am not acquainted with, *viz.* that the perſons whoſe conduct was ſo put in queſtion, ſhould not appear at Court pending the enquiry. No difficulty of the competency of ſuch a court was then ſpoke of, or perhaps thought of, by any but the dark deſigners of my ruin; the meaſure therefore could neither affect his Majeſty nor his Court with any idea of farther hardſhip than the delay of a few days to my appearing in his preſence.

This arrangement had been prepared by the Secretary of State, in the interval between the notice of my arrival at Portſmouth, which he received in the evening, and my viſit to him in Pall-mall, which was before noon the next day.

It will naturally be ſuppoſed that the ſtate in which I ſtood was the firſt ſubject of converſation; on the contrary, I was received with much apparent kindneſs; explanations paſſed, but they were friendly; I was heard attentively, through a report of all the tranſactions ſubſequent to the Convention of Saratoga; and I was led by degrees, and without ſuſpicion of inſidiouſneſs, to the moſt confi-

* Whenever *the Secretary of State* is mentioned in theſe papers, the perſon to be underſtood is the Secretary for the American department, Lord George Germain.

dential

dential communication, on my part, of facts, observations, and opinions, respecting very important objects.

If the measure of denying me access to the King had been undecided before, this conversation was of a nature to produce a decision; for it opened truths respecting the dispositions of the people of America, and the state of things there, very different from the ideas which (it is now known, from the line taken by the Secretary of State in the late enquiry) were prevalent in the governing councils of this kingdom.

It was not till after the matter of my communication was exhausted, that the Secretary of State drew from his pocket an order, that I should prepare myself for an enquiry: at which I expressed my fullest satisfaction, till he followed the order with the information of the *etiquette* I before mentioned, that I was not to appear at court.

Having pitched upon this expedient for no other end than to exclude me from the presence of my Sovereign, he could hardly be in pain about the event. If the general officers appointed for a Board of Enquiry, should coincide with the notion that my parole was of such a nature as to bar their proceedings, this would put off my access to the King to a very long day: but if the general officers should not enter into these ideas, he had a resource left. He could not be unapprized, that such a court was held by high authorities in the law to be illegal; and if I was not to see the King until an illegal or questionable court should make a valid report, I was never likely to enjoy that honour. Either way I was not to have the benefit of an enquiry; but he was to have the advantage of the *pretence* of one, in order to shut the door of St. James's against me. This has been made apparent beyond all possibility of doubt, by every part of his subsequent conduct: but at that time, though I saw a disgrace was intended me, I was not able to estimate the full extent of it.

Thus prevented in my intended appeal to the King, and as I have fatal reason to believe, the King's ear secured against me, attempts were not unthought of to deprive me of a voice in parliament. A great law officer of the crown made, *in the form of* legal doubts, a long and methodical argument against my competence to any civil duty or function: but it was not found so easy to exclude me from your service, as it had been to deprive me of countenance at court; and ministers only shewed by that abortive attempt, what their motives were, in those attempts in which they had been more successful.

Though the late time of the session, and the absence of Sir William Howe and Sir Guy Carleton, who were supposed to be parties, furnished plausible arguments for postponing a parliamentary enquiry in the summer of 1778, it was evident the temper of the House of Commons was inclined to adopt it at the ensuing meeting.

In the beginning of June, I received the conditional order annexed. [No. 1.] Though it bears the King's name, it was avowedly a letter of the cabinet; and there remained no longer a doubt in my mind

mind, that my ruin was made a measure of state. Few adepts in the science of oppression could have formed a design better fitted to its end; and it was likely to be successful, whatever part I should take. If I went — my character was lost irretrievably — the falsehoods and aspersions that have since been refuted in the face of those who propagated them, were already gone forth: the numbers of my army, and of that opposed to me, were already grossly misstated; contradictory charges of sloth and precipitancy, as the temper of men at the moment seemed inclined to either, were supported with uniform perseverance: — my friends were stated to be my accusers; and even my integrity, with regard to pecuniary trusts, was glanced at.

If I stayed, the King's order (as it was fallaciously called) was a specious topic; and it was not difficult to foresee, that it would be put into the hands of gentlemen that well knew how to make the utmost of it by art and opportunity. My answer [No. 2.] drew from the cabinet their second letter [No. 3.]; and I give them the satisfaction of knowing, that I felt all they could wish I should feel from the repetition of their severity. I saw in it at once a doubt of my veracity respecting my health, and the most contemptuous disregard of all other principles upon which I had claimed a right of staying in this country. —— Fundamental principles, I thought them, of justice and generosity due from all governments to those who serve them zealously, and in some governments held doubly due to such as in their zeal have been unfortunate.

It must be observed, that the ministry kept a profound silence, both to myself and the public, respecting the ratification of the convention. The same silence they maintained even in parliament long after its meeting. They were perfectly apprised, that the enemy had some time before made the want of that ratification the ground of their refusing to give effect to the part of the treaty which was favourable to the troops. They knew also, that one of the principal objects of my return to England was to negotiate in behalf of that deserving body of soldiers and subjects. Their desire of my delivering myself into captivity, at such a time, and under such circumstances, justified something more than a suspicion, that in my absence it was intended either to lay to my charge some breach of faith with the enemy; or to renounce the treaty from the beginning, and by my surrender, to transfer the act from the nation to my person. These are the only two cases which I believe can be produced from the history of nations, wherein an officer, who had made a convention with an enemy, had been delivered up to them. The ratification of the treaty afterwards is no proof that such intentions did not then exist.

I will make no farther observations, Gentlemen, upon this first correspondence between the War-office and me; nor should I have troubled you with these, but that great pains are taken to divert the attention of the public from the pretended order, to my behaviour

since

ſince the receipt of it. I in no wiſe ſeek to evade the public judgment upon any thing I have done: but I claim from the impartial and the candid, a conſideration of the pretended order itſelf, in its principal parts, *viz.* the ground upon which it is founded; the novel ſpecies of cruelty which it ſuppoſes within the power of the crown; and laſtly, the exerciſe of ſuch doctrine by men who were parties, and againſt the man whom they were called upon by their ſtation and their honour to confront.

Nothing farther paſſed during the receſs of parliament. I availed myſelf of a diſcretionary power, as I had a right to do, and I made it no ſecret, that had a direct order been ſent me, I ſhould have laid all my commiſſions at his Majeſty's feet.

During the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, an inquiry was inſtituted. The detail of the attempts made by the miniſtry to defeat it, is too notorious to be neceſſary upon this occaſion. They at laſt contrived that it ſhould be left imperfect: but in ſpight of every management, it had anſwered my purpoſe ſo far, as to fix upon record a body of evidence, that I would not exchange for all that power could beſtow. It is a juſtification of misfortune by the voice of honour. It is there apparent, what the army under my command, who felt moſt and ſaw beſt, thought of my actions.—The affections of my gallant comrades, unſhaken in every trial, labour, famine, captivity, or death, enable me to deſpiſe the rancour of a cabal and all its conſequences.

The moſt important purpoſe of my return to England having been anſwered by this vindication, I thought the ſacrifice of my commiſſions, the fruits of the greateſt part of my life, not to be neceſſary. I knew by experience what I had to apprehend in point of health from an American winter; but I ſcorned to plead it. Conſcious of my integrity, I abandoned my public accounts to the rigorous ſcrutiny of office; and I took occaſion publicly to declare, that ſhould it ſtill be thought expedient to deliver me back to the enemy, and a poſitive order ſhould be ſent me for that purpoſe, I ſhould, as far as in me lay, obey it.

I do not believe any man who knows me doubted the ſincerity of that intention. I am perſuaded, the framers of the letter of the 24th September were particularly convinced of it. The man who embarked in the ſituation I did, in the year 1776, could hardly be ſuppoſed to want fortitude to undertake an American voyage, in the ſituation in which I made the declaration. An order, therefore, which I could have obeyed without committing my honour, would not have effected my ruin. Time and circumſtances furniſhed more ſecure expedients; which I ſhall now open.

Occaſions were taken to viſit my offences upon my friends. Examples reſpecting my neareſt connections need not be pointed out, when I am addreſſing myſelf to any part of the county of Lancaſter. But the principle extended far more wide; and did not the apprehenſion of farther hurting

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ing the men I love reſtrain me, I could produce inſtances of hardſhip in the diſtribution of military preferments, that no impartial perſon will impute to any other cauſe than the kindneſs and friendſhip of the parties to me.

Theſe inſtances of perſecution, it was well known, affected me deeply. There were others yet more irritating.

In the courſe of the ſummer, the apprehenſions before entertained of an invaſion, by the declaration of government, became a certainty. Hardly a Britiſh ſubject could be found ſo low, ſo feeble, or even ſo profligate, as to be exempted from ſervice; while uncommon premiums were raiſed by begging, and diſtributed to volunteers, the gaols, and even the feet of the gallows, were reſorted to for other recruits.

In this declared dilemma, I know government were not ſtrangers to my intention of fighting my own regiment as colonel; or, ſhould its deſtination not admit the honour of meeting the enemy in that capacity, of offering myſelf as a volunteer in the ranks of any corps that might be more fortunately ſituated.

Theſe ſeveral feelings, and many others incident to an oppreſſed man, were doubtleſs duly conſidered; for at the criſis when they could operate moſt forcibly, it was thought proper moſt to inſult me; at the criſis when the King's ſervants openly announced, that not a ſhip or a ſoldier could be ſpared from our internal defence, a ſentence of baniſhment was ſent me, and even that not in an order, but a reprimand; —a ſubmiſſion to ignominy was required of me; for to put me wholly out of a capacity to draw my ſword at ſuch a moment, was virtually, in point of diſgrace, to break it over my head. My enemies might have ſpared ſuperfluous provocations. This alone would have ſufficed to prove their ſagacity, and to effect their purpoſe. Let it not be ſuppoſed they want knowledge of the human heart. There are among them, who can diſcern its receſſes, and have the ſkill and the triumph to make a ſoldier's honour and ſenſibility the inſtruments of his own deſtruction.

I could no longer brook the treatment I received. My letter of the 9th October to the Secretary at War, [No. 5.] contains my general ſentiments."

Correſpondence with Lord Barrington.

[No. 1.]

War-Office, June 5, 1778.

SIR,

The King, judging your preſence material to the troops detained priſoners in New England, under the convention of Saratoga; and finding in a letter of yours to Sir William Howe, dated April 9, 1778, "that you truſt a ſhort time "at Bath will enable you to re- "turn to America*," his Majeſty's

* Paragraph of the letter from Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Sir William Howe, which was made the foundation of the above conditional order.

"I need not expatiate upon the ſatisfaction I ſhould feel at being put "again in a ſituation to ſerve under you, as ſoon as my health will enable "me.—*I truſt that a very ſhort time at Bath will effect that purpoſe.*

"I have

jeſty is pleaſed to order that you ſhall repair to Boſton, as ſoon as you have tried the Bath Waters, in the manner you propoſe.

I have the honour to be,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
BARRINGTON.

Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne,
Hertford-Street.

[No. 2.]

June 22, 1778.

My Lord,

I have conſidered the letter I had the honour to receive from your lordſhip on the 5th inſtant, with the attention and reſpect due to an intimation of the King's pleaſure. I have now to requeſt your lordſhip to lay before his Majeſty a few particulars of my ſituation; and to offer to his royal conſideration, with all humility on my part, ſuch of my complaints as admit of repreſentation.

My letter to Sir William Howe, referred to in your lordſhip's letter, was writ in the fulneſs of zeal to renew my ſervice in arms the enſuing campaign. The ſatisfaction of ſucceeding in that application, would have tended to my recovery, or for a time might have prevented my feeling an ill. Deprived of ſo animating a ſupport, and viſited by new and unexpected anxieties, I have now recourſe only, as far as the mind is concerned, to a clear conſcience, perhaps a more tardy, but, I truſt, as efficacious an aſſiſtance.

The preſent ſeaſon of the year, always favourable to me, gives me the appearance, and indeed, in ſome degree the ſenſation of health. But much care is ſtill wanting to reſtore me to my former ſtate. The remedies preſcribed me are repoſe, regimen of diet, and repeated viſits to Bath: my intention, in conſequence, was to remain ſome time in the country, to repair to Bath for a ſhort time next month, and to return thither for a much longer ſpace in the more proper ſeaſon, the autumn. But whatever may be the benefit of all or any part of this plan, I am perſuaded, that to expoſe my conſtitution to the next American winter, is in probability to doom me to the grave.

That I ſhould not heſitate at ſuch an alternative, in circumſtances of exigency, I am confident the King will admit, when in his grace he ſhall recollect how often, at his Majeſty's call in this war, I have relinquiſhed private duties and affection, more impulſive upon the heart than any we owe to exiſtence. The purpoſes intimated for my preſent attendance in America, would, I fear, be very different from ſervices.

The army I commanded, credulous in my favour, and attached to me by the ſeries of conflicts and misfortunes we have in common ſuſtained, would not find material conſolation from my return in diſgrace; and their diſappointment could not but be enhanced by ſuch an indication, that government ei-

"I have only to add, my truſt that you will continue to me the friendſhip "and confidence with which you have always honoured me, and that you "will write to me at full by the firſt opportunity, how I can be employed to "ſerve your views. I have the honour to be, &c."

ther thought it inexpedient to ratify the convention of Saratoga, or despaired of a ratification effectuating the redemption of that army; for they would not conceive it possible, had the return of the troops been in view, that any person would have advised the King to what then might have appeared so harsh an act as sending an infirm, calumniated, unheard complainant, across the Atlantic, merely to inspect their embarkation.

Your lordship will perceive the parts of this letter which apply to the council of the throne, from whence I am to suppose the order I have received originated, and in your justice and generosity you will guard me, my lord, from any supposable presumption of expostulating with the King in person. But I apply to the same qualities in your lordship's mind, for pointing out to his Majesty, independently of his council, other letters, among those transmitted to the Secretary of State, alledging other reasons, and those more prevalent than the attention to health, for my return to England; and permit me, my lord, to add, that every one of them receives tenfold weight from what has happened lately, for my continuance in England. The special reason upon which I chiefly rest at present, my lord, is a vindication of my honour.

Until that by full and proper trial is cleared to my Sovereign and to my country, I confess I should feel a removal from hence, though enforced by the term duty, the severest sentence of exile ever imposed; and when the time and circumstances of such removal are farther considered, that Britain is threatened with invasion, and that after an enemy has set my arm at liberty, I am forbid a share in her defence by the council of my own Sovereign.—After these considerations, can I, my lord, be deemed offensive if I venture to declare that so marked a combination of displeasure and hard treatment, would be more than I should be able, or perhaps ought to bear.

My cause, my lord, thus committed to your office and character, I have only to add my reliance that you will do it justice, and the respect with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

Lord Barrington.

[No. 3.]

War-Office, June 27, 1778.

SIR,

I took the first opportunity of laying before the King your letter to me, dated the 22d instant. His Majesty continues to think your presence with the troops taken at Saratoga, and still detained prisoners in New England, of so much importance to them, that he has commanded me to acquaint you it is his pleasure, that you return to them as soon as you can, without any risk of material injury to your health.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,
BARRINGTON.

Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne.

Correspondence with Mr. Jenkinson.

[No. 4.]

War-Office, Sept. 24, 1779.

SIR,

I am commanded by the King to acquaint you, that your not returning

turning to America, and joining the troops, prisoners under the convention of Saratoga, is considered as a neglect of duty, and disobedience of orders transmitted to you by the Secretary at War, in his letter of 5th June, 1778.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.
(Signed) C. JENKINSON.

Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne.

[No. 5.]

Hertford-Street, Oct. 9, 1779.

SIR,

I received your letter acquainting me, "that my not returning "to America, and joining the "troops, prisoners under the con"vention of Saratoga, is consi"dered as a neglect of duty, and "disobedience of orders trans"mitted to me, by the Secretary "at War, in his letter of 5th "June, 1778."

During a service of more than thirty years, I have been taught, by the rewards of two successive Sovereigns, to believe, that my military conduct was held deserving of more favourable terms than those which are applied to it in the above recital. I have received from his present Majesty in particular, repeated and conspicuous testimonies of distinction and good opinion: and I should have been the most ungrateful of men, if I had not felt, and uniformly endeavoured to mark the warmest and most dutiful attachment to his person, together with a punctilious perseverance in the execution of all his lawful commands.

Under this sense of my past situation, your letter, stated to be written by the King's command, cannot but affect me most painfully.

The time in which I am charged with neglect of duty, has been employed to vindicate my own honour, the honour of the British troops, and of those of his Majesty's allies, under my late command, from the most base and barbarous aspersions, that ever were forged against innocent men, by malignity supported by power.

In regard to the second charge, I must first observe that there were two letters from the late Secretary at War, upon the subject of my return to America; and though you only state that of the 5th of June, I conclude it is not meant, that the other of the 27th should be suppressed, as it is explanatory of the former.

The signification of the King's pleasure therein contained being clearly conditional, and the condition depending upon my own judgment; I am unable to conceive by what possible construction it can be considered as disobedience, that I have not fulfilled an optional condition; and I am ready and desirous to meet the judgment of a proper tribunal upon that, as upon every other part of my conduct.

In the mean time, Sir, I am not told who it is that considers my taking advantage of my parole for the purposes I have done, as a neglect of duty, and breach of orders, and has so represented it to his Majesty. But in this state of ignorance concerning my enemies, I must say, as well from duty to my Sovereign, as from justice to myself, that they who have abused the confidence of their gracious master, by such a gross misrepresentation, merit, and I trust will meet with more of his displeasure,

than they wickedly have drawn upon me.

The punishment implied in the order referred to, you will observe, Sir, is unusual as well as cruel. Whether the Ministers of the crown, can legally order a British subject into captivity either at home or abroad without trial; or whether they can compel an officer by virtue of his general military obedience, to deliver himself to the prison of the enemy, without any requisition on their part, is (to say nothing stronger of it) matter of serious doubt. On pretence of military obedience, I am ordered to the only part of the world in which I can do no military service. An enemy's prison is not the King's garrison, nor is any thing to be done or suffered there, any part of an officer's duty; so far from it that it implies a direct incapacity for any military function. What are the military orders I am to give to men who have no arms to fight, and no liberty to march? Or by what rule is my not being in the hands of rebels, understood to be a neglect of duty to my Sovereign? Sir, the thing is too evident; those who calumniate my conduct on this account are desirous not of serving the King, but of insulting me, and of establishing new, dangerous, unmilitary and unconstitutional powers in themselves.

While a precedent is establishing in my particular case, I request it may moreover be remembered that I am deprived of a court martial upon my conduct in America, because I am not supposed to be amenable to the justice of the kingdom: and the King is told I have disobeyed his orders, in the very same breath that I am stated not to be accountable to him: by this doctrine it seems supposed, that I am not capable of receiving orders for the purposes of public justice or public service, but am perfectly subject to all such as have a tendency to my own destruction.

But it has been suggested when no military duty could be devised as a ground for this order that I might be returned to captivity in a sort of civil capacity. To comfort my fellow prisoners by a participation of their sufferings, and to act as a commissary to negotiate for them. Could any sufferings of mine alleviate the smallest of theirs, I should willingly submit to any thing the malice of the present Ministers could inflict upon me. But it is equally injurious to truth and to their honour and humanity, to suppose that my persecution could make any part of their consolation. What consolation could they derive from my junction to the common captivity, only to tell them that not a name among them is to be found in the numerous list of late promotions? And that the negociations to be undertaken in their favour, are to be conducted by the man who is notoriously proscribed by the power in the name of which he is to negotiate? Who alone of all the officers who have come from America, has been denied all access to the King? Cruelly as I and my fellow-sufferers are treated; I can scarce bring myself to wish, that they who provide such comfort for others, should receive it in a similar situation themselves.

I am sorry finally to observe, that the treatment I have experienced, however contradictory in

the reaſons aſſigned for the ſeveral parts of it, is perfectly uniform in the principle. They who would not ſuffer me to approach the King's preſence to vindicate myſelf before him; who have held that I cannot have a court martial to vindicate myſelf to my profeſſion; and who have done all they could do, to prevent me from vindicating myſelf to my country by a parliamentary enquiry; are now very ſyſtematically deſirous of burying my innocence and their own guilt, in the priſons of the enemy, and of removing, in my perſon, to the other ſide of the Atlantic Ocean, the means of renewing parliamentary proceedings which they have reaſon to dread.

Thoſe extraordinary attempts to oppreſs in my perſon the rights of all ſubjects, and to pervert every idea of military obedience, by directing it, not to the ſervice of the public, but the ruin of officers, juſtified me to my own conſcience, in the part I took under the conditional order, referred to in your letter. I found the ſame inward juſtification in requiring, in the moſt public manner, at the cloſe of the late ſeſſion of parliament, a clear, peremptory order, in caſe the Miniſters perſevered in their intention of reſurrendering me to the enemy.

I have received no order; had an order been ſent to me framed in any manner that I could have acted upon it conſiſtently with the exiſtence of character; I might have made a proteſt againſt the precedent; I might have enquired of you, Sir, by what probable means in the preſent poſture of affairs it was to be executed. But in deference to the King's name, as a military ſervant, I meant ſubmiſſion. Your letter, Sir, inſtead of an order for my future conduct, is an unjuſt reproach of my paſt; for which I humbly implore of his Majeſty, and firmly demand of his councils, trial by a court martial. Should that be refuſed or procraſtinated upon the principle formerly adopted, "that in my preſent ſituation no judicature can "have cognizance of my actions;" I can then conſider the purport of your letter, Sir, in no other light than that of a diſmiſſion, a diſmiſſion as concluſive as any you could have worded in form, and perhaps more poignant. To eat the bread of the crown, however faithfully earned, under a ſentence, without appeal, in the name of the King, of neglect of duty and diſobedience of orders, is incompatible with my conception of honour; an interdiction from my country; a baniſhment to the only part of the world in which I am diſabled from ſerving that country at the moment of her fate; and when every other arm, even to the weakeſt, is preſſed to her defence; theſe circumſtances give a critical barbarity to the intentions of the King's adviſers, that an Engliſh ſoldier cannot ſupport. Therefore, Sir, I find myſelf compelled, if not allowed an early trial, or by the King's grace, upon this repreſentation, reſtored to a capacity of ſervice, through your official channel to requeſt his Majeſty, to accept of my reſignation of my appointment upon the American ſtaff, of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, and of the government of Fort William, humbly deſiring only to reſerve my rank as lieutenant-general in the army,

to render me the more clearly amenable to a court martial hereafter, and to enable me to fulfil my perſonal faith, ſhould I be required by the enemy ſo to do.

I have the honour to be,
&c.

The Right Hon. Charles Jenkinſon, Secretary at War.

[No. 6.]

War-Office, Oct. 15, 1779.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 9th inſtant, wherein, after ſtating your reaſons for objecting to the ſeveral ſteps that have been taken with relation to the orders given for your return to North America, you add, that "if you are not allowed an early trial, or if by his "Majeſty's grace, upon the repreſentations contained in the ſaid "letter, you are not reſtored to "a capacity of ſervice, it is your "requeſt to his Majeſty, that he "will be pleaſed to accept your "reſignation of your appointment "to the American ſtaff, of the "Queen's regiment of light dragoons, and of the government "of Fort William; humbly de"ſiring only to reſerve your rank "of lieutenant-general in the ar"my, to render you more clearly "amenable to courts martial here"after, and to enable you to ful"fil your perſonal faith, ſhould "you be required by the enemy "ſo to do."

Having laid your letter before the King, I am commanded to acquaint you, that for the reaſons ſubmitted to his Majeſty by the Board of General Officers, in their report, dated 23d May, 1778, (which reaſons ſubſiſt in the ſame force now as they did at that time) his Majeſty does not think proper that any part of your conduct ſhould be brought before a military tribunal, ſo long as you ſhall continue engaged to re-deliver yourſelf into the power of Congreſs upon their demand, and due notice being given by them. Nor does his Majeſty think proper, in conſequence of the repreſentations contained in your ſaid letter, to reſtore you, circumſtanced as you are, to a capacity of ſervice. Neither of theſe requeſts can therefore be granted.

I have it farther in command from the King to acquaint you, that his Majeſty conſiders your letter to me as a proof of your determination to perſevere in not obeying his orders, ſignified to you in the Secretary at War's letter of the 5th of June, 1778: and for this reaſon, his Majeſty is pleaſed to accept your reſignation of the command of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, of the government of Fort William, and of your appointment on the American ſtaff, allowing you only to reſerve the rank of lieutenant-general in the army, for the purpoſes you have ſtated.

Lord Barrington's letter of the 27th of June is conſidered as explanatory of the orders given in his letter of the 5th of that month.

I have the honour to be,
&c.

(Signed) C. JENKINSON.

Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne.

[No. 7.]

Hertford-Street, Oct. 17, 1779.

SIR,

I received your letter of the 15th inſtant, informing me, that his Majeſty had been pleaſed to accept

my resignation of my military employments, and that I am refused a court martial upon that disobedience, for my perseverance in which, you tell me my resignation is accepted.

I must persist in denying, that I have received any other order, than an order subject to my own discretion.

I must persist in my claim to a court martial.

I apprehend, that if I am not subject to a trial for breach of orders, it implies that I am not subject to the orders themselves.

I do not admit that I cannot legally have a court martial, circumstanced as I am: but those who advise his Majesty, assert it, and they are answerable for this contradiction between their reasoning and their conduct.

The report of the general officers, I humbly conceive, is erroneous. And the subsequent appointment of other gentlemen, exactly in my circumstances (with great merit on their part to entitle them to any distinction) to military employments, subject to orders, and accountable for the breach of them, is one of the reasons for my conceiving, that the King's advisers do not differ from me in opinion, that the general officers were mistaken.

Thinking it probable, Sir, that this letter may close the correspondence between us, I conclude with the sentiments I have never deviated from in any part of it; and I request you to assure his Majesty, with all humility on my part, that though I have reason to complain heavily of his Majesty's Ministers, my mind is deeply impressed, as it ever has been, with a sense of duty, respect, and affection to his royal person.

I have the honour to be,
&c.

The Right Hon. Charles Jenkinson, Secretary at War.

[No. 8.]

War Office, Oct. 22, 1779.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 17th instant, and to acquaint you, that I took the first opportunity of laying it before the King.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,
C. JENKINSON.

Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne,
&c. &c. &c.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 12, 1779.

A Letter from Captain Pearson, of his Majesty's ship Serapis, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a Copy, was yesterday received at this Office:

Pallas, French Frigate, in Congress Service. Texel, Oct. 6, 1779.

SIR,

YOU will be pleased to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 23d ult. being close in with Scarborough, about eleven o'clock, a boat came on board with a letter from the bailiffs of that corporation, giving information of a flying squadron of the enemy's ships being on the coast, and of a part of the said squadron having been seen from thence the day before, standing to the southward. As soon as I re-

ceived this intelligence, I made the ſignal for the convoy to bear down under my lee, and repeated it with two guns; notwithſtanding which, the van of the convoy kept their wind, with all ſail ſtretching out to the ſouthward from under Flamborough Head, till between twelve and one, when the headmoſt of them got ſight of the enemy's ſhips, which were then in chace of them; they then tacked, and made the beſt of their way under the ſhore for Scarborough, &c. letting fly their top-gallant ſheets, and firing guns; upon which I made all the ſail I could to windward, to get between the enemy's ſhips and the convoy, which I ſoon effected. At one o'clock we got ſight of the enemy's ſhips from the maſt-head, and about four we made them plain from the deck to be three large ſhips and a brig; upon which I made the Counteſs of Scarborough's ſignal to join me, ſhe being in ſhore with the convoy: at the ſame time I made the ſignal for the convoy to make the beſt of their way, and repeated the ſignal with two guns: I then brought to, to let the Counteſs of Scarborough come up, and cleared ſhip for action. At half paſt five the Counteſs of Scarborough joined me, the enemy's ſhips then bearing down upon us, with a light breeze at S. S. W. at ſix tacked, and laid our head in ſhore, in order to keep our ground the better between the enemy's ſhips and the convoy; ſoon after which we perceived the ſhips bearing down upon us to be a two-decked ſhip and two frigates, but from their keeping end on upon us, on bearing down, we could not diſcern what colours they were under: at about twenty minutes paſt ſeven, the largeſt ſhip of the three brought to, on our larboard bow, within muſquet ſhot: I hailed him, and aſked what ſhip it was; they anſwered in Engliſh, the Princeſs Royal; I then aſked where they belonged to; they anſwered evaſively; on which I told them, if they did not anſwer directly, I would fire into them; they then anſwered with a ſhot, which was inſtantly returned with a broadſide; and after exchanging two or three broadſides, he backed his topſails, and dropped upon our quarter within piſtol-ſhot, then filled again, put his helm a-weather, and run us on board upon our weather quarter, and attempted to board us, but being repulſed, he ſheered off; upon which I backed our top-ſails, in order to get ſquare with him again, which, as ſoon as he obſerved, he then filled, put his helm a-weather, and laid us athwart hawſe; his mizen ſhrouds took our jib boom, which hung him for ſome time, till it at laſt gave way, and we dropt alongſide of each other, head and ſtern, when the fluke of our ſpare anchor hooking his quarter, we became ſo cloſe fore and aft, that the muzzles of our guns touched each others ſides. In this poſition we engaged from half paſt eight till half paſt ten; during which time, from the great quantity and variety of combuſtible matters which they threw in upon our decks, chains, and in ſhort into every part of the ſhip, we were on fire no leſs than ten or twelve times in different parts of the ſhip, and it was with the greateſt difficulty and exertion imaginable at times that we were able to get it extinguiſhed. At the

the ſame time the largeſt of the two frigates kept ſailing round us the whole action, and raking us fore and aft, by which means ſhe killed or wounded almoſt every man on the quarter and main decks.

About half paſt nine, either from a hand grenade being thrown in at one of our lower deck ports, or from ſome other accident, a cartridge of powder was ſet on fire, the flames of which running from cartridge to cartridge all the way aft, blew up the whole of the people and officers that were quartered abaft the main-maſt; from which unfortunate circumſtance all thoſe guns were rendered uſeleſs for the remainder of the action, and I fear the greateſt part of the people will loſe their lives. At ten o'clock they called for quarters from the ſhip alongſide, and ſaid they had ſtruck: hearing this, I called upon the captain to know if they had ſtruck, or if he aſked for quarters; but no anſwer being made, after repeating my words two or three times, I called for the boarders, and ordered them to board, which they did; but the moment they were on board her, they diſcovered a ſuperior number laying under cover with pikes in their hands ready to receive them; on which our people retreated inſtantly into our own ſhip, and returned to their guns again till paſt ten, when the frigate coming acroſs our ſtern, and pouring her broadſide into us again, without our being able to bring a gun to bear on her, I found it in vain, and in ſhort impracticable, from the ſituation we were in, to ſtand out any longer with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs; I therefore ſtruck, (our main maſt at the ſame time went by the board.) The firſt lieutenant and myſelf were immediately eſcorted into the ſhip alongſide, when we found her to be an American ſhip of war, called the Bon Homme Richard, of 40 guns and 375 men, commanded by Captain Paul Jones; the other frigate which engaged us, to be the Alliance, of 40 guns, and 300 men; and the third frigate which engaged and took the Counteſs of Scarborough, after two hours action, to be the Pallas, a French frigate of 32 guns, and 275 men; the Vengeance, an armed brig of 12 guns, and 70 men; all in Congreſs ſervice, and under the command of Paul Jones. They fitted out and ſailed from Port l'Orient the latter end of July, and came north about; they have on board 300 Engliſh priſoners, which they have taken in different veſſels in their way round, ſince they left France, and have ranſomed ſome others. On my going on board the Bon Homme Richard, I found her in the greateſt diſtreſs; her quarters and counter on the lower deck entirely drove in, and the whole of her lower deck guns diſmounted; ſhe was alſo on fire in two places, and ſix or ſeven feet water in her hold, which kept increaſing upon them all night and the next day, till they were obliged to quit her, and ſhe ſunk, with a great number of her wounded people on board her. She had 306 men killed and wounded in the action; our loſs in the Serapis was alſo very great. My officers and people in general behaved well, and I ſhould be very remiſs in my attention to their merit were I to omit recommending the remains of them to their

lordſhips favour. I muſt at the ſame time beg leave to inform their lordſhips, that Captain Piercy, in the Counteſs of Scarborough, was not in the leaſt remiſs in his duty, he having given me every aſſiſtance in his power, and as much as could be expected from ſuch a ſhip, in engaging the attention of the Pallas, a frigate of 32 guns, during the whole action.

I am extremely ſorry for the misfortune that has happened, that of loſing his Mjeſty's ſhip I had the honour to command; but, at the ſame time, I flatter myſelf with the hopes, that their lordſhips will be convinced that ſhe has not been given away; but, on the contrary, that every exertion has been uſed to defend her; and that two eſſential pieces of ſervice to our country have ariſen from it; the one in wholly overſetting the cruize, and intentions of this flying ſquadron; the other in reſcuing the whole of a valuable convoy from falling into the hands of the enemy, which muſt have been the caſe had I acted any otherwiſe than I did. We have been driving about in the North Sea ever ſince the action, endeavouring to make to any port we poſſibly could, but have not been able to get into any place till to-day we arrived in the Texel.

Herewith I incloſe you the moſt exact liſt of the killed and wounded I have as yet been able to procure, from my people being diſperſed amongſt the different ſhips, and having been refuſed permiſſion to muſter them; there are, I find, many more, both killed and wounded, than appears on the incloſed liſt, but their names as yet I find impoſſible to aſcertain; as ſoon as I poſſibly can, ſhall give their lordſhips a full account of the whole.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
R. PEARSON.

P. S. I am refuſed permiſſion to wait on Sir Joſeph Yorke, and even to go on ſhore.

Abſtract of the liſt of killed and wounded.

Killed 49.—Wounded 68.

Copy of a Letter from Lieut. George, *of the Rambler Cutter, to Sir* Charles Hardy, *giving an Account of an Engagement between his Majeſty's Ship the Quebec, and a* French *Frigate of forty Guns.*

SIR,

I BEG leave to acquaint you, that on Wedneſday the 6th inſtant, being then in company with his Majeſty's ſhip Quebec, Uſhant bearing ſouth 15 leagues, at day break we diſcovered three ſail to leeward in the S. W. quarter. Captain Farmer made the ſignal for the Rambler to come under his ſtern, which I obeyed; he then aſked me what I thought of them; I told him a ſhip, a cutter, and a Dutch hoy: he replied, he would go down and ſee what they were, and ordered me to keep cloſe to him. At half paſt eight we plainly perceived two of them to be a large French frigate and a cutter; at nine the enemy's frigate began to fire at the Quebec, but at too great a diſtance to do any execution. At ten the Quebec, being within point blank ſhot of the enemy, hoiſted her colours, and returned their fire, ſtill edging down to

to come to a close engagement till she was alongside the French frigate. I immediately hoisted my colours, and stood in between the French frigate and the cutter, with an intent to cut her off from her consort, and bring her to a close engagement, which I effected; and began to engage her at eleven o'clock close alongside; (I then found her force to be sixteen six-pounders, and full of men;) we continued to engage her in the same position till within a few minutes of two o'clock, when she set all the sail she could croud, and bore from us, we not having had the luck to carry away any thing material; and the Rambler, having her gaff shot away, her top-mast shot through, the top-sail hallyards, and most of her standing and running rigging gone, and the mainsail rendered unserviceable, was incapable of following her with any hopes of coming up with her; at the same time seeing both the frigates dismasted, and the Quebec take fire, I endeavoured to get as near the Quebec as possible, in hopes of saving some of her men; but there being but little wind, and a large swell, found I could assist her no other way but by hoisting out our boat, which I effected, and sent the master and five men armed in her, who picked up one master's mate, two young midshipmen, and fourteen more of the Quebec's people, the enemy's frigate at the same time firing at the boat*. As the Rambler was a considerable distance to leeward of the Quebec, I thought it would be in vain to send a second time.

I want words sufficient to describe the noble gallant manner of Captain Farmer's engaging the enemy for upwards of three hours and an half, that he lay alongside the frigate, which carried twenty-eight eighteen-pounders on her main deck, and twelve guns on her quarter deck and forecastle. The Quebec continued burning very fiercely, with her colours flying, till six o'clock, when she blew up. I am much afraid, from the report of Mr. William Moore, one of the master's mates of the Quebec, that Captain Farmer, and his officers that were alive when he left the Quebec, shared the fate of the ship.

I beg leave, at the same time, to recommend to you, Sir, the officers and crew of the Rambler, who did every thing that might be expected from Englishmen. I am

* We are happy in taking this opportunity of doing that justice to the character of a brave and humane enemy, which their conduct on this occasion demands at our hands. The circumstance mentioned in Lieut. George's letter of the French frigate's firing upon our boat, is supposed to have arisen from the guns of the Quebec, some of which it is probable might have gone off during the time she was burning. However that may be, the mistake in Mr. George's account has since been sufficiently proved by the concurrent testimony of a number of the men, and some officers, belonging to the Quebec, who all owed their lives to the active humanity of the French, and were afterwards treated by them with the utmost tenderness and kindness; notwithstanding their own extreme soreness and distress at the time, with a ship nearly reduced to a wreck, a majority of their people killed or wounded, and their brave captain in the agonies of death, who spent his last breath in declaring the pleasure he received from having such an opportunity of exercising his benevolence.

happy

happy to say our loss consists of only one man who has lost his leg, the pilot shot through the arm with a musket ball, and several slightly wounded, as the enemy aimed at our masts and rigging, in which they succeeded too well. From the cutter's not returning the fire for two or three broadsides before she bore away, and seeing but few men on her decks, I conclude she suffered considerably.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,
JAMES GEORGE.

Account of the Trial of Mr. Stratton, *and the other Members of the Council of* Madrass, *who deposed and imprisoned their Governor, the late Lord* Pigot, *and were prosecuted for the said Offence, in the Court of* King's Bench, *by the Attorney General, in consequence of an Address of the House of Commons to his Majesty for that Purpose.*

THE trial began before the Right Honourable the Earl of Mansfield in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster Hall, on Monday, December 20th, early in the morning, and lasted till two the next morning.

The Attorney General stated the facts on which the prosecution was founded in a most pathetic and eloquent speech. The principal points he insisted upon in support of the prosecution were—*First*, that Lord Pigot was sent from England by the East India Company with express instructions to restore the Raja of Tanjore. *Secondly*, That the whole Council, on his arrival at Madrass, and for some time after, (in the year 1775) were unanimous in their resolutions to carry these instructions into execution; but that afterwards a dissention arose, owing to some of the members of the council espousing the interest of the Nabob of Arcot and his son, who strenuously opposed the restoration of the Raja. *Thirdly*, That Lord Pigot was under a necessity to suspend Mr. Stratton and Mr. Brooke, (two of the defendants) in virtue of his authority as President, that he might not be obstructed by them in the execution of the Company's command. *Fourthly*, That the claim of Mr. Benfield on the part of the Nabob of Arcot, to a crop on the lands of Tanjore, sown by the Nabob and mortgaged to Benfield, was a fraudulent claim, calculated to foment divisions in the council and to oppose Lord Pigot in his government. This he endeavoured to prove from the improbability that Benfield, a private person of little or no property, should have been able to advance so large a sum as the claim amounted to, even allowing him very considerable profits: for his demand was 250,000l. *Fifthly*, He proved that the defendants signed an order for taking his Lordship into custody, and ordered Colonel Stuart, who arrested him, to inform his Lordship, that his life should answer any resistance to their orders; from which he drew an inference, that assassination was intended in case of resistance. *Finally*, He enquired by what authority this violent revolution had been accomplished. He admitted that the majority of the

the council assenting to, or putting a negative upon, a question, exercised a legal power; but it did not follow, if the Governor acted wrong in not putting a question, which in the sense of the majority he ought to have put, that they had a legal power to imprison him; gentler measures might have been adopted; he was amenable to the laws of his country, but not to any assumed authority of his council. Upon the whole, however, he justified the conduct of Lord Pigot, though arbitrary, upon this ground, that it was his duty to execute the commission he had received from the Company, by restoring the Raja of Tanjore at all events.

The postillion who drove Lord Pigot's chaise when he was arrested, and Colonel Monckton, his Lordship's son-in-law, were produced as evidence of the arrest and confinement; but as the crown lawyers on the one hand admitted the facts alledged by the defendants concerning Lord Pigot's proceedings in council; and the defendants on the other avowed the arrest and confinement of his Lordship, no verbal evidence was necessary. But a great load of written evidence was essential to support the prosecution, because it turned upon the positive instructions given by the Company to Lord Pigot. The reading of these papers, containing the correspondence between the Company and Lord Pigot, with other documents, was excessively tedious, and took up several hours.

Mr. Dunning began the defence of his clients at about eight in the evening; and in the most masterly pleading that was ever exhibited in a weak cause, displayed abilities and attachment to the interest of his clients that would have done honour to the best. After noticing the passion and prejudice which had influenced the minds of men in general with respect to the death of Lord Pigot; he cleared the defendants to the satisfaction of every one present, from the imputation of aiming at his life, and from all selfish motives. He then gave a detail of the arbitrary proceedings of Lord Pigot in the council; and in other acts of his government; such as his suspension of Sir Robert Fletcher, the commander in chief of the troops, &c. From these instances of extravagant behaviour he adduced the political necessity of removing him from the government, all public business being at a stand.

He also endeavoured to shew that he had exercised powers not vested in him by the Company; and he finally rested the defence of his clients on the approbation which the supreme council of Bengal had expressed in writing, of their proceedings. Mr. Dunning did not sit down till near twelve o'clock.

The Attorney General made only two observations on the defence, *viz.* that the Company's appointment of Lord Pigot for the special purpose of restoring the Raja had not been attempted to be denied, therefore he stood justified in resisting every delay, every opposition of that measure; and that the defendants, though Mr. Benfield was in court, had not thought proper to call upon him, so well convinced were they that the sole cause of all the disturbances was that gentleman's pretended

tended claim: it showed plainly, the apprehensions they were under that the truth would come out if he was examined.

Lord Mansfield, about half after one in the morning, summed up the whole matter very concisely, observing, that the indictment was laid on five counts or charges; two for illegal assumption of government, and three for imprisoning the governor; but they differed very little, for if the defendants could be justified in the one, it went a great way to justify them in the other. Three questions were for the jury to consider; 1st, What is the constitution of the government of Madrass? 2d, Whether Lord Pigot had subverted that constitution? 3dly, Whether such conduct of Lord Pigot amounted to a justification of the subsequent conduct of the defendants?

As to the first, his Lordship said, it appeared, that the government of the province was vested in the President and Council, or a majority of them legally summoned and assembled, whether the President was of the majority or minority, he having only the benefit of his casting vote in case of equality; but the governor being an integral part of the government, the Council without him was imperfect and incompetent. He had it in his power to adjourn at any time, or withdraw himself from the meeting, and then would end the business for that time, until they were again regularly convened.

Therefore as to the second question, Lord Pigot's conduct on negativing a question regularly before the board, and supported by a majority, and suspending two members by his own authority, for signing what they had voted for, and what the other four were ready to sign also, having all previously declared their intentions, was certainly violent, illegal, and unjustifiable.

And this leads to the third question as to the justification. Here his Lordship expressed some anxiety about giving his opinion upon such a new and unprecedented case. He adverted to cases of force and necessity here in England, which are cognizable and determinable by a jury only. In the case of external force compelling a man to an unlawful act, the man's will does not go along with the action; he is therefore not culpable. In the case of natural necessity, a man driven in self-defence to commit homicide, or other unavoidable act, is not culpable: but of both these cases a jury alone can decide.

His Lordship could put the affair at Madrass on no other footing that that of a civil necessity, or state necessity. If the jury could consider this civil necessity the majority were under tantamount to a natural necessity, it would be a justification. To decide this, they might take into consideration the critical situation they were in, from the violent proceedings of the governor: he had suspended two of the senior council; he might possibly proceed to suspend the other four; he had also ordered one of their number to be arrested on a charge of mutiny, that pointed at his life. In such a situation it was difficult to act: but at the same time they began their own administration with an illegal act,

act, that of ſuſpending three of the members who voted againſt them.

His Lordſhip ſaid it was for the jury to exerciſe their judgment on theſe three queſtions, and if they found ſufficient matter to juſtify the aſſumption of government out of the hands of the governor, the ſame would go to juſtify his impriſonment; and as no aggravating circumſtances were inſiſted on by the proſecutors, they would then acquit the defendants: if otherwiſe, they would find them guilty.

His Lordſhip quitted the court exactly at two; and the jury, after withdrawing a quarter of an hour, brought in their verdict, finding the defendants *Guilty*.

Copy of the Challenge ſent by the Marquis de la Fayette, *to the Earl of* Carliſle, *and the Earl's Anſwer.*

To the Earl of Carliſle.

I Did not imagine, my Lord, that I ever ſhould have had any tranſactions but with your generals, and expected not the honour of ſeeing them but at the head of the armies which they reſpectively command. Your letter of the 26th of Auguſt to the Congreſs of the United States, and the terms of inſult reſpecting my country, to which you have ſigned your name, is the ſole cauſe of my having any thing now to ſettle with your Lordſhip. I deign not to refute the aſperſion, but I deſire to puniſh it. It is from you, as chief of the commiſſion, that I demand a reparation as public as hath been the offence, and which muſt give the *lie* to the expreſſion you have uſed. I ſhould not have delayed this demand ſo long, if your letter had reached me ſooner; obliged to be abſent a few days, I hope to find your anſwer at my return. M. Gimot, a French officer, will ſettle on my part the time and place of our meeting, to ſuit your Lordſhip's conveniency. I doubt not but, for the honour of his countryman, General Clinton will attend you to the field.

As to me, my Lord, it is indifferent who attends you, provided that, to the glory of being a Frenchman, I join that of proving to a gentleman of your country, that no one dares to inſult mine with impunity.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

To the Marquis De la Fayette.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter tranſmitted to me from M. Gimot, and I confeſs I find it difficult to return a ſerious anſwer to its contents. The only one that can be expected from me as the King's Commiſſioner, and which you ought to have known, is, that I do, and ever ſhall, conſider myſelf ſolely reſponſible to my Country and King, and not to any individual, for my public conduct and language. As for any opinion or expreſſions contained in any publications iſſued under the commiſſion in which I have the honour to be named, unleſs they are retracted in public, you may be aſſured I ſhall never, in any change of

of ſituation, be diſpoſed to give an account of them, much leſs recal them in private.

The injury alluded to in the correſpondence of the King's Commiſſioners to the Congreſs, I muſt remind you, is not of a private nature; and I conceive all national diſputes will be beſt decided by the meeting of Admiral Byron and Count d'Eſtaign.

(Signed) CARLISLE.

New York, October 11, 1778.

Some Account of Matthieſon, *lately executed for forging the Notes of the Bank.*

JOHN Matthieſon was born at Gretna-Green, (a noted place in Scotland ſince paſſing the Engliſh marriage act). His father was a mill-wright, and accounted an ingenious mechanic; nor was the ſon's mechanical genius leſs conſpicuous than that of his father. From the knowledge he had in millwork, he attained the art of making clocks, and by *that*, and cleaning and repairing watches, he was enabled, after the death of his father, to ſupport his mother, his ſiſter, and himſelf. But his mind was reſtleſs, and ever thirſting after improvement. Not content with what he had learned, which produced him only a bare competency, he became acquainted with an engraver, a looſe, diſſipated young man, whoſe extravagance often reduced him to great ſtraits. With this youth he cultivated a ſeeming friendſhip; and, from a conſtant attendance, and cloſe attention to him when at work, he ſtole from him that art, which, though it might have enriched him by an honeſt application, proved his ruin, by converting it to a moſt iniquitous purpoſe.

It has been inſinuated by ſome that this youth was an accomplice at his firſt ſetting out, and that both were connected in forging the notes of the Darlington Bank; but nothing of that kind has ſince appeared, and therefore unworthy to be believed.

To the art of engraving, Matthieſon had added a particular facility in tracing lines, inſomuch that he could take off the handwriting of any man with ſuch exactneſs as even to deceive the writer himſelf.

Tempted by theſe acquirements, ſo flattering to his notions of ſuddenly becoming rich, his firſt experiment, as before obſerved, was made on the 5l. notes of the Darlington Bank; but of theſe, being of ſmall value and quick circulation, though currently negotiated, he could make no very conſiderable advantage; and being but a young beginner, and not over-cautious in paſſing his notes, a diſcovery was ſoon made by the banks that their notes were forged, and Matthieſon was ſuſpected of being the forger. He was even deſcribed, and a reward offered for his apprehenſion; which, however, he found means to elude by travelling into Scotland, where, there is reaſon to ſuſpect, he forged the notes of the Royal Bank of Edinburgh, traverſed that country, and negotiated them; till, directing his route by the the weſtern road of Glaſgow, where he was unknown, he found means to arrive at London undiſcovered.

Here

Here he procured very creditable apartments, where he lived for ſome time retired and unſuſpected.

In all his peregrinations he ſeems to have paid great attention to his ſiſter; to whom, however, it does not appear that he ever imparted the ſecret of his fraud.

His lodgings were over-againſt Arundel-ſtreet, in the Strand, in a creditable family, to whom he paſſed for a watch-maker come to London for improvement. In theſe lodgings he behaved with great regularity and ſobriety, often retired by himſelf in the day, and often talked with the people in the ſhop as he paſſed and repaſſed, and appeared in every reſpect as an unexceptionable character. His ſiſter, indeed, appeared but mean, the landlord ſaid, for a perſon that took an apartment at 15s. a week.

It ſhould ſeem, that, though his mind, as he confeſſed, was much diſtreſſed by the conſciouſneſs of his guilt, yet that did not wholly deſtroy the activity of it for invention. It is aſtoniſhing to contemplate the powers of an inventive mind, when directed either to good or evil purpoſes. Harriſon, who by a long ſcries of deliberate ſtudy, effected at laſt a time-piece of infinite uſe to navigation, and for which he received the applauſe and reward of his country, was forty years in effecting that which this man would probably have brought to perfection in leſs than as many months, had his inventive powers been directed to ſo laudable a purpoſe: for ſo rapid was he in his progreſs, that, though he entered upon his lodgings on the laſt day of February, he had purchaſed the copper, ground it, engraved it, fabricated the notes, printed them, forged the water-mark, and negotiated ſeveral of them, one in particular at Coventry, for which he ſuffered, before the 12th of March; and ſo nicely was all this performed, that the Banker, to whom this laſt-mentioned note was offered for change, made not the leaſt ſcruple to receive it, though he knew it was preſented by a perfect ſtranger *.

It was, therefore, of the utmoſt conſequence to national credit, that ſo dangerous a villain, however ingenious, ſhould be detected. It was not enough for him to be maſter of counterfeiting all the external lines on the face of the notes with a nicety which might deceive even the very clerks who iſſued the notes, but he had acquired the very art of counterfeiting the internal mark of the paper on which the notes of the Bank of England are drawn, and of which paper the Directors are ſo choice as not to ſuffer a ſheet to be made, if we are rightly informed, nor a note to be printed upon it, without the attendance of a truſty perſon or perſons to inſpect, upon oath, the whole proceſs. In this was thought their ſecurity, and it had expoſed every former fraud of the like kind to immediate detection; but Matthieſon's art was beyond their reach: he held the whole circulation of the Bank in his hands; for, had he been ſuf-

* He preſented the note to a ſilver-ſmith at Coventry, of whom he bought a pair of buckles, who carried it to a Banker's at next door, and got caſh for it.

fered

fered to reign long, no man could have been ſafe in taking a Bank-note, who had not the books of the Bank to reſort to. Even Mr. Geathing, one of the caſhiers, being aſked, if he had ſeen the name ſubſcribed to the note on which the priſoner was convicted, on a ſeparate piece of paper, without any ſuſpicion of forgery, whether he could have ſworn it was not his hand-writing, his anſwer was, *I do not know that I could.*

His firſt care, after he was ſettled in his lodgings, was to procure a fair 20l. note, which he went to the Bank for himſelf; for he was cautious of truſting even his ſiſter with any of his affairs. Having got this for a pattern, he next applied to a brazier, and had two pieces of copper cut exactly to the dimenſions of the plates uſed by the Bank. Thoſe rough plates were prepared, as we before obſerved, by himſelf; and, as ſoon as he had completed the notes, he pretended buſineſs in the country, and travelled from one end of the kingdom to the other, to negotiate them; for the buckles, which he bought at Coventry, were traced and found in Scotland. All this paſſed without ſuſpicion at his lodgings: when he went out, it was in the middle of the day; and when he came home, he had all the appearance of a man who had been a long journey.

He no ſooner came home than he again applied to the Bank for freſh notes; and a circumſtance, which very remotely led to his detection, gave occaſion to one of the tellers of the Bank to mark him. He had been, on the 17th of March, to change a ten-pound note; and, on the 24th, he came again to have two Bank-notes, one for 20l. and the other for 10l. made out to him for caſh. On that day the Exciſe-office was paying 7000 guineas, one of which was ſcrupled. Matthieſon looked at it as it lay at a diſtance, and ſaid it was a good one. "Then," ſaid the clerk on his trial, "I recollected him. I turned to the book, and ſaw I had paid him thoſe three notes," [*meaning, we ſuppoſe, three notes which were produced to identify the perſon of Matthieſon*]. But, probably, the turning to the book was a ſubſequent act, though repreſented in the Seſſions-paper as an immediate inſpection, for which there was then no cauſe.

How he came to be firſt ſuſpected at the Bank, which did not happen till the 10th of April, does not appear; but, it is evident, the ſuſpicion was but ſlightly grounded, as the ſame clerk apprehended and releaſed him on the ſame day, and did not carry him before a magiſtate till next morning, when, hearing he was going along Cornhill with a bundle, he followed him, and perſuaded him to go back with him to the Bank of England.

There is reaſon, indeed, to believe that his frequent appearance at the Bank, exchanging notes of 10 and 20l. for caſh, and ſometimes taking out notes of the ſame value, and paying money for them, might create a ſuſpicion that he was ſome way or other connected with the perſon who counterfeited notes which, ſince his firſt appearance there, had been preſented at the Bank, and at firſt paid without ſcruple, and probably would have continued ſo to have been, had not

not duplicates of the ſame notes come in, and given the alarm. By comparing theſe one with another, there was found ſo material a difference, that the clerks could inſtantly tell the counterfeit from the real, though their orders were to pay both without heſitation, provided they came through any houſe of credit, or other unſuſpected channel.

To ſtrengthen this conjecture, the writer of this account recollects to have heard, that, while Matthieſon was at the Bank to exchange a real note, one of his own forged notes came in for payment at the ſame time; and that this furniſhed the teller, to whom thoſe notes were preſented, with an occaſion to challenge Maxwell (for that was the name he went by) pretty roundly with having ſome knowledge of theſe forgeries, ſeveral of which had appeared, though no notice had been taken of them, leſt it ſhould give a check to the circulation of the real notes. This he ſteadily denied; yet there appeared ſome alteration in his countenance which denoted guilt, but nothing that could juſtify a detainer, and he was ſuffered to eſcape. Alarmed, however, by this, he knew he could no longer carry on his fraud with ſafety in England; and he was preparing to leave the kingdom, when next day [April 11], pretty early in the morning, the teller was told that his *friend* Maxwell (for ſo he was now ſtyled ironically) was ſeen with a bundle paſſing along Cornhill.

Whether the teller had diſcovered more of thoſe notes in the mean time, or had received particular inſtructions from his ſuperiors to detain Maxwell if he ſhould come again, is not material; but certain it is, that he inſtantly poſted after him, and, having come up with him, under pretence of having committed a miſtake in the tale of the money he had paid him the day before, perſuaded him to return with him to the Bank to have that miſtake rectified. Being aſked what the miſtake was, the other replied, that he believed he had paid half a guinea too much: on which Maxwell made light of the matter, and, putting his hand in his pocket, pulled out a guinea, and offered him that. The clerk ſaid, that would not do; the miſtake muſt be rectified by the books, or he muſt loſe his place. This had the deſired effect: he conſented to return, and in his way back left his bundle at a particular ſhop. As ſoon as he entered the Bank, he was told that he muſt ſtay till the Directors met; and he was ſhewn into a room, where the porters paſſing to and fro might ſee and obſerve his motions.

What paſſed between him and the Directors, the writer does not pretend to know; all that appeared was, his bundle was ſent for and examined, but there was nothing exceptionable found in that*.

* The contents of the bundle were, ſome linen and clothes, a pair of piſtols, 200 guineas in gold, ſome real Bank notes, ſome gravers, and watch-making tools, but nothing that had the appearance of any inſtrument to fabricate a Bank note.

Yet, notwithſtanding this harmleſs appearance, it was thought neceſſary, in a caſe of ſo much conſequence, to take him before Sir John Fielding, where, though he had eluded the queſtions that had been put to him by the Directors, he perhaps might not be able to evade thoſe put to him by the experience and ſagacity of that magiſtrate; by whom he was particularly aſked as to his family, his friends, his connections, his place of abode, his purſuits, and his profeſſions; to all which queſtions, he ſaid, he had reaſons for declining to anſwer. He was a citizen of the world, he ſaid, and knew not how he came into it, nor how he ſhould go out of it. Nothing, therefore, appearing againſt him, the Sollicitor of the Bank ſent him to a public houſe, attended by proper officers, while he ſhould conſult the magiſtrates about reſtoring to him his bundle, and ſetting him at large. Being placed in the inſide of the box next the window, he had not ſat long before he, lifting up the ſaſh as if to let in air, gave a ſudden ſpring, and jumped out; but, being immediately purſued, was taken and brought back. This confirmed the Sollicitor in his ſuſpicions that he was the man; otherwiſe why ſhould he fly, and leave his money and effects behind him? Being aſked his motive, his anſwer was, It was his humour. It was, however, determined not to let him go till he had undergone a ſecond examination by Sir John Fielding, who, before he was brought up, extended his enquiries to all his intelligence offices, and had collected all the information poſſible concerning him; when, to his utter confuſion, the advertiſement of the Darlington bank was produced, and he was found to anſwer the deſcription of Matthieſon, who was ſuſpected to have forged the notes that had been counterfeited of that bank. This being read to him, and being aſked if his name was not Matthieſon, inſtead of Maxwell, he all at once loſt his reſolution, turned pale, burſt into tears, and, after ſaying he found he was a dead man, he added, "And now I will confeſs all." He accordingly owned that he fabricated the notes in the manner already related; that the moment he had completed the number of notes he thought proper, he deſtroyed the plates and every implement which he had made uſe of in the fabrication; that his next buſineſs was to negociate thoſe notes, and then return and make out more; that he had an aſtoniſhing facility in doing all this, ſo that he could accompliſh the whole in leſs than a ſingle day. By what appeared upon the trial, it ſhould ſeem that he diſcovered to the Sollicitor of the Bank his method of counterfeiting the water-mark; but, upon enquiry, there is reaſon to doubt whether he made any particular diſcovery, only, in general, that he himſelf was the ſole fabricator.

Thus much we have been able to collect of a man, whoſe powers of imitation never were equalled, and, we hope, for the good of this country, never will in future.

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are derived from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of* January, 1780.

EXPORTED.

1779.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			
Wheat and Wheat Meal	155,003	7,781	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour	48,186	1,795	
Rye	3,162	37	
Barley	4,948	2,583	51,349 2 6 Bo.
Malt	74,287	Nil	
Oats	11,291	5,635	
Oatmeal	2,475	29	97 1 2 Dr.
Beans	19,075	6,384	
Peaſe	13,130	5,106	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	256		
Wheat Flour	9,239		
Barley and Bear	937		
Malt	3,022	------	3,157 Bount.
Oats	219		
Oatmeal	2,638		
Peaſe and Beans	897		

IMPORTED.

1779.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		
Wheat	3,508	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour	1,103	
Rye	1,693	
Barley	7,085	
Oats	331,858	2,849 18 7
Oatmeal	669	
Beans	14,591	
Peaſe	29,154	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat Flour	425	139 18 2¼
Oats	15,984	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1779.

Wheat		Rye		Barley		Oats		Beans	
s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
4	2½	2	11	2	5¼	1	9	3	0¼

N. B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1779.

NAVY.

DECEMBER 3, 1778.

1. THAT 70,000 men be employed for the ſea ſervice, for the year 1779, including 17,389 marines.

2. That a ſum, not exceeding 4l. per month per man, be allowed for maintaining the ſaid 70,000 men, for 13 months, including ordinance for ſea ſervice — 3,640,000 0 0

DECEMBER 17.

1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to the ſea and marine officers, for the year 1779 — 369,882 6 1

2. Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of ſhips of war in his Majeſty's yards, and other extraworks, over and above what are propoſed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1779 — 579,187 0 0

4,589,069 6 1

ARMY.

DECEMBER 15.

1. That a number of land forces, including 3,213 invalids, amounting to 30,346 effective men, commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers included, be employed for the ſervice of the year 1779.

2. For defraying the charge of 30,346 effective men for guards, garriſons, and other his Majeſty's forces in Great Britain, Jerſey, and Guernſey, for the year 1779 — 833,911 18 6

3. For the pay of the general and general ſtaff officers in Great Britain, for the year 1779 — 37,206 8 6½

4. For maintaining his Majeſty's forces and garriſons in the plantations and Africa, including thoſe in garriſon in Minorca and Gibraltar; and for proviſions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the Ceded Iſlands, and Africa, for the year 1779 — 1,103,118 11 0

5. For defraying the charge of the difference of pay between the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment of one regiment of light dragoons, and ſix regiments of foot, ſerving in North America, for the year 1779	52,923	1	6
6. For defraying the charge of five Hanoverian regiments of foot at Gibraltar and Minorca, and for proviſions for the three battalions of the ſaid troops at Gibraltar, for the year 1779	56,074	19	4½
7. For defraying the charge of 13,472 men of the troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy, purſuant to treaty, for the year 1779	367,203	9	10
8. For defraying the charge of two regiments of Hanau, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy, purſuant to treaty with the hereditary Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, for the year 1779	35,441	3	2¾
9. For defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy, purſuant to treaty with the reigning Prince of Waldeck, for the year 1779	17,498	3	2¾
10. For defraying the charge of 4300 men, the troops of the reigning Duke of Brunſwick, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy, for the year 1779	93,947	15	8
11. For defraying the charge of 1447 men, the troops of the Margrave of Brandeburgh Anſpach, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy, for the year 1779	39,644	14	3
12. To make good a deficiency in the ſums voted for the troops of the Margrave of Brandeburgh Anſpach, in the pay of Great Britain, being the charge of an augmentation to the ſaid troops, from Nov. 1, 1777, to Dec. 24, 1778	7,958	10	11½
13. For defraying the charge of a corps of foot of Anhalt Zerbſt, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy, purſuant to treaty with the reigning Prince of Anhalt Zerbſt, for the year 1779	16,630	11	9¼
14. For defraying the charge of proviſions for the foreign troops ſerving in North America, in the pay of Great Britain, for the year 1779	48,668	3	9¼
15. For defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, purſuant to treaties, for the year 1779	27,683	14	0
16. For defraying the charge of the embodied militia of the ſeveral counties of South Britain, and of three regiments of fencible men in North Britain, for the year 1779	610,882	5	0
17. For defraying the charge of the cloathing for the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1779	85,760	17	2

For

18. For defraying the charge of additional companies to the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1778	5,421	18	6
19. For defraying the charge of cloathing for additional companies to the embodied militia in South Britain, for the year 1778	2,656	4	0
20. For defraying the charge of several augmentations to his Majesty's forces, for the year 1779	259,713	3	4
FEBRUARY 23, 1779.			
1. On account of the reduced officers of his Majesty's land forces and marines, for the year 1779	87,703	8	4
2. For defraying the charge for allowances to several private gentlemen of the two troops of horse guards reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse guards, for the year 1779	628	2	11
3. Towards defraying the charge of the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, for the year 1779	103,127	14	2
MARCH 25.			
1. For completing the whole charge of the pay of one regiment of light dragoons, and six regiments of foot, which of late years have been paid in part of the revenues of the kingdom of Ireland, and are now serving in North America, for the year 1779	63,195	11	10
2. For defraying the charge of a regiment of fencible men, to be forthwith raised in North Britain, for the year 1779	19,584	2	0
MARCH 29.			
Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred, between the 31st Jan. 1778, and the 1st Feb. 1779, and not provided for by parliament	2,026,137	4	4½
APRIL 22.			
1. To make good the charge of forming three regiments of light dragoons of 411 men each, out of the light troops belonging to the regiments of dragoon guards, and dragoons in Great Britain, including the charge of bringing General Elliot's and Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne's regiments to the like establishment, for the year 1779	6,246	5	6
2. For defraying the charge of an augmentation to a corps of Royal Highland emigrants, serving in North America, from the 25th May, 1779, to the 24th Dec. following, both days inclusive, being 214 days	4,113	6	8
	5,913,081	9	5

ORDNANCE.

DECEMBER 15, 1778.

1. For the charge of the office of Ordnance for the land ſervice, for the year 1779	395,438	15	4
2. For defraying the expence of ſervices performed by the office of Ordnance for land ſervice, and not provided for by parliament in the year 1778	521,935	13	5
	917,374	8	9

MISSCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEBRUAURY 18, 1779.

1. To be advanced to the governor and company of the merchants of England, trading into the Levant ſea, to be applied in aſſiſting the ſaid company in carrying on their trade	5,000	0	0
2. For the expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges, in the Highlands of North Britain	6,995	0	0

MAY 3.

1. For the augmentation of the ſallaries of the Puiſne Judges of the courts of King's-bench and Common-pleas, and the Puiſne Barons of the Coif of the court of Exchequer at Weſtminſter, for the time being, in the proportion of 400l. to each of the ſaid judges and barons in every year	3,600	0	0
2. For the augmentation of the ſalary of the chief baron of the Exchequer for the time being, per ann.	500	0	0

MAY 6.

1. To make good the ſum iſſued by his Majeſty's orders in purſuance of the addreſſes of the Houſe	32,968	2	8
2. To replace the ſum iſſued by his Majeſty's orders to Mr. Duncan Campbell, for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the River Thames	13,586	7	0

MAY 27.

1. To make good the ſum iſſued by his Majeſty's orders, to be applied for the relief and benefit of ſundry American civil officers, and others who have ſuffered on account of their attachment to his Majeſty's government	60,527	3	6
For defraying expences attending general ſurveys of his Majeſty's dominions in North America, for the year 1779	2,041	0	0
2. To be paid to James Berkenhout, Eſq; and Thomas Clarke of the town of Leeds, dyer, upon a proper diſcovery to be made by them, for the uſe of the public, of their method of dying ſcarlet and crimſon, as well as other colours, on linnen and cotton	5,000	0	0

For

For defraying the charges of the following civil eſtabliſhments, and other incidental expences attending the ſame; to wit, in America:

1. His Majeſty's iſland of St. John's	3250l.			
2. His Majeſty's colony of Georgia	2900l.			
3. His Majeſty's colony of Nova Scotia	4796l.			
4. His Majeſty's colony of Eaſt Florida	4950l.			
5. His Majeſty's colony of Weſt Florida	4900l.			
		20,796	0	0

JUNE 15.

For repairing, maintaining, and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, for the year 1780. 13,000 0 0

164,013 13 2

LOANS DISCHARGED.

DECEMBER 14, 1778.

1. For paying off and diſcharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled, "An act for raiſing a certain ſum of money by loans or Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the year 1778," and charged on the firſt aids to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament 1,500,000 0 0

2. For paying off and diſcharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled, "An act for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned," and charged to the firſt aids to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament 1,000,000 0 0

APRIL 1, 1779.

For paying off and diſcharging the Exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled, "An act for raiſing a farther ſum of money, by loans or Exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the year 1778." 500,000 0 0

For diſcharging and paying off the prizes of the lottery, of the year 1778 490,000 0 0

3,490,000 0 0

DEFICIENCIES.

APRIL 1.

1. To replace to the ſinking fund, the like ſum paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency on the 5th July, 1778, of the fund eſtabliſhed for paying annuities, granted by an act made in the

31ſt year of his late Majeſty, toward the ſupply granted for the year 1758	40,540	0	0
2. To replace to the ſinking fund, the like ſum paid out of the ſame, to make good the deficiency on the 5th July, 1778, of the fund eſtabliſhed for paying annuities, granted by an act made in the 18th year of his preſent Majeſty, towards the ſupply granted for year the 1778	98,891	3	8
MAY 6.			
To make good the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of the year 1778	66,744	4	3¾
To make good the deficiency of the land tax	250,000	0	0
To make good the deficiency of the malt tax	200,000	0	0
	656,175	7	11¾
Total of ſupplies	15,729,654	5	4¾

WAYS *and* MEANS *for raiſing the above Supplies, granted to his Majeſty, for the Service of the Year* 1778.

DECEMBER 5, 1778.

1. That the ſum of four ſhillings in the pound, and no more, be raiſed within the ſpace of one year, from the twenty-fifth day of March, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, penſions, offices, and perſonal eſtates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; snd that a proportionable ceſs, according to the ninth article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland	2,000,000	0	0
2. That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which, by an act of parliament of the eighteenth year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, have continuance to the twenty-fourth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, be further continued, and charged upon all malt which ſhall be made, and all mum which ſhall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry which ſhall be made for ſale, within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the twenty third day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, to the twenty fourth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty	750,000	0	0

FEBRUARY 25, 1779.

That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the ſum of 7,000,000l. be raiſed by annuities,

nuities, and the further ſum of 490,000l. by a lottery in manner following; that is to ſay,

That every contributor to the ſaid 7,000,000l. ſhall, for every 100l. contributed, be entitled to an annuity after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. redeemable by parliament; and alſo to a further annuity of 3l. 15s. per cent. per ann. to continue for a certain term of twenty-nine years, and then to ceaſe; the ſaid annuity of 3l. per cent. and of 3l. 15s. per cent. to commence from the 15th day of January, 1779, and to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England, and to be paid half yearly on the 5th day of July, and the 5th day of January in every year, and ſhall be charged and chargeable upon, and payable out of, a fund to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the ſinking fund ſhall be a collateral ſecurity:

That every contributor, or his or her repreſentative, who ſhall chuſe to have and receive a life annuity inſtead of the ſaid annuity of 3l. 15s. per cent. per ann. to continue for a certain term of twenty-nine years as aforeſaid, ſhall, upon completing the whole of his or her contribution money, and ſignifying ſuch his or her intention to the chief caſhier of the governor and company of the bank of England, have a certificate ſigned by him the ſaid caſhier, expreſſing the ſum ſo paid by ſuch contributor, or his or her repreſentative, and the annuity after the rate of 3l. 15s. per cent. per ann. to which ſuch perſon is entitled in reſpect of the ſame; and ſhall, upon producing ſuch certificate to the auditor of the receipt of his Majeſty's Exchequer, at any time on or before the 22d day of December next, have and be entitled to a like annuity, after the rate of 3l. 15s. per cent. per ann. to be paid at the receipt of the Exchequer, to commence from the 5th day of January, 1779, and to be paid and payable half yearly, on the 5th day of July and the 5th day of January in every year, during the life of ſuch nominee as he or ſhe ſhall appoint at the time of delivering ſuch certificate to the ſaid auditor of the receipt of the Exchequer, out of the ſaid fund to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of parliament, and for which the ſinking fund is to be a collateral ſecurity:

That every contributor towards raiſing the ſum of 7,000,000l. ſhall, for every 1000l. by him or

her

her contributed, be entitled to ſeven tickets in a lottery to conſiſt of 49,000 tickets, amounting to 490,000l. upon payment of the further ſum of 10l. for each ticket; the ſaid 490,000l. to be diſtributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the ſaid lottery, which ſhall be paid in money at the bank of England to ſuch proprietors, upon demand, as ſoon after the 1ſt day of March, 1780, as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatſoever:

That every contributor ſhall, on or before the 2d of March next, make a depoſit of 15l. per cent. on ſuch ſum as he or ſhe ſhall chuſe to ſubſcribe towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 7,000,000l. with the chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the bank of England; and alſo a depoſit of 15l. per cent. with the ſaid caſhier or caſhiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 490,000l. by a lottery; as a ſecurity for making the future payments, reſpectively, on or before the days or times hereinafter limited; that is to ſay, on 7,000,000l. for annuities, 10l. per cent. on or before the 23d day of April next; 15l. per cent. on or before the 28th day of May next; 10l. per cent. on or before the 25th day of June next; 15l. per cent. on or before the 23d day of July next; 15l. per cent. on or before the 27th day of Auguſt next; 10l. per cent. on or before the 22d day of October next; 10l. per cent. on or before the 19th day of November next. On the lottery for 490,000l. 20l. per cent. on or before the 9th day of April next; 25l. per cent. on or before the 7th day of May next; 20l. per cent. on or before the 11th day of June next; 20l. per cent. on or before the 8th day of October next.

That all the monies, ſo to be received by the ſaid chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the bank of England, ſhall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to ſuch ſervices as ſhall then have been voted in this ſeſſion of parliament:

That every contributor who ſhall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the ſaid ſum of 7,000,000l. to be contributed for annuities as aforeſaid, at any time before the 19th day of October next, or on account of his or her ſhare in the ſaid lottery, on or before the 8th day of June next, ſhall be allowed an intereſt, by way of diſcount, after the rate

of

of 3l. per cent. per ann. on the ſums ſo completing his or her contribution money, reſpectively, to be computed from the day of completing the ſame to the 19th day of November next, in regard to the ſum to be paid for the ſaid annuities, and to the 8th day of October next, in reſpect of the ſum to be paid on account of the ſaid lottery; and that all ſuch perſons as ſhall make their full payments on the ſaid lottery, ſhall have their tickets delivered to them as ſoon as they can conveniently be made out:

That the annuities after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. to be payable in reſpect of the ſaid 7,000,000l. to be contributed as aforeſaid, ſhall, from the time of their commencement, be added to and made one joint ſtock with the 3l. per cent. annuities conſolidated, per acts 25th, 28th, 29th, 31ſt, 32d, and 33d Georgii IIdi. and by ſeveral ſubſequent acts, and ſhall be payable and transferrable at the bank of England, and ſubject to redemption in the ſame manner as the ſaid 3l. per cent. conſolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there and redeemable by parliament — 7,490,000 0 0

MAY 6.

That the ſum of fifteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings, and five pence farthing, remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer on the 5th day of January, 1779, of the ſurpluſſes of the ſeveral ſtamp duties granted by the acts of the thirty-ſecond year of King George the Second, and of the ſecond and fifth years of his preſent Majeſty, for augmenting the ſalaries of the judges of England and Wales, after payment of the ſeveral allowances then due and payable out of the ſame, be granted to his Majeſty, to be applied to the augmentation of the ſalaries of the chief baron of the court of Exchequer at Weſtminſter, and of the Puiſne Juſtices of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and the Puiſne Barons of the Coif of the court of Exchequer at Weſtminſter — 15,297 10 5¼

JUNE 1.

1. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of two million ſeventy-one thouſand eight hundred and fifty-four pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and eight pence halfpenny, out of ſuch monies as have ariſen, or ſhall or may ariſe, of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, or

overplus

overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the fund commonly called the ſinking fund	2,71,854	13	8½
2. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the ſum of one million five hundred thouſand pounds, be raiſed by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and ſuch Exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with intereſt thereupon, on or before the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, to be exchanged and received in payment in ſuch manner as Exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment	1,500,000	0	0
3. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the further ſum of one million nine hundred thouſand pounds, be raiſed by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and ſuch Exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with intereſt thereupon, on or before the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, to be exchanged and received in payment in ſuch manner as Exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment	1,900,000	0	0
4. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be applied the ſum of two thouſand ſeven hundred ſixty-three pounds and one ſhilling, remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer on the fifth day of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, ſubject to the diſpoſition of parliament, excluſive of the ſurplus monies then remaining of the ſinking fund	2,763	0	0
Total of ways and means	15,729,915	4	1¾
Exceſs of ways and means	260	18	9

Note, *A vote of credit of one million was alſo granted this ſeſſion, and is charged on the next aids.*

The additional public debt funded and provided for this year, amounts to ſeven millions; the intereſt of which, at 3 per cent. per ann. is	210,000	0	0
The annuity for twenty-nine years, of 3l. 15s. per cent. per ann.	262,500	0	0
In all	472,500	0	0

This

This ſum (by acts paſſed in purſuance of the reſolutions of the 1ſt of March) is propoſed to be raiſed in the following manner:

An additional duty of five per cent. on the full produce of the exciſe and cuſtoms, beer and ale, ſoap, candles and hides excepted	282,109	0	0
A tax on poſt horſes of 1 d. per horſe per mile	164,250	0	0
An additional duty of 5 per cent. on cambrick	36,000	0	0
	482,359	0	0
Exceſs of taxes	9,859	0	0

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, November 25*th*, 1778.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I Have called you together in a conjuncture which demands your moſt ſerious attention.

In the time of profound peace, without pretence of provocation or colour of complaint, the court of France hath not forborne to diſturb the public tranquility, in violation of the faith of treaties, and the general rights of ſovereigns, at firſt by the clandeſtine ſupply of arms and other aid to my revolted ſubjects in North America, afterwards by avowing openly their ſupport, and entering into formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion, and at length by committing open hoſtilities and depredations on my faithful ſubjects, and by an actual invaſion of my dominions in America and the Weſt Indies.

It is, I truſt, unneceſſary for me to aſſure you, that the ſame care and concern for the happineſs of my people, which induced me to endeavour to prevent the calamities of war, will make me deſirous to ſee a reſtoration of the bleſſings of peace, whenever it can be effected with perfect honour, and with ſecurity to the rights of this country.

In the mean time, I have not neglected to take the proper and neceſſary meaſures for diſappointing the malignant deſigns of our enemies, and alſo for making general repriſals; and although my efforts have not been attended with all the ſucceſs, which the juſtice of our cauſe and the vigour of our exertions ſeemed to promiſe, yet the extenſive commerce of my ſubjects has been protected in moſt of its branches, and large repriſals have been made upon the injurious aggreſſors, by the vigilance of my fleets, and by the active and enterprizing ſpirit of my people.

The great armaments of other powers, however friendly and ſincere their profeſſions, however juſt and honourable their purpoſes, muſt neceſſarily engage our attention.

It would have afforded me very great ſatisfaction to have informed you, that the conciliatory meaſures, planned by the wiſdom and temper of parliament, had taken the deſired effect, and brought the troubles in North America to a happy concluſion.

In this ſituation of affairs, the national honour and ſecurity call ſo loudly upon us for the moſt active exertions, that I cannot doubt of your heartieſt concurrence and ſupport. From the vigour of your councils, and the conduct and intrepidity of my officers and forces

by

by sea and land, I hope, under the blessing of God, to derive the means of vindicating and maintaining the honour of my crown, and the interests of my people, against all our enemies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I will order the proper estimates for the service of the ensuing year to be laid before you; and when you consider the importance of the objects for which we are contending, you will, I doubt not, grant me such supplies as you shall judge necessary for the public service, and adequate to the present emergency.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have, according to the powers vested in me for that purpose, called forth the militia, to assist in the interior defence of this country; and I have, with the greatest and truest satisfaction, been myself a witness of that public spirit, that steady ardour, and that love of their country, which animate and unite all ranks of my faithful subjects, and which cannot fail of making us safe at home, and respected abroad.

The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne:

We have the strongest sense of the importance of those objects which render the present conjuncture worthy of the most serious attention.

The disturbance of the public tranquillity by the court of France, without pretence of provocation or colour of complaint, the clandestine assistance, the avowed support, the formal engagements which, at different periods, that court has not thought it inconsistent with its honour, to afford to your Majesty's revolted subjects in North America, and to conclude with the leaders of rebellion, excite in our breasts a just abhorrence of the violation of every public principle which such a conduct manifests, and a determination to concur in every measure, which may enable your Majesty to resent with effect, the hostilities committed on your faithful subjects, and the actual invasion of your Majesty's dominions in America and the West Indies.

We beg leave to express our grateful sense of the tender concern for the happiness of your people, which has uniformly induced your Majesty to endeavour to prevent the calamities of war, and will make your Majesty desirous to see the return of peace, whenever it can be effected with perfect honour and security to the rights of this country.

At the same time we return your Majesty our dutiful thanks for your great care in taking the proper and necessary measures for disappointing the malignant designs of our enemies, and also for making general reprisals, and for the protection which has been derived from the vigilance of your

Majeſty's fleets to our extenſive commerce, in moſt of its branches, while that of the enemy has materially ſuffered by the active and enterprizing ſpirit of our fellow-ſubjects: And we hope, although your Majeſty's efforts have not hitherto been attended with all the ſucceſs, which the juſtice of our cauſe and the vigour of our exertions ſeemed to promiſe, that conſequences more adequate to both may reſult from the animated execution of firm and active councils, which the time requires, and with which the ſpirited perſeverance of the Britiſh nation has ſo often ſurmounted the greateſt difficulties.

It is with concern we learn, that the conciliatory meaſures of parliament have not yet had the good effect with your Majeſty's revolted ſubjects, which was due to the wiſdom and temper with which they were planned.

In this ſituation of affairs, fully ſenſible that the national honour and ſecurity loudly calls for the moſt active exertions, we will ſtrenuouſly concur in ſupporting your Majeſty, that, under the bleſſing of God, means may be derived from the conduct and intrepidity of your Majeſty's officers and forces, by ſea and land, and the yet undaunted ſpirit of the nation, to vindicate and maintain the honour of the crown, and the intereſts of the people of Great Britain.

We return your Majeſty our cordial acknowledgements for having called forth the militia, to aſſiſt in the interior defence of this country; and it is with joy and exultation we hear the gracious teſtimony your Majeſty is pleaſed to bear to the public ſpirit, the ſteady ardour, and love of their country, which animate that national force, and unite all ranks of your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in giving ſignal proofs, to all the world, of a loyalty and zeal which muſt render us ſafe at home and reſpected abroad.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this loyal and dutiful addreſs: The zeal you ſhew for my honour and ſupport, and the firmneſs and vigour you manifeſt in the preſent conjuncture, cannot fail to produce the beſt effects; it muſt add confidence to my people, and encourage animated efforts to withſtand, oppoſe, and ſubdue, every hoſtile attack upon the honour and intereſts of my kingdoms.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We acknowledge with the utmoſt gratitude your Majeſty's paternal regard for the happineſs of your people, in your earneſt and uniform endeavours to preſerve the public tranquillity, and the good faith and uprightneſs of your Majeſty's conduct to all foreign powers: And we aſſure your Majeſty, that we have ſeen with concern and indignation, that tran-

quillity

quillity disturbed by the court of France, without the least pretence of provocation, or colour of complaint; and we have, with the warmest emotions of resentment, marked the progress of their malignant designs against this country, first by a clandestine aid and supply of arms to your Majesty's revolted subjects in North America; afterwards, in violation of the faith of treaties, and contrary to the rights and common interest of every sovereign state in Europe possessed of colonies and dependencies, by entering into and avowing formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion; and, at length, by committing open hostilities and depredations, and by actually invading part of your Majesty's dominions in America and the West Indies.

We cannot but feel concern and regret, that the measures taken by your Majesty, for disappointing these hostile and malignant designs, have not been attended with all the success which the justice of the cause, and the vigour of the exertions, seemed to promise; yet, we have at the same time seen with great satisfaction, the extensive commerce of your Majesty's subjects protected in most of its branches, and large reprisals made on the injurious aggressors, by the vigilance of your Majesty's fleets, and the active spirit of the nation.

It would have given your faithful Commons the truest happiness, to have received the communication from your Majesty, that the just and humane purposes of your Majesty and your Parliament, for quieting the minds of your revolted subjects, had taken the desired effect, and had brought the troubles in North America to a happy conclusion.

Your faithful Commons do most heartily concur with your Majesty, in the just approbation you have been pleased to express of the public spirit which has so conspicuously animated all ranks of your Majesty's faithful subjects, to stand forth, at this time of danger, in the service of the militia, who, by their discipline and steady perseverance in their duty, have enabled your Majesty to avail yourself of that constitutional force for the defence of this country.

Your Majesty may rely on the hearty and zealous concurrence and assistance of your faithful Commons, in enabling your Majesty to make the most active and vigorous exertions by sea and land, for vindicating and establishing the national honour and security; and we beg leave to declare our stedfast resolution, and renew our solemn assurances to your Majesty, that this House, convinced of the importance of the objects for which we are contending, and impelled by every motive of duty and interest that can animate the hearts of Britons, will effectually assist your Majesty in the prosecution of the present just and necessary war; and that we will, to the utmost of our power, support your Majesty against all your enemies.

PROTESTS *of the* LORDS.

Die Lunæ, Decem. 7^mo.

Moved,

THAT an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express to his Majesty the displea-

ſure of this Houſe, at a certain manifeſto and proclamation, dated the third day of October, 1778, and publiſhed in America under the hands and ſeals of the Earl of Carliſle, Sir Henry Clinton, Knt. of the Bath, and William Eden, Eſq; commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to the colonies, and counterſigned by Adam Ferguſon, Eſq; ſecretary to the commiſſion; the ſaid manifeſto containing a declaration of the following tenour:

"If there be any perſons, who, diveſted of miſtaken reſentments, and uninfluenced by ſelfiſh intereſts, really think it is for the benefit of the colonies, to ſeparate themſelves from Great Britain, and that ſo ſeparated they will find a conſtitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their proſperity, than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are empowered and diſpoſed to renew and improve; with ſuch perſons we will not diſpute a poſition, which ſeems to be ſufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change which the maintaining ſuch a poſition muſt make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war, more eſpecially when to this poſition is added the pretended alliance with the court of France. The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to diſtreſs a people, ſtill conſidered as our fellow-ſubjects, and to deſolate a country, ſhortly to become again a ſource of mutual advantage: but when that country profeſſes the unnatural deſign, not only of eſtranging herſelf from us, but of mortgaging herſelf, and her reſources, to our enemies, the whole conteſt is changed, and the queſtion is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, deſtroy or render uſeleſs a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under ſuch circumſtances, the laws of ſelf-preſervation muſt direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the Britiſh colonies are to become an acceſſion to France, will direct her to render that acceſſion of as little avail as poſſible to her enemies."

To acquaint his Majeſty with the ſenſe of this Houſe, that the ſaid commiſſioners had no authority whatſoever, under the act of parliament, in virtue of which they were appointed by his Majeſty, to make the ſaid declaration, or to make any declaration to the ſame, or to the like purport, nor can this Houſe be eaſily brought to believe that the ſaid commiſſioners derived any ſuch authority from his Majeſty's inſtructions.

Humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that ſo much of the ſaid manifeſto as contains the ſaid declaration, be publicly diſavowed by his Majeſty, as containing matter inconſiſtent with the humanity and generous courage which, at all times, have diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh nation, ſubverſive of the maxims which have been eſtabliſhed among Chriſtian and civilized communities, derogatory to the dignity of the crown of this realm, tending to debaſe the ſpirit, and ſubvert the diſcipline of his Majeſty's armies, and to expoſe his Majeſty's innocent ſubjects, in all parts of his

his dominions, to cruel and ruinous retaliations.

After a long debate, the question was put, and carried in the negative. Contents 37. Non-contents 71, including proxies.

Dissentient,

1st. Because the public law of nations, in affirmance of the dictates of nature, and the precepts of revealed religion, forbids us to resort to the extremes of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any case to carry on war for the purpose of desolation. We know that the rights of war are odious, and instead of being extended upon loose constructions and speculations of danger, ought to be bound up and limited by all the restraints of the most rigorous construction. We are shocked to see the first law of nature, self-preservation, perverted and abused into a principle destructive of all other laws; and a rule laid down, by which our own safety is rendered incompatible with the prosperity of mankind. Those objects of war, which cannot be compassed by fair and honourable hostility, ought not to be compassed at all. An end that has no means, but such as are unlawful, is an unlawful end. The manifesto expresly founds the change it announces from a qualified and mitigated war, to a war of extremity and desolation, on a certainty that the provinces must be independent, and must become an accession to the strength of an enemy. In the midst of the calamities, by which our loss of empire has been preceded and accompanied; in the midst of our apprehensions for the farther calamities which impend over us, it is a matter of fresh grief and accumulated shame, to see from a commission under the great seal of this kingdom, a declaration for desolating a vast continent, solely because we had not the wisdom to retain, or the power to subdue it.

2dly. Because the avowal of a deliberate purpose of violating the law of nations must give an alarm to every state in Europe. All commonwealths have a concern in that law, and are its natural avengers. At this time, surrounded by enemies, and destitute of all allies, it is not necessary to sharpen and embitter the hostility of declared foes, or to provoke the enmity of neutral states. We trust that by the natural strength of this kingdom, we are secured from a foreign conquest, but no nation is secured from the invasion and incursions of enemies. And it seems to us the height of frenzy, as well as wickedness, to expose this country to cruel depredations, and other outrages too shocking to mention (but which are all contained in the idea of the extremes of war and desolation) by establishing a false, shameful, and pernicious maxim, that where we have no interest to preserve, we are called upon by necessity to destroy. This kingdom has long enjoyed a profound internal peace, and has flourished above all others in the arts and enjoyments of that happy state. It has been the admiration of the world for its cultivation and its plenty: for the comforts of the poor, the splendor of the rich, and the content and prosperity of all. This situation of safety may be attributed to the greatness of our power. It is more becoming, and more true, that we ought to

attribute that ſafety, and the power which procured it, to the ancient juſtice, honour, humanity, and generoſity of this kingdom, which brought down the bleſſing of providence on a people who made their proſperity a benefit to the world, and intereſted all nations in their fortune, whoſe example of mildneſs and benignity at once humanized others, and rendered itſelf inviolable. In departing from thoſe ſolid principles, and vainly truſting to the fragility of human force, and to the efficacy of arms, rendered impotent by their perverſion, we lay down principles, and furniſh examples of the moſt atrocious barbarity. We are to dread that all our power, peace, and opulence ſhould vaniſh like a dream, and that the cruelties which we think ſafe to exerciſe, becauſe their immediate object is remote, be brought to the coaſts, perhaps to the boſom of this kingdom.

3dly. Becauſe, if the explanation given in debate, be expreſſive of the true ſenſe of the article in the manifeſto, ſuch explanation ought to be made, and by as high authority as that under which the exceptionable article was originally publiſhed. The natural and obvious ſenſe indicates, that the extremes of war had hitherto been checked; that his Majeſty's generals had hitherto foreborne (upon principles of benignity and policy) to deſolate the country; but that the whole nature, and future conduct of the war muſt be changed, in order to render the American acceſſion of as little avail to France as poſſible. This, in our apprehenſion, conveys a menace of carrying the war to extremes and to deſolation, or it means nothing. And as ſome ſpeeches in the Houſe (however palliated) and as ſome acts of ſingular cruelty, and perfectly conformable to the apparent ideas in the manifeſto, have lately been exerciſed, it becomes the more neceſſary, for the honour and ſafety of this nation, that this explanation ſhould be made. As it is refuſed, we have only to clear ourſelves to our conſciences, to our country, to our neighbours, and to every individual who may ſuffer in conſequence of this atrocious menace, of all part in the guilt, or in the evils that may become its puniſhment. And we chuſe to draw ourſelves out, and to diſtinguiſh ourſelves to poſterity, as not being the firſt to renew, to approve, or to tolerate, the return of that ferocity and barbariſm in war, which a beneficent religion, and enlightened manners, and true military honour, had for a long time baniſhed from the Chriſtian world.

Camden,	Rockingham,
Abingdon,	Tankerville,
Fitzwilliam,	Ponſonby,
Forteſcue,	Derby,
Grafton,	Manchester,
Craven,	Portland,
J. St. Aſaph,	Beaulieu,
Richmond,	Harcourt,
Bolton,	Effingham,
Radnor,	Wycombe,
Egremont,	Scarborough,
Abergavenny,	Cholmondeley,
Coventry,	Devonſhire,
De Ferrars,	Foley,
Ferrers,	Spencer,
Stanhope.	

Die

Die Veneris, Apr. 23tio.

Moved,

"THAT an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to remove the Right Hon. John Earl of Sandwich, firſt commiſſioner for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, from the ſaid office of firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty."

After much debate, the queſtion was put, and carried in the negative. Contents 39. Non-contents 78.

Diſſentient,

Becauſe, as it is highly becoming this great council of the nation to addreſs his Majeſty for the removal of any Miniſter for neglect of duty or incapacity, in order to prevent public detriment; ſo we conceive the notoriety of the facts in this debate ſufficiently warrants, and the preſent alarming ſituation of public affairs loudly calls for, this interpoſition.

Abingdon,	Bolton,
Courtenay,	Harcourt,
Craven,	Grafton,
King,	Fitzwilliam,
Forteſcue,	Richmond,
Spencer,	Stamford,
Ferrers,	Effingham,
Mancheſter,	Portland,
Rockingham,	Camden,
Briſtol,	Egremont,
Scarborough,	Pembroke,
Radnor,	De Ferrars,
Wycombe.	

Diſſentient,

Becauſe, having made the motion alluded to in the above diſſent, I think it incumbent upon me to let poſterity know the particular grounds I made that motion upon.

1ſt. Becauſe, ſince the year 1771, there has been 6,917,872l. 5s. 0¼. granted for naval purpoſes, more than was granted in an equal number of years, between 1751 and 1759, for the uſe of the navy, although we had been four years at war with France within that period.

2dly. Becauſe the navy of England appears to be reduced from what it was in the year 1771, when the preſent firſt Lord of the Admiralty ſucceeded to the head of that board, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums granted for its ſupport and increaſe ſince that time.

3dly. Becauſe it appears, after having received ſuch repeated intelligence as hath been acknowledged to have been received from the 3d of January, 1778, to the 27th of April following, of the equipment and progreſs of the Toulon ſquadron, to their ſailing on the 13th of April, 1778; the not ſending a ſquadron into the Midditerranean, to watch the motions of, and endeavour to intercept, the ſaid French ſquadron from paſſing the Straits, nor ſending any reinforcement to Vice Admiral Lord Howe, or even diſpatching Vice Admiral Byron till the 9th of June, 1778, was expoſing the fleet as well as army of England, then employed in America, to a very ſuperior force of France.

4thly. Becauſe it appears the ſending of Admiral Keppel off Breſt the 13th of June, with twenty ſail of the line, when the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty knew, or ought to have

known, that the French fleet then actually at Breſt, and fitting for ſea, conſiſted of 32 ſhips of the line, beſides many heavy frigates, might have been productive at that time of the moſt fatal conſequences to the only conſiderable naval force this kingdom had then ready for its protection, but alſo to the trade, and even the ports of theſe kingdoms. And if Admiral Keppel had remained with his 20 ſail of the line off Breſt, he muſt with thoſe ſhips have engaged the French fleet of 30 ſail of the line, who ſailed on the 8th of July, as Admiral Keppel could not get the reinforcement even of four ſhips of the line to join him till the 9th of July, although he was then at St. Helens for that purpoſe.

5thly. Becauſe it appears we loſt that valuable iſland of Dominica, for want of timely reinforcements and proper inſtructions being ſent to Admiral Barrington.

6thly. Becauſe, for want of the ſmalleſt naval force being ſent to the coaſt of Africa, we have alſo loſt the valuable ſtation of Senegal, which might in time, with proper attention, have opened new markets for our drooping manufactures.

7thly. Becauſe it appears that the Admiralty, without any deliberation whatſoever, having ſo precipitately ordered a court martial upon a commander in chief, of great rank and character, which Admiral Keppel bears in his Majeſty's fleet, was fruſtrating the ſalutary intentions of that diſcretionary power, lodged by the conſtitution in the lords commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, whereby all malicious and ill-founded charges (by whomſoever exhibited) may be avoided, and the union and diſcipline of the ſervice not interrupted.

BRISTOL.

June 17th the following Meſſage was ſent by the King to both Houſes of Parliament.

GEORGE R.

THE ambaſſador of the King of Spain having delivered a paper to Lord Viſcount Weymouth, and ſignified that he has received orders from his court, immediately to withdraw from this country; his Majeſty has judged it neceſſary to direct a copy of that paper to be laid before both Houſes of parliament, as a matter of the higheſt importance to the crown and people; and his Majeſty acquaints them at the ſame time that he has found himſelf obliged, in conſequence of this hoſtile declaration, to recall his ambaſſador from Madrid.

His Majeſty declares, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that his deſire to preſerve and to cultivate peace and friendly intercourſe with the court of Spain, has been uniform and ſincere; and that his conduct towards that power has been guided by no other motives or principles than thoſe of good faith, honour, and juſtice; and his Majeſty ſees with the greater ſurpriſe the pretences on which this declaration is grounded, as ſome of the grievances enumerated in that paper have never come to the knowledge of his Majeſty, either by repreſentation on the part of the Catholick King, or by intelligence from any other quarter; and in all thoſe caſes where appli-

cations

cations have been received, the matter of complaint has been treated with the utmoſt attention, and put into a courſe of enquiry and redreſs.

His Majeſty has the firmeſt confidence, that his parliament will, with that zeal and public ſpirit, which he has ſo often experienced, ſupport his Majeſty in his reſolution, to exert all the power, and all the reſources of the nation, to reſiſt and repel any hoſtile attempts of the court of Spain; and that, by the bleſſing of God, on the rectitude of his intentions, and the equity of his cauſe, his Majeſty will be able to withſtand and defeat the unjuſt and dangerous enterpriſes of his enemies, againſt the honour of his crown, and the commerce, the rights, and the common intereſts of all his ſubjects.

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

"Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious meſſage, and communication of the paper delivered to Lord Viſcount Weymouth by the ambaſſador of the King of Spain, which we cannot but conſider as a matter of the higheſt importance to your Majeſty's crown and people; and for acquainting us, that in conſequence of this hoſtile declaration, your Majeſty had found yourſelf obliged to give orders to your ambaſſador to withdraw from that court.

We beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that among the many proofs we have received of your Majeſty's conſtant care and concern for the ſafety and happineſs of your people, your Majeſty's declaration of your ſincere deſire to preſerve and to cultivate peace and friendly intercourſe with the court of Spain, cannot fail to inſpire us with the higheſt ſentiments of gratitude and attachment; and that, animated by your Majeſty's example, we will, with unſhaken fidelity and reſolution, and with our lives and fortunes, ſtand by and ſupport your Majeſty againſt all the hoſtile deſigns and attempts of your enemies againſt the honour of your crown, and the rights and common intereſts of all your Majeſty's ſubjects."

Upon the motion for the above addreſs, an amendment was propoſed by adding the following words:

"That in a moment ſo critical as that which now preſents itſelf to the conſideration of parliament, the moſt awful this country has ever experienced, it would be deceiving his Majeſty, and the nation, if at the ſame time that we lament the fatal effect of thoſe councils, which, by dividing and waſting the force of the empire, by civil wars, incited our natural enemies to take advantage of our weak and diſtracted condition; were we not to repreſent to his Majeſty, that the only means of reſiſting the powerful combination that now threatens this country, will be by a total change of that ſyſtem

ſyſtem that has involved us in our preſent difficulties in America, in Ireland, and at home; by ſuch means, attended with prudent œconomy and a due exertion of the forces of a free and united people, we truſt that his Majeſty, with the aſſiſtance of Divine Providence, will be able to withſtand all his enemies, and to reſtore Great Britain to its former reſpected and happy ſituation."

The queſtion being put, that thoſe words ſtand part of the addreſs, it was carried in the negative. Contents 32. Non-contents 57.

Diſſentient,

Becauſe the amendment propoſed, recommending to his Majeſty a change of ſyſtem in the principles and conduct of the war, appears to us to be warranted by every conſideration which prudence and experience can ſuggeſt, and to be called for by the extreme magnitude of the dangers which ſurround us. The formal ſurrender of all right to tax North America, propoſed by the very ſame Miniſters, who at the expence of *fifty thouſand* lives, and *thirty millions* of money, had for three years ſucceſſively attempted to eſtabliſh this claim, neceſſarily proves, either that thoſe principles of legiſlation which they had thus aſſerted and thus abandoned were unjuſt in themſelves, or that the whole power of Great Britain under their conduct was unable to effectuate a reaſonable dependency of its own colonies. A dilemma diſhonourable to them and ruinous to us; and which, whatever ſide is taken, proves them wholly undeſerving of the future confidence of a Sovereign and a people whoſe implicit truſt in them (the largeſt which ever was repoſed by any King or any nation) they have abuſed in a manner of which the records of parliament and the calamities of the nation are but too faithful witneſſes.

If the whole force of Great Britain and Ireland, aided by the moſt laviſh grants, aſſiſted by thirty thouſand Germans, unobſtructed for a long time by any foreign power, has failed in three campaigns againſt the unprepared provinces of North America; we ſhould hold ourſelves equally unworthy of all truſt, if we were willing to confide in thoſe abilities which have totally failed in the ſingle conteſt with the colonies, for reſcuing us from the united and freſh efforts of France and Spain, in addition to the ſucceſsful reſiſtance of North America.

In ſuch a ſituation, a change of ſyſtem appeared to us to be our indiſpenſable duty to adviſe. We have conſidered ſuch a change as the only means of procuring that union of councils, that voluntary effort of every individual in the empire which is neceſſary to be called forth in this hour of danger. We have readily concurred in a ſincere offer of our lives and fortunes in ſupport of his Majeſty againſt the attacks of his enemies. Thoſe valuable pledges, both of what is our own perſonally, and of what belongs to our fellow citizens (which ought to be, and are no leſs dear to us), give us a full right to claim and demand ſome better ſecurity for their being employed with judgment and effect, for the purpoſes for which we offer them, than can be derived from the opinions, in

which all mankind concur, of the total want of capacity of his Majeſty's Miniſters.

We have avoided recommending any ſpecific meaſures, in order not to embaraſs government in a moment of ſuch difficulty: but we have no ſcruple in declaring, that whatever may be the future conduct of Great Britain with reſpect to America, the collecting our force at a proper time to reſiſt and to annoy our natural rivals and ancient enemies, ſeems to us beyond a doubt to be proper and expedient.

2dly. We think this advice the more ſeaſonable, becauſe we know the obſtinate attachment of the Miniſters to that unfortunate ſyſtem, from the fatal predilection to which they have ſuffered the ſafety of the ſtate to be endangered, and the naval ſtrength of our powerful, jealous, and natural rivals to grow under their eyes, without the leaſt attempt at interruption, until it had arrived at its preſent alarming magnitude, inſidious combination, and hoſtile direction.

3dly. This plan appears to us ſtrongly enforced, by the melancholy condition in which the miſconduct and criminal neglects of the Miniſters have placed us.—Our beſt reſources waſted and conſumed; the Britiſh empire rent aſunder; a combination of the moſt powerful nations formed againſt us, with a naval ſuperiority both in number of ſhips and alacrity of preparation; and this country now, for the firſt time, left entirely expoſed, without the aid of a ſingle ally. We ſhould think ourſelves partakers in the offences of the Miniſters, and acceſſaries to our own deſtruction, if we neglected any poſſible means of ſecuring a proper application of all the force we have left, from a blind confidence in perſons, on whoſe account no nation in Europe will have any confidence in us. A manly diſpoſition in parliament to apply the national wiſdom to the cure of the national diſtempers, would reſtore our credit and reputation abroad, and induce foreign nations to court that alliance which they now fly from; would invigorate our exertions at home; and call forth the full operation of that Britiſh ſpirit which has ſo often, under the direction of wiſe counſel and a protecting Providence, proved ſuperior to numbers; but which can have no exiſtence but from a well-founded opinion, that it is to be exerted under Miniſters and commanders who poſſeſs the eſteem and affection of the people.

We have in vain called for ſome plan on which to build better hopes, or for ſome reaſon for adhering to the preſent ſyſtem.

We have in vain requeſted to know what have been the circumſtances of the mediation, what are the grievances complained of by the Spaniſh court, in order that we may weigh the juſtice of that war in which we are going to engage, on which foundation alone we can rely for the protection of Providence.

We have urged the neceſſity of the great council of the nation continuing to ſit, that his Majeſty may not be deprived of the advice of parliament in ſuch a difficult criſis.

All theſe repreſentations have been met with a ſullen and unſatisfactory ſilence; which gives us but

but too much reaſon to conclude, that Miniſters mean to perſevere in that unhappy courſe, which has been the cauſe of all our misfortunes.

After doing our utmoſt to awaken the Houſe to a better ſenſe of things, we take this method of clearing ourſelves of the conſequences which muſt reſult from the continuance of ſuch meaſures.

Richmond,
Abergavenny,
Derby,
De Ferrars,
Harcourt,
Rockingham,
Scarborough,
Ponſonby,
Devonſhire,
Egremont,
Manchester,
Effingham,
Ferrers,
King,
Portland,
Radnor,
Coventry,
Hereford,
Foley.

Die Martis, 29° *Junii*, 1779.

THE bill for the more effectually manning the navy was read a third time. Then an amendment being propoſed to be made thereto; the ſame was objected to after a long debate. The queſtion was put thereupon. Reſolved in the affirmative. Then it was moved to re-commit the bill. The queſtion was put thereupon. Reſolved in the negative. Contents 24. Not-contents 50.

Diſſentient,

Becauſe the re-commitment of this bill, which was moved, but which the Houſe has thought proper to negative, appeared to us to be abſolutely neceſſary for the introduction of ſuch alterations as might, we hope, have enabled the Houſe to concur unanimouſly in the ſuſpenſion of thoſe acts of parliament which ſtand in the way of the extraordinary ſupply of men wanted for equipping the fleet on the preſent emergency; an unanimity at this time is certainly deſirable, which we have ſhewn our readineſs to produce, by offering to acquieſce in meaſures of conſiderable hardſhip and oppreſſion, on account of the deplorable ſituation, to which this country is reduced; although that ſituation, ſo far from being imputable to us, is to be aſcribed ſolely to that obſtinate adherence to a ſyſtem, of which we have conſtantly foretold the conſequences we now ſo unhappily experience.

We wiſhed in the committee not to have ſuffered the day of the commencement of this bill to remain, as it now ſtands the ſixteenth of the preſent month, a period antecedent by fourteen days to the paſſing of this bill, whereby it has a retroſpective operation, and becomes an *ex poſt facto* law, contrary to every principle of juſtice, contrary to parliamentary faith, and contrary to true policy.

We wiſhed to have accompanied this alteration in the committee with an act of indemnity for the avowed breach of the laws now in being; we offered to conſent to this indemnity in the fulleſt manner that could be wiſhed, although the proofs we repeatedly called for, of the extent of the benefit, were refuſed; proofs which we did not require to be attended with that degree of ſtrictneſs which could render it difficult to produce them; proofs, which in common caſes, from an eſſential part of the grounds on which the infractor of law is to be ſaved harmleſs, but which, in the preſent inſtance,

we

we would have dispensed with in favour of the intention.

We wish, by no means, to discourage future ministers from extraordinary exertions, when warranted by sufficient necessity; but we think it due to the dignity of parliament, as well as to the safety of the constitution, on all occasions, but more especially where the parliamentary faith has been so deeply pledged, to give to acts of indemnity all possible solemnity, that they may never come to be considered as acts of right, but as acts of the last necessity; recognizing upon the face of them the force of the law, and stating, as far as the occasion will admit, the necessity of the violation. A precedent in point stands in the statute book, 7 Geo. III. chap. 7. and we can see no reason why it has not been precisely followed.

In direct opposition to this precedent, the present bill does not in the title, preamble, or in any part, directly mark its intermediate object; it no where directly recognizes the power of the law; it no where states the necessity, nor the obtainable advantage, which can alone justify the proceeding; both the violation itself, and the indemnity it is to obtain, come only incidentally and indirectly under the last clause. It has been hurried through parliament in a most uncommon manner, and establishes a new, dangerous and most alarming precedent.

Such an act of indemnity as was proposed, would have preserved the principle that laws are sacred, that nothing less than the legislative power itself can protect those who infringe them, and that such protection is given only in cases of extreme necessity.

The objection, that a great service already obtained by the number of men impressed since the 16th of this month, would be lost by their being to be discharged, if the act had no retrospect to the time when they were seized, by no means applies to the question of re-commitment which the House has rejected. It appeared in debate, that of the number of men pressed on this occasion, and which has not even been computed to be very considerable, by far the greater part had only Admiralty protections, and were not protected by the acts now proposed to be suspended. And it was by no means impossible but that such bounties or encouragements might have been suggested in the committee, as would have induced the greater part of those who had the faith of parliament for their security, to enter voluntarily into the service at this critical conjuncture.

Every good purpose therefore of this bill might have been obtained, and probably a general concurrence in its support produced by simply acquiescing in a proper security for the observance of law.

But when we see this proposal refused, when we see that part of the preamble pertinaciously adhered to, which aims at establishing, as a general principle, that whatever may be deemed an arduous and difficult conjuncture, makes it equally just and expedient to infringe law, when we see a proposed amendment for confining that reasoning to the case which gives rise to the measure, namely, the

the preſent conjuncture, rejected, we cannot but ſee with a jealous eye this and every opportunity taken of eſtabliſhing ſome doctrine ſubverſive of liberty and our happy free conſtitution.

At ſuch a time as this, when miniſters avow their juſt fears of foreign invaſion, which their miſconduct has invited, to create freſh jealouſies in reſpect to that liberty which is alone worth contending for, which is the beſt ſupport to his Majeſty's crown, and the ſureſt foundation of that true affection of his people on which his Majeſty can alone rely for effectual and general reſiſtance to a foreign yoke, is a degree of infatuation we cannot comprehend!

Ancaſter and Kefteven, Richmond, Scarborough, Abergavenny, Forteſcue, De Ferrars, Portland, Wycombe, Mancheſter, Rockingham, Fitzwilliam, Cholmondeley, Bolton, Effingham.

Then the queſtion was put, whether this bill, with the amendments, ſhall paſs? Contents 51. Not-contents 20.

Reſolved in the affirmative.

Diſſentient,

Becauſe the acquieſcence of the country in the mode of impreſſing ſeamen (tolerated only becauſe the neceſſity of the meaſure is alledged by perſons of great experience in naval matters, and hitherto is not diſproved) has been by poſitive acts of the legiſlature interpreted and determined, with reſpect to the ſeveral perſons, objects of this bill, who have therefore not only all the rights of this kingdom, in common with their fellow ſubjects, but the ſecurity of eſpecial acts of parliament, made expreſsly to check and curb that acquieſcence with reſpect to them.

2dly. Becauſe the protection given by ſuch acts, in confidence of which theſe perſons have engaged in their reſpective occupations, has, in my opinion, the nature of a contract, and is, by every rule of equity, indiſſoluble, except by the voluntary conſent of the parties, or upon a compenſation ſatisfactory to, and accepted by them, or in extreme neceſſity, on the tender of ſuch advantages as the wiſdom of the legiſlature ſhould direct, and its juſtice ſhould make a complete, adequate, and ample equivalent for ſuch an infringement of their rights.

3dly. Becauſe at the very time protections thus held out by parliament to certain perſons, as invitations and encouragements to undertake certain ſervices, were boldly violated; the cuſtomary exemptions of certain watermen, licenſed by the members of this Houſe, unauthorized (as I conceive) by any law, and unknown to any court, though ſtated in the Houſe by the ſame noble Lord who has infringed theſe protections, to be conſtructively diſclaimed by a vote of this Houſe, were yet declared by him to be, from deference and reſpect, held ſacred.

4thly. Becauſe the bill, ſo far as it is an act of indemnity, is inconſonant with reaſon, contradicted by precedent, and dangerous in practice.

Firſt, with reſpect to the perſons to be indemnified, as it does not contain an honeſt avowal of the tranſgreſſion; as it does not ſtake the miniſter to an intentional viola-

violation of the law for the public good, to be subsequently approved and justified on that ground by a public indemnity, but contents itself with the abatement of suits and actions.

And secondly and chiefly, with respect to the constitution of the kingdom, to which it offers no satisfaction for the violation of the law; as it acknowledges only by construction and reference to dates, that it has been violated; as it attempts to confound the just ideas of prospective legislation by authorizing a measure from a day which has already long elapsed, and as it totally omits to state not only that the effect has been adequate to the measure, and that therefore the measure is salutary, and that it has had any effect whatever.

RADNOR.

For the first and fourth reasons,
Portland, De Ferrars.
Abergavenny,

On Saturday, July 3, his Majesty closed the Session of Parliament with the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE many great and essential services you have rendered to me and to your country, during the course of your long attendance in parliament, demand my most cordial thanks.

I have seen with entire approbation the zeal you have manifested for the support and prosecution of the just and necessary war in which I am engaged, nor am I less sensible of your attention to the present state of the kingdom of Ireland: my paternal affection for all my people makes me sincerely anxious for the happiness and prosperity of every part of my dominions.

Hitherto the events of war have afforded the court of France no reason to triumph on the consequences of their injustice and breach of public faith; and I trust that by a spirited and prosperous exertion of the force you have put into my hands, that ambitious power may be brought to wish that they had not, without provocation or cause of complaint, insulted the honour, and invaded the rights of my crown.

I have already acquainted you with the hostile step which has been lately taken by the court of Spain. Whatever colour may be attempted to be put upon that unjust proceeding, I am conscious that I have nothing to reproach myself with: it has been followed by the clearest demonstrations of the loyalty and affection of my parliament to my person and government, for which I repeat to you my warmest thanks; and I consider it as a happy omen of the success of my arms, that the increase of difficulties serves only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation, and to animate and unite my people in the defence of their country, and of every thing that is dear to them.

The advanced season of the year requires that I should afford you some recess from public business, and I do it with the less reluctance, as, by the powers vested in me by law, I can have the aid of your advice and assistance within fourteen days, should any emergency make it necessary for me to convene you before the usual time.

Gentle-

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The various and extenſive operations of the war have unavoidably occaſioned uncommon expence, and brought additional burdens on my faithful and beloved people, which I moſt ſincerely regret: I cannot ſufficiently thank you for the confidence you have repoſed in me, and for the chearfulneſs and public ſpirit with which the large ſupplies for the current year have been granted.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is impoſſible to ſpeak of the continuance of the rebellion in North America without the deepeſt concern; but we have given ſuch unqueſtionable proofs of our ſincere diſpoſition to put an end to thoſe troubles, that I muſt ſtill hope that the malignant deſigns of the enemies of Great Britain cannot long prevail againſt the evident intereſts of thoſe unhappy provinces, and that they will not blindly perſiſt in preferring an unnatural and dangerous connection with a foreign power, to peace and re-union with their mother-country.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's command, ſaid,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, that this parliament be prorogued to Thurſday, the 5th of Auguſt next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is prorogued to Thurſday, the 5th of Auguſt next.

Dublin Caſtle, October 12.

THIS day the parliament having met according to the laſt prorogation, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant went in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons being ſent for and come thither accordingly, his Excellency made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

AT a time when the trade and commerce of this kingdom are, in a more particular manner, the objects of public attention, it were to be wiſhed that the general tranquillity, ever deſirable, had been reſtored, ſo as to have left you entirely at leiſure to deliberate on thoſe great and important ſubjects. But I am perſuaded you will not permit any intereſts, however dear to you, to impede your efforts, or diſturb your unanimity at this moſt important period: and I have it expreſsly in command from his Majeſty to aſſure you, that the cares and ſolicitudes inſeparable from a ſtate of hoſtility, have not prevented him from turning his royal mind to the intereſts and diſtreſſes of this kingdom with the moſt affectionate concern; of which the money remitted to this country for its defence, when England had every reaſon to apprehend a moſt formidable and immediate attack, affords a convincing proof. Anxious for the happineſs of his people, his Majeſty will moſt chearfully co-operate with his Parliament in ſuch meaſures as may promote the common intereſts of all his ſubjects.

I have the pleaſure to inform you of an acceſſion to his Majeſty's family ſince the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament,

liament, by the birth of another Prince. May the ſame Providence that continues to increaſe his domeſtic felicity, protect the honour of his crown, and the happineſs of his people.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

It is with great concern I am to inform you, that on account of the extraordinary decline of the revenues, the very liberal ſupplies of the laſt ſeſſion have proved inadequate to the exigencies of government; ſo that, contrary to my moſt ſanguine expectations, and moſt earneſt endeavours, there is a conſiderable arrear now to be provided for.

His Majeſty, from his paternal attention to the intereſts of his people, and his ſollicitude to obviate to the utmoſt, the neceſſity of increaſing their burdens, has graciouſly commanded me to declare to you, that the greateſt œconomy ſhall in every inſtance be exerted, as far as may be conſiſtent with the honour of his crown, and the real intereſts of the nation.

I have ordered the public accounts, and other neceſſary papers, to be laid before you; and I have no doubt that your known loyalty to your King, and attachment to your country, will induce you to go as far as the national abilities will admit, in making a proviſion ſuitable to the exigency of the times, and the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The united efforts and great military preparations of the houſe of Bourbon ſeem only to have rouſed the courage, and called forth the exertions of his Majeſty's brave and loyal ſubjects of this kingdom. I have only to lament, that the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury has hitherto put it out of my power to give thoſe exertions the moſt extenſive and conſtitutional operation, by carrying the militia laws into execution.

I am perſuaded you will not ſuffer any dangers that may be threatened from abroad to draw off your attention from wiſe and neceſſary domeſtic regulations; and that, among the many ſubjects worthy of your conſideration, the Proteſtant charter ſchools and linen manufacture will continue to be objects of your ſerious attention.

In promoting theſe, and in all other meaſures that may tend to increaſe the proſperity and improve the true intereſts of this kingdom, I am bound to co-operate with you by a double tie of inclination and duty. Nothing can ever affect me with more real ſatisfaction, than the exerting my beſt endeavours for the welfare of Ireland; nor can I ever render a more acceptable ſervice to my Sovereign, than in promoting the happineſs of his people.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant; with his Excellency's Anſwer.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

WE, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, return your

Excellency our ſincere thanks for your moſt excellent ſpeech from the throne.

We feel ourſelves happy in being again aſſembled in Parliament under your Excellency's adminiſtration, of which we have had ſuch experience, as fills us with the beſt grounded hopes and confidence, that, aſſiſted by your Excellency's knowledge of, and earneſt deſire to promote the true intereſt of this country, ſuch things may be accompliſhed, as may eminently diſtinguiſh the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, by the wiſe proviſion, and uſeful regulations which ſhall be made in it, for reſtoring and eſtabliſhing the national proſperity.

We cannot doubt of your Excellency's faithful repreſentations of this country, when we hear from the throne, as we have done, that his Majeſty hath graciouſly condeſcended to aſſure us, that the cares and ſolicitudes inſeparable from a ſtate of hoſtility, have not been able to prevent him from turning his thoughts to the intereſt and diſtreſſes of this kingdom, and to afford us ſuch a proof as he has done of his affectionate concern, by the remittance made to this country for its ſupport.

We rejoice with your Excellency, on the happy acceſſion to his Majeſty's royal family by the birth of another Prince.

We congratulate with your Excellency, that, notwithſtanding the united efforts of his Majeſty's enemies, there is that diſplay of courage and manifeſtation of zeal for the ſupport of his Majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, through all orders and ranks of the people in this kingdom, as ſhews that his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects here, are ſo far from being caſt down and diſmayed, by any hoſtile efforts or threats, that they are animated to a degree, that rouſes the brave and military ſpirit of this country, that hath ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed itſelf at all times.

We beg leave to aſſure your Excellency, that we will not ſuffer any dangers, with which we may be threatened from abroad, to draw off our attention from wiſe and domeſtic regulations; and that among the great objects, worthy of our conſideration, the Proteſtant charter ſchools, and linen manufacture, will continue to have a juſt ſhare of our attention.

We cannot but offer to your Excellency our moſt grateful thanks, for the kind aſſurance that you have given us, of your cooperating with us in promoting ſuch meaſures, as may tend to increaſe the proſperity, or improve the true intereſt of this kingdom; —and, relying upon the proofs which your Excellency hath given us, in your paſt conduct, of your good wiſhes, we truſt, that your Excellency's beſt endeavours will never be wanting, to forward and promote the welfare of Ireland.

His Excellency's Anſwer.

My Lords,

The ſame indulgent partiality which dictated the terms of your Lordſhips Addreſs, will, I flatter myſelf, excuſe my not finding language ſufficiently forcible to expreſs my thanks. It ſhall be my ſtudy to perſevere in that line of conduct, which has been deemed deſerving of your approbation.

Tranſlation of the King of France's *Declaration of War at* Martinico.

THE inſult offered to my flag by a frigate belonging to his Britannic Majeſty, in her treatment of my frigate the Belle Poule; the capture by an Engliſh ſquadron of my frigates the Licorne and Pallas, and of my cutter, the Coureur, contrary to the law of nations; the capture at ſea and confiſcation of ſhips belonging to my ſubjects, by the Engliſh, contrary to the faith of treaties; the continual interruption and injury occaſioned to the maritime commerce of my kingdom, and of my colonies in America, as well by ſhips of war as by privateers, authorized by his Britannic Majeſty; the depredations committed and encouraged, by which theſe injurious proceedings, but chiefly the inſult offered to my flag, have forced me to lay aſide that moderation which I propoſed to obſerve, and will not allow me any longer to ſuſpend the effects of my reſentment.

The dignity of my crown, and the protection which I owe to my ſubjects, oblige me to make repriſals, and to act in a hoſtile manner againſt the Engliſh nation. I therefore authorize my ſhips to attack, and endeavour to take and deſtroy all ſhips, frigates, and other veſſels they may meet with, belonging to the King of England, and alſo to ſeize and detain all Engliſh mercantine veſſels which they may encounter; and I likewiſe authorize my troops to attack, ſeize, and occupy the poſſeſſions of his Britannic Majeſty.

I therefore write this letter to inform you, that it is my deſire, that you employ all the land and ſea forces under your direction, in attacking and ſeizing the poſſeſſions of the King of England, his ſhips, frigates, and other veſſels, alſo the merchant ſhips belonging to his ſubjects, and for that purpoſe you may exerciſe, and cauſe to be exerciſed, *all manner of hoſtilities authorized by the laws of war*; I am aſſured in finding in the juſtneſs of my cauſe, in the courage and ſkill of my land and ſea forces, in the bravery and attachment of my ſoldiers and ſailors, and in the love of my ſubjects in general, the reſources which I have always experienced from them, my preſent conduct having no other tendency than to promote their happineſs.

I pray God, Monſieur le Marquis de Bouille, that he may take you under his holy protection.

(Signed) LOUIS.
DE SARTINE.

Verſailles, 28th June, 1778.

A DECLARATION,

Addreſſed in the Name of the King of France *to all the antient* French *in* Canada, *and every other Part of* North-America. *(Tranſlated from the* French.)

THE underſigned, authoriſed by his Majeſty, and thence cloathed with the nobleſt titles, with that which effaces all others, charged in the name of the father of his country, and the beneficent protector of his ſubjects, to offer a ſupport to thoſe who were born to enjoy the bleſſings of his government—

To all his Countrymen in North-America.

You were born French; you never could ceaſe to be French. The late war, which was not declared but by the captivity of nearly all our ſeamen, and the principal advantages of which our common enemies entirely owed to the courage, the talents, and the numbers of the brave Americans, who are now fighting againſt them, has wreſted from you that which is moſt dear to all men, even the name of your country. To compel you to bear the arms of parricides againſt it, muſt be the completion of misfortunes: with this you are now threatened: a new war may juſtly make you dread being obliged to ſubmit to this moſt intolerable law of ſlavery. It has commenced like the laſt, by depredations upon the moſt valuable part of our trade. Too long already have a great number of unfortunate Frenchmen been confined in American priſons. You hear their groans. The preſent war was declared by a meſſage in March laſt, from the King of Great Britain to both Houſes of Parliament; a moſt authentic act of the Britiſh ſovereignty, announcing to all orders of the State, that to trade, (with America) though without excluding others from the ſame right, was to offend; that frankly to avow ſuch intention, was to defy this ſovereignty; that ſhe ſhould revenge it, and deferred this only to a more advantageous opportunity, when ſhe might do it with more appearance of legality than in the laſt war; for ſhe declared that ſhe had the right, the will, and the ability to revenge, and accordingly ſhe demanded of Parliament the ſupplies.

The calamities of a war thus proclaimed, have been reſtrained and retarded as much as was poſſible, by a monarch whoſe pacific and diſintereſted views now reclaim the marks of your former attachment, only for your own happineſs. Conſtrained to repel force by force, and multiplied hoſtilities by reprifals which he has at laſt authoriſed, if neceſſity ſhould carry his arms, or thoſe of his allies, into a country always dear to him, you have not to fear either burnings or devaſtations: and if gratitude, if the view of a flag always revered by thoſe who have followed it, ſhould recall to the banners of France, or of the United States, the Indians who loved us, and have been loaded with preſents by him, whom they alſo call their father; never, no never ſhall they employ againſt you their too cruel methods of war. Thoſe they muſt renounce, or they will ceaſe to be our friends.

It is not by menaces that we ſhall endeavour to avoid combating with our countrymen; nor ſhall we weaken this declaration by invectives againſt a great and brave nation, which we know how to reſpect, and hope to vanquiſh.

As a French gentleman, I need not mention to thoſe among you who were born ſuch as well as myſelf, that there is but one auguſt Houſe in the univerſe, under which the French can be happy, and ſerve with pleaſure; ſince its head, and thoſe who are nearly allied to him by blood, have been at all times, through a long line of monarchs, and are at this day more

more than ever delighted with bearing that very title which Henry IV. regarded as the first of his own. I shall not excite your regrets for those qualifications, those marks of distinction, those decorations, which, in our manner of thinking, are precious treasures, but from which, by our common misfortunes, the American French, who have known so well how to deserve them, are now precluded. These, I am bold to hope, and to promise, their zeal will very soon procure to be diffused among them. They will merit them, when they *dare to become the friends of our allies.*

I shall not ask the military companions of the Marquis of Levi, those who shared his glory, who admired his talents and genius for war, who loved his cordiality and frankness, the principal characteristics of our nobility, whether there be other names in other nations, among which they would be better pleased to place their own.

Can the Canadians, who saw the brave Montcalm fall in their defence, can they become the enemies of his nephews? Can they fight against their former leaders, and arm themselves against their kinsmen? At the bare mention of their names, the weapons would fall out of their hands.

I shall not observe to the ministers of the altars, that their evangelic efforts will require the special protection of Providence, to prevent faith being diminished by example, by worldly interest, and by sovereigns whom force has imposed upon them, and whose political indulgence will be lessened proportionably as those sovereigns shall have less to fear. I shall not observe, that it is necessary for religion, that those who preach it should form a body in the State; and that in Canada no other body would be more considered, or have more power to do good than that of the priests, taking a part to the government, since their respectable conduct has merited the confidence of the people.

I shall not represent to that people, nor to all my countrymen in general, that a vast monarchy, having the same religion, the same manners, the same language, where they find kinsmen, old friends and brethren, must be an inexhaustible source of commerce and wealth, more easily acquired and better secured, by their union with powerful neighbours, than with strangers of another hemisphere, among whom every thing is different, and who, jealous and despotic governments, would sooner or later treat them as a conquered people, and doubtless much worse than their late countrymen the Americans, who made them victorious. I shall not urge to a whole people, that to *join* with the United States, is to secure their own happiness; since a whole people, when they acquire the right of thinking and acting for themselves, must know their own interest; but I will declare, and I now formally declare in the name of his Majesty, who has authorised and commanded me to do it, that all his former subjects in North America, who shall no more acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain, may depend upon his protection and support.

Done on board his Majesty's ship the Languedoc, in the harbour

bour of Boſton, the 28th day of October, in the year 1778.

ESTAING.

BIGREL DE GRANDCLOS, Secretary, appointed by the King, to the ſquadron commanded by the Count D'Eſtaing.

Letter from the French *King to the Admiral of* France, *fixing the Time from whence the Commencement of Hoſtilities was to be conſidered.*

To his Serene Highneſs, my Lord, the Admiral.

COUSIN,

I Am informed that doubts have ariſen on the period from which ought to be fixed the commencement of hoſtilities, and that from this incertitude may reſult many diſputes prejudicial to commerce. To prevent which, I have thought proper to explain to you more particularly what I have already ſufficiently told you in my letter of the 10th of July. I charge you, in conſequence, to inform thoſe who are under your orders, that the inſult done to my flag on the 17th of June, 1778, by the Engliſh ſquadron ſeizing my frigates, the Pallas and the Licorne, puts me to the neceſſity of making repriſals, and that it is from that day, the 17th of June, 1778, that I fix the commencement of hoſtilities againſt my ſubjects, by the ſubjects of the King of England. Theſe being for this purpoſe only, I pray God, that he will take my couſin into his holy and merciful protection.

Done at Verſailles the 5th day of the month of April, in the year of Grace, 1779, and in the 5th of our reign.

(Signed) LOUIS.

And underneath, DE SARTINE.

Letter from the French *King, to his Serene Highneſs the Admiral of* France. *Dated* June 5, 1779.

(*Tranſlated from the* French.)

COUSIN,

THE deſire I have always had of ſoftening, as much as in my power lies, the calamities of war, has induced me to direct my attention to that part of my ſubjects who employ themſelves in the fiſheries, and who derive their ſole ſubſiſtence from thoſe reſources. I ſuppoſe that the example, which I ſhall now give to my enemies, and which can have no other views than what ariſe from ſentiments of humanity, will induce them to grant the ſame liberty to our fiſheries, which I readily grant them. In conſequence whereof, I ſend you this letter to acquaint you, that I have given orders to all the commanders of my veſſels, armed ſhips, and captains of privateers, not to moleſt (until further orders) the Engliſh fiſhery, nor to ſtop their veſſels, whether they be laden with freſh fiſh, or not having taken in their freight; provided, however, that they do not carry offenſive arms, and that they are not found to have given ſignals, which might indicate their holding an intelligence with the enemy's ſhips of war. You will make known theſe my intentions to the officers of the Admi-

Admiralty, and to all who are under your orders. Such being the purpoſes of theſe preſents, I pray God, my Couſin, that he will grant you his holy protection.

Given at Verſailles, the 5th day of June, in the year 1779.

Signed

Louis.

Counterſigned

De-Sartine.

Copy of a Paper delivered to Lord Viſcount Weymouth, *by the Marquis* d'Almadovar, *the 16th* June, 1779.

ALL the world has been witneſs to the noble impartiality of the King, in the midſt of the diſputes of the Court of London with its American colonies and with France. Beſides which, his Majeſty having learned that his powerful mediation was deſired, generouſly made an offer of it, which was accepted by the beligerent powers, and for this motive only a ſhip of war was ſent on the part of his Britannic Majeſty to one of the ports of Spain. The King has taken the moſt energetic ſteps, and ſuch as ought to have produced the moſt happy effect, to bring thoſe powers to an accommodation equally honourable to both parties; propoſing for this end wiſe expedients for ſmoothing difficulties, and preventing the calamities of war. But although his Majeſty's propoſitions, and particularly thoſe of his *Ultimatum*, have been conformable to thoſe which at other times the Court of London itſelf had appeared to judge proper for an accommodation, and which were alſo quite as moderate, they have been rejected in a manner that fully proves the little deſire which the Britiſh Cabinet has to reſtore peace to Europe, and to preſerve the King's friendſhip. In effect, the conduct of that Cabinet, with regard to his Majeſty, during the whole courſe of the negociation, has had for its object to prolong it for more than eight months, either by vain pretences, or by anſwers which could not be more inconcluſive, whilſt in this interval the inſults on the Spaniſh flag, and the violation of the King's territories were carried on to an incredible exceſs; prizes have been made, ſhips have been ſearched and plundered, and a great number of them have been fired upon, which have been obliged to defend themſelves; the regiſters have been opened and torn in pieces, and even the packets of the Court found on board the King's packet-boat.

The dominions of the Crown in America have been threatened, and they have gone to the dreadful extremity of raiſing the Indian nations, called the Chatcas, Cheroquies, and Chicachas, againſt the innocent inhabitants of Louiſiana, who would have been the victims of the rage of theſe barbarians, if the Chatcas themſelves had not repented, and revealed all the ſeduction the Engliſh had planned. The ſovereignty of his Majeſty in the province of Darien, and on the coaſt of St. Blas, has been uſurped, the Governor of Jamaica having granted to a rebel Indian the commiſſion of Captain-general of thoſe provinces.

In ſhort, the territory of the Bay of Honduras has been recently violated by exerciſing acts of hoſtility, and other exceſſes, againſt

the Spaniards, who have been impriſoned, and whoſe houſes have been invaded; beſides which, the Court of London has hitherto neglected to accompliſh what the 16th article of the laſt treaty of Paris ſtipulated relative to that coaſt.

Grievances ſo numerous, ſo weighty, and recent, have been at different times the object of complaints made in the King's name, and ſtated in memorials which were delivered either to the Britiſh Miniſters at London, or tranſmitted to them through the channel of the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Madrid; but although the anſwers which were received have been friendly, his Majeſty has hitherto obtained no other ſatisfaction than to ſee the inſults repeated, which lately have amounted to the number of one hundred.

The King, proceeding with that ſincerity and candour which characterize him, has formally declared to the court of London, from the commencement of its diſputes with France, that the conduct of England ſhould be the rule of that which Spain would hold.

His Majeſty likewiſe declared to that Court, that at the time their differences with that of Paris might be accommodated, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to regulate thoſe which had ariſen, or might ſtill ariſe, with Spain, and in the plan of mediation which was ſent to the under-written Ambaſſador the 28th of laſt September, and which was by him delivered to the Britiſh Miniſtry in the beginning of October, a plan with which Lord Grantham was apprized, and of which he received a copy, his Majeſty declared in poſitive terms to the belligerent powers, that in conſideration of the inſults which his ſubjects and dominions had ſuffered, and likewiſe of the attempts levelled againſt his rights, he ſhould be under the neceſſity of taking his part, in caſe the negociation, inſtead of being continued with ſincerity, ſhould be broken off, or ſhould produce no effect.

The cauſes of complaint given by the Court of London not having ceaſed, and that Court ſhewing no diſpoſitions to give reparation for them, the King has reſolved, and orders his Ambaſſador to declare, that the honour of his crown, the protection which he owes to his ſubjects, and his own perſonal dignity, do not permit him to ſuffer their inſults to continue, and to neglect any longer the reparation of thoſe already received, and that in this view, notwithſtanding the pacific diſpoſitions of his Majeſty, and even the particular inclination he had always had and expreſſed for cultivating the friendſhip of his Britannic Majeſty, he finds himſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of making uſe of all the means which the Almighty has intruſted him with, to obtain that juſtice which he has ſolicited by ſo many ways, without being able to acquire it; in confiding on the juſtice of his cauſe, his Majeſty hopes that the conſequences of this reſolution will not be imputed to him before God or man, and that other nations will form a ſuitable idea of this reſolution, by comparing it to the conduct which they themſelves have experienced on the part of the Britiſh Miniſtry.

(Signed) LE MARQUIS D'ALMADOVAR.

London, 16 *June*, 1779.

Orders

Orders for Repriſals by the Court of London.

At the Court at St. James's, the 18th of June, 1779.

PRESENT,

The KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

WHEREAS the Ambaſſador of the King of Spain has, by order of his Court, delivered to Lord Viſcount Weymouth a paper, in which it is declared, that his Catholic Majeſty intends to have recourſe to arms, under the groundleſs pretence of obtaining reparation for injuries ſuppoſed to have been received; and whereas the ſaid Ambaſſador has received orders to retire from this kingdom without taking leave: his Majeſty, being determined to take ſuch meaſures as are neceſſary for vindicating the honour of his crown, is pleaſed, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general repriſals be granted againſt the ſhips, goods, and ſubjects of the King of Spain, ſo that as well his Majeſty's fleet and ſhips, as alſo all other ſhips and veſſels that ſhall be commiſſionated by letters of marque or general repriſals, or otherwiſe, by his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, ſhall and may lawfully ſeize all ſhips, veſſels, and goods belonging to the King of Spain or his ſubjects, or others inhabiting within any the territories of the King of Spain, and bring the ſame to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within his Majeſty's dominions; and to that end his Majeſty's Advocate-General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draught of a commiſſion, and preſent the ſame to his Majeſty at this board, authoriſing the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or any perſon or perſons by them empowered and appointed, to iſſue forth and grant letters of marque and repriſal to any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, or others whom the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, ſeizing, and taking the ſhips, veſſels, and goods belonging to Spain, and the vaſſals and ſubjects of the King of Spain, or any inhabitants within his countries, territories, or dominions; and that ſuch powers and clauſes be inſerted in the ſaid commiſſion as have been uſual, and are according to former precedents: and his Majeſty's ſaid Advocate General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are alſo forthwith to prepare the draught of a commiſſion, and preſent the ſame to his Majeſty at this Board, authoriſing the ſaid Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, to will and require the High Court of Admiralty of Great Britain, and the Lieutenant and Judge of the ſaid Court, his ſurrogate or ſurrogates, as alſo the ſeveral Courts of Admiralty within his Majeſty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon all, and all manner of captures, ſeizures, prizes, and repriſals of all ſhips or goods that are or ſhall be taken, and to hear and determine the ſame; and according to the courſe of Admiralty, and the laws of nations, to adjudge and

and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods, as shall belong to Spain, or the vassals and subjects of the King of Spain, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories, and dominions; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare and lay before his Majesty at this Board, a draught of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the Courts of Admiralty in his Majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draught of instructions for such ships as shall be commissionated for the purposes afore mentioned.

Proclamation relative to an Invasion.

By the KING.

A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS we have received intelligence, that preparations are making by our enemies to invade this our kingdom, the safety and defence of which requires our utmost care, and wherein, by the assistance and blessing of God, we are resolved not to be wanting; and to the intent that they may not, in case of their landing, strengthen themselves, by seizing the horses, oxen, and cattle of our subjects, which may be useful to them for draught or burthen, or be easily supplied with provisions, we have therefore thought fit, and do by our Royal Proclamation, by the advice of our Privy Council, strictly charge and command the Warden of the Cinque Ports, his Lieutenants, Deputy or Deputies, and all and every the Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of our counties, and all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and all and every other Officers and Ministers, civil and military, within their respective counties, cities, towns, and divisions, that they cause the coasts to be carefully watched, and upon the first approach of the enemy, immediately to cause all horses, oxen, and cattle, which may be fit for draught or burthen, and not actually employed in our service, or in the defence of the country, and also (as far as may be practicable) all other cattle and provisions, to be driven and removed to some place of security, and to such a distance from the place where the enemy shall attempt, or appear to intend, to land, so as they may not fall into the hands or power of any of our enemies; wherein, nevertheless, it is our will and pleasure, that the respective owners thereof may suffer as little damage, loss, or inconvenience as may be consistent with the public safety: and we do hereby further strictly charge and command all our subjects to be aiding and assisting in the execution of this our royal command.

Given at our Court at St. James's the ninth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, in the nineteenth year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

Translation

Tranſlation of the two Royal Cedules of the King of Spain.

DON Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Caſtile, Leon, Arragon, the Two Sicilies, Jeruſalem, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Gallicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corſica, Murcia, Jaen, the Algarves, Algazires, *Gibraltar*, the Canary Iſlands, the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, the Iſlands and Terra Firma, of the Ocean—Archduke of Auſtria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, and Milan, Count of Hapſburg, Flanders, Tirol, and Barcelona, Lord of Biſcay, and Molina, &c.

To my Council, to the Preſidents, and Auditors of my audiencies and chanceries; to the Alcaldes [Mayors] and Alguzails [Conſtables] of my Houſhold and Court. To the Corrigidors [Judges] Aſſiſtants, Governors, Alcaldes Majors [Chief Mayors] and ordinary, as well of the crown as of their lordſhips, to the abbeys and religious orders, and to all other perſons of whatſoever rank, quality, and condition they may be, in the cities, towns, and places of my kingdoms and lordſhips; you are to know, that the 21ſt of this month I thought proper to addreſs to my council a decree, concluded in theſe terms, and ſigned by my hand:

In ſpite of the earneſt deſire I have always had, to preſerve to my faithful and well-beloved ſubjects the ineſtimable advantage of peace; and notwithſtanding the extraordinary efforts that I have made at all times, but particularly in the preſent critical circumſtances of Europe, to obtain ſo eſſential an object, carrying my moderation and patience to an extreme, I beheld myſelf at laſt under the hard neceſſity of ordering my ambaſſador, the Marquis d'Almadovar, to retire from the court of London, firſt delivering in to the Miniſter a declaration (a copy of which is annexed) reported to my council, by my firſt Secretary of State; as I found my own reſpect, and the honour of my crown, demanded it of me. At the ſame time I cauſed circular letters to be written to my ambaſſadors and miniſters at other courts, (of which the following is a copy) of the original that was given in to the ſaid council.—The council will take care to expedite the orders and neceſſary advices, that all my ſubjects may be informed of my preſent royal reſolution, and that they ſtop all communication, trade, or commerce, between them and the ſubjects of the Britiſh King.

Given at *Aranjuez*, the 21ſt of *June*, 1779.

Addreſſed,

To the governor of the council.

[*Here is inſerted a Copy of the Reſcript delivered by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador to Lord* Weymouth; *which the reader will find in page* 359. *Then follows the circular Letter in theſe words:*]

" BY the annexed copy of the declaration which the Marquis d'Almadovar, the King's ambaſſador to his Britannic Majeſty, gives to the Engliſh miniſter, on his leaving that court, you will ſee the very weighty motives which have induced his Majeſty to take that

that reſolution; being at length weary of ſuffering ſuch great and numerous mortifications from the Britiſh cabinet, and Engliſh navy, as is ſhewn in the ſaid declaration. You make what uſe of this information you judge convenient; and that it may ſerve for a new teſtimony of the juſtice and indiſpenſible neceſſity which actuates his Majeſty on this occaſion, it is neceſſary to add three particulars for your inſtruction. *Firſt*, That whilſt the court of London ſought to amuſe that of Spain, in ſeeking delays, and in finally refuſing to admit the honourable and equitable propoſals which his Majeſty made, in quality of mediator, to re-eſtabliſh peace between France, England, and the American provinces, the Britiſh cabinet offered, clandeſtinely, by means of ſecret emiſſaries, condition of like ſubſtance with the propoſitions of his Majeſty. *Secondly*, That theſe offers and conditions not to ſtrange or indifferent perſons, but directly and immediately to the miniſter of the American provinces, reſiding at Paris. *Thirdly*, That the Britiſh miniſter hath omitted nothing to procure, by many other methods, new enemies to his Majeſty; hoping, no doubt, to divide his attention, and the cares of his crown.—So God keep you in his holy protection, &c."

My above royal decree, having been publiſhed in my council, it hath ordered it to be executed. In conſequence thereof, I order all, and each of you, in your reſpective diſtricts and juriſdictions, that as ſoon as you ſhall have received my ſaid decree, and ſhall have ſeen my reſolution contained therein, that you obſerve, accompliſh, and execute it, and cauſe it to be obſerved, accompliſhed, and executed, in all and every place, conformable to its tenor; giving orders, and making convenient diſpoſitions, that my ſaid royal determination be known to all my ſubjects; and that they ceaſe from all communication, trade, and commerce between themſelves and the ſubjects of the Britiſh King—*For ſuch is my pleaſure.*

And that the ſame credit be given to the printed copy of this printed Chedule, certified by Don Antonio Martinez Salazar, my Secretary, Regiſter of Reſolutions, and oldeſt Clerk of the Government and Chamber of my Council, as to the original.

Given at Aranjuez, the 22d of June, 1779.

Signed I THE KING.

Signs a little lower,

J. Don Juan Franciſco de Laſtin, Secretary to the King our Lord, have written this preſent, by his order.

Alſo ſigned,

Don Manuel Ventura Figueroa,
Don Manuel de Villafrane,
Don Manuel Doz,
Don Raymundo de Irabien,
Don Blas de Kjnojoſa,

Regiſtered. *Don Nicolas Verdugo.*

Second Royal Chedule contains as follows:

I the King.

In ſpite of the earneſt deſire that I have always had to procure the ineſtimable advantages of peace to my faithful and well-beloved ſubjects, and notwithſtanding the extraordinary efforts which I have always made, more eſpecially in the

the preſent critical ſtate of affairs in Europe, to obtain that eſſential object, carrying my patience and moderation to the utmoſt degree; I ſaw myſelf obliged, at laſt, to order my ambaſſador, the Marquis of Almadovar, to withdraw from the court of London, and make to the miniſter there the following declaration. [*Here follows the declaration given to Lord Weymouth.*]

To what has been already mentioned, there muſt be added, that whilſt the court of London ſought to lull Spain to ſleep, in ſeeking delays, and refuſing to admit the honourable and equitable propoſals that I made in quality of mediator, to re-eſtabliſh peace between France, England, and the American provinces, the Britiſh cabinet had clandeſtinely offered conditions by their ſecret emiſſaries, of the ſame tenor as thoſe which I propoſed; and addreſſed thoſe conditions and offers, not to ſtrange and indifferent perſons, but directly and immediately to the miniſter of the American provinces reſident at Paris. The Engliſh miniſtry alſo have neglected no means to excite new enemies againſt me, hoping to divide my attentions and the cares of my crown.

In conſequence of theſe ſolid motives, by my royal decree of the 21ſt of this month, and by other diſpoſitions communicated to my ſupreme council of war, I have reſolved to order all communication and commerce to ceaſe between my ſubjects and thoſe of the King of Great Britain—that all the ſubjects of that Monarch, who are not naturalized in my dominions, or who do not employ themſelves in mechanic arts, do quit my kingdom: but be it underſtood, that among the above workmen, thoſe only who inhabit the interior of the country, are not to be comprehended; but all who reſide in my ſea-ports, or dwell on the coaſts and frontiers, muſt equally leave the kingdom.—That from the preſent moment my ſubjects do carry on no kind of commerce with thoſe of England, and its dominions. That they do not traffick in their productions, their ſalt fiſh, or other fiſheries; their manufactures, or other merchandizes; ſo that this prohibition of commerce be abſolute and real; and do extend ſo as to render vicious and contraband all the effects, productions, ſalt fiſh, fiſheries, merchandizes, and manufactures of the ſaid dominions. That they do not admit or ſuffer to enter into any of my ports, any veſſel laden with the above named effects; nor permit that ſuch may be brought in by land; being illicit and prohibited in my kingdoms, whenceſoever they may come; but they may be ſeized whereſoever found, either in veſſels, baggages, ſhops, warehouſes, or houſes of merchants or traders, or any particular perſon whomſoever, whether they be my ſubjects and vaſſals, or thoſe of the kingdoms, provinces, and ſtates with whom I am in peace, alliance, and free commerce. Nevertheleſs, in regard to which, I will that no prejudice be done to the peace, franchiſes, and liberties, in lawful commerce, which their ſhips, as well as the produce of their lands, provinces, and conqueſts, where they may be fabricated, ought to enjoy in my kingdoms, by virtue of ſubſiſting treaties.

I de-

I declare that all merchants who have any ſalt fiſh, or other produce of the fiſheries of the dominions of England in their poſſeſſion, muſt make a declaration of the ſame, and regiſter them in the ſpace of *fifteen* days, reckoning from the publication of this my preſent Chedule, which is fixed for their peremptory term, before ſuch officers as ſhall be appointed by Don Miguel de Muzquiz, my Superintendant-general of Finances, as well in this court as elſewhere, to the end that notice may be given. And in caſe that they keep them unregiſtered beyond the ſaid term of fifteen days, they ſhall be immediately declared to have fallen under confiſcation.

I will alſo, that a term of two months be allowed for the diſpoſing of the ſaid fiſh, and no prolongation of that term ſhall be granted, but after that term all traders ſhall be obliged to carry them to the Cuſtom Houſe, or, in places where there is no Cuſtom Houſe, to ſome houſe of government, where they ſhall be publicly ſold to the higheſt bidder, in the preſence of the officer or officers deputed for that purpoſe, or, in their abſence, in preſence of the magiſtrates of the place, who ſhall give the produce of the ſale to the proprietors, who ſhall not be allowed to carry back to their ſhops, or warehouſes, any of thoſe prohibited goods, in like manner as has been obſerved heretofore.

I have given to Miguel de Muzquiz, a particular commiſſion, that in quality of Superintendant-general of my Finances, he ſhall have the care of the aforeſaid diſpoſitions, in the manner that he ſhall judge moſt proper to accompliſh an object ſo important. He ſhall take cognizance, in the firſt inſtance, by himſelf or his ſub-delegates, of all diſputes that may ariſe in conſequence of contraband; ſaving there is an appeal to the Council of Finances in the Hall of Juſtice, excepting any martial contraventions, reſpecting arms, ammunition, and other effects relative to war, as are explained by the treaties of peace; the cognizance of any diſputes about thoſe belonging to the Council of War, and Martial Judges.

I order, that all the above regulations be obſerved, kept, and fulfilled, under the pains preſcribed by the laws, the pragmatics, and Royal Chedule, paſſed in former times, from motives of the ſame nature, comprehending therein all my ſubjects, and the inhabitants of my kingdoms and lordſhips, without exception of any perſon whatſoever, and howſoever privileged. It being my will, that this declaration ſhall come, as ſoon as poſſible, to the knowledge of my ſubjects, that they may preſerve their effects and perſons from all inſults from the Engliſh; for that purpoſe my Supreme Council of War will make all neceſſary diſpoſitions, that it be formally publiſhed, and duly executed.

Given at *Aranjuez*, the 26th of *June*, 1779.

(Signed) I THE KING.

This preſent, ſeen and ratified in full council, hath been this day publiſhed by proclamation in the uſual places of this court, with the aſſiſtance of the Clerk of the Council Chamber, and the Alguaſils of the Tribunal, the Staff Officers of Place, the Serjeants, Drummers, Fifers, Kettle Drummers and

and Trumpeters of the Garriſon; a company of infantry, and a picquet of horſe; as it is verified by the original, remaining under my care, in the Secretary's Office of the Supreme Council of War.

At *Madrid*, the 28th of *June*, 1779.

(Signed)
DON JOSEPH PORTUOSE.

Tranſlation of the Spaniſh *Manifeſto, publiſhed at* Madrid, *declaring the Motives which have induced his Catholic Majeſty to withdraw his Ambaſſador, and act hoſtily againſt* England.

IT would be too long to relate minutely all the grievances which Spain might complain of ſince the concluſion of the treaty of peace in 1763; for that reaſon we ſhall reſtrain ourſelves to the greater ones, and thoſe moſt recent, leſt we ſhould be accuſed of reviving old injuries already forgotten. By the ſixteenth article of the preliminaries of that treaty; England acknowledged the *Bay of Honduras* as making part of the Spaniſh dominions, and bound itſelf to cauſe every fortification that had been erected by its ſubjects in that part of the world, to be demoliſhed within four months after the ratification of the treaty; without preſerving to the court of London any other right than that of being permitted to cut log-wood, without any moleſtation or hindrance; and for which purpoſe, its workmen were to be allowed only the houſes and barracks eſſentially neceſſary to them. None of theſe ſtipulations have been performed by the Engliſh: they have introduced themſelves more and more into the ancient ſettlements, beyond the limits allotted them, and have excited a rebellion among the native Indians, providing them with arms, and giving them every ſuccour and aſſiſtance under the protection of Great Britain.

Not ſatisfied with theſe violences, they have eſtabliſhed themſelves in many other ports, rivers, and coaſts of the Spaniſh territory in the ſaid *Bay of Honduras*; in which places they could not even alledge the ſpecious pretence of cutting log-wood, but manifeſtly with a deſign of uſurping foreign dominion, and of ſmuggling various merchandizes without any diſcretion.—The names of theſe places wherein they went are, *El Pincho*, *Rio Tinto*, *Rio Matina*, and many others: they have there trained up bodies of militia to arms, and have given the King of England's brevet, or commiſſion, of Captain-general of all theſe ſettlements or eſtabliſhments to Jacob Loury; which brevet, or paſſport, together with many other patents or commiſſions to ſubaltern officers, was ſolemnly read to the whole colony on the 21ſt of September, 1776, before the troops and people. All theſe proceedings of the Engliſh were diſcovered by the Spaniards, at a time when the Britiſh miniſtry had declared that thoſe encroachments and ſettlements had been made without their approbation, or the ſanction of their authority.

The Engliſh ſettlers found out artifices and various perfidious means

means to prevail on the chief or leader, to revolt againſt Spain, and to ſtile himſelf King of the Moſquito Indians, and perſuaded him to take the title of Captain in Chief of the other Indians, whoſe leaders have ſent commiſſioners to the Vice-Roy of the Spaniſh government, acknowledging themſelves as vaſſals of his Catholic Majeſty: beſides which, the Engliſh ſupplied them with arms, and gave them all kind of aſſiſtance to prevent their ſeeking the protection of Spain, who has an immediate right upon the dominion of thoſe territories. Moreover, though foreigners of all denominations, let their religion be what it will, be well received in all the Engliſh ſettlements of America, the Spaniards only have been refuſed admittance, they being either impriſoned or driven away.

The better to prove the uniform deſign England had always harboured of becoming maſters of theſe extenſive territories; to lay there the foundation of its ſettlements; and to augment every day the immenſe prohibited commerce carried on by its ſubjects in the interior parts of the Spaniſh provinces, we need but relate what happened in the year 1775. That a certain phyſician, famous for his voyage round the world, known by the name of Doctor Irwin, left England, having with him all kinds of tools for agriculture, ſeveral artiſts, and many other ſuccours found by the Britiſh miniſtry, to the end and purpoſe of making a laſting ſettlement in the province of *Nacha*, wherein he landed ſeveral families, and ſeveral more were ſoon to follow them. With that intention, the ſaid doctor had brought up and educated in his own houſe a ſon of an Indian King, and two Indians of note in theſe countries. The Spaniſh *Guarda Coſtas* were ſoon appriſed of the doctor's embarkation, and the Britiſh miniſtry, inſtead of giving redreſs to remonſtrances for that breach of the treaty, threatened Spain with a war.

Laſt year, in the month of November, ſome Spaniards happened to ſettle themſelves on the river *Saint Johne*, on the ſame coaſt of *Moſquito*, whereupon they built ſome houſes; and when they leaſt expected it, they were attacked by a party of Engliſh, and another party of Indians; in that conflict, the captain of the ſhip was wounded, moſt of his people were put to priſon, and many other violences were offered. While that was tranſacting, the negociation of peace, then on the carpet, was carried on with the greateſt anxiety by his Majeſty, for the benefit of England; and he was ſtraining every nerve to make it ſucceed. No other proof is required to eſtabliſh the eſſential difference extant between the proceedings of the court of London, its miniſters and ſubjects, and the generous and magnanimous conduct of his Catholic Majeſty.

Wherever they ſet their feet for the purpoſes of ſettlement, the Engliſh behave in the ſame manner: for example, on the coaſt of St. Blas, a province of the *Darien*, they engaged the Indians that inhabit the frontiers of the Spaniſh ſettlements, to raiſe a revolt; and, after giving them all ſuccours, enticed, and drew them on their ſide,

ſide, by decorating them with pompous patents and brevets, or commiſſions of command under the protection of Great Britain. A like commiſſion was granted to one chief of the Indians, named *Bernard*, to whom the governor of Jamaica ſent a formal patent or commiſſion, and in which he was ſtiled captain-general of that coaſt. That proceeding was alſo diſcovered at the beginning of the preſent year, and complained of the 8th of March to the Engliſh miniſtry, who, pretending to be unacquainted with it, anſwered it in their uſual manner.

Many have been the attempts made by the Engliſh, within theſe few years, to drive into rebellion againſt Spain, thoſe nations of India, their allies, and friends, who inhabit the lands contiguous to *Louiſiana*; one while they regularly provided them with arms; at other times they bribed them with preſents, and honoured them with patents and Engliſh medals, &c. &c. and finally, inſtigated them to join the Engliſh troops to commit hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of his Catholic Majeſty.

Applications have been regularly made to the court of London, on different occaſions, for the redreſs of various offences of that nature; and though its anſwers have been made in general terms, ſuch as theſe: "*We ſhall take notice of that, and ſend the neceſſary orders*;" Spain has not yet ſeen the alteration which ſhe expected in all reaſon and juſtice.

On the contrary, the court of London, under pretence of its war with the American ſtates, and forgetting ſo well the exact impartiality obſerved by the Spaniſh colonies, as to the good reception the Engliſh have always met with therein, they have committed, both by land and ſea, the moſt grievous inſults: having even threatened with deſtruction a frigate of war in the very capital town of New Orleans.

Soon after this, and in the months of June and July of the year 1778, the Engliſh prompted the *Characas*, *Miraquies* and *Micathas* Indians, to raiſe a rebellion, paying to each Indian the value of a ſkin of veniſon a day, and inducing them to fall upon, with the natural and brutal cruelty of thoſe barbarous nations, and deſtroy the Spaniſh ſettlements; notwithſtanding the treaty of peace then in force between Spain and England, and the pacific diſpoſition of the King, and his impartial and upright conduct in regard to the diſturbances of America, and the hoſtilities committed againſt France. To the purpoſe aforeſaid, the Indians were to have repaired to, and aſſembled in a place called the *Natches*, with a body of Engliſh well armed; but a happy circumſtance prevented this barbarous project from taking place: two of thoſe nations, convinced, without doubt, of the injuſtice they were going to commit, every way repugnant to the rights of men, and to the good treatment they had always received from the Spaniards, they withdrew, and thus diſcountenanced the reſt.

Some inhabitants of the Spaniſh dominions were carried away, others were offered all ſort of violence, and many compelled to carry arms and war againſt the Americans: particularly in one, among many other inſtances of our ſub-

jects, a young man, named *Livois*, the ſon of a captain of one of our Spaniſh colonies.

By the laſt news we have received the original letters of the Engliſh Commander Hamilton, in which he threatened to enter the Spaniſh territories, as has been related in the Gazette of Madrid of the 20th of July, at the article of *la Havanna:* it appeared moreover, by thoſe letters, that the Britiſh government had given orders to build many fortreſſes, and in particular a ſolid and permanent one at the mouth of the *Miſſiſſipi*, near the lake of Iberville; which proceeding alone would be ſufficient to bring to light the deſigns of the court of London againſt the Spaniſh dominions, ſince the ſaid fortreſs could by no means moleſt the Americans, but would be highly prejudicial to the Spaniſh nation.

To the above purpoſe we muſt not omit, that in the month of May in the year 1778, *Don Franciſco Eſcarano*, the Spaniſh *Chargé des Affaires*, came to London to complain, that the Engliſh had inſtigated the Indians called *Paſcagulas*, whoſe habitations are contiguous to *Louiſiana*, to ſhake off the obedience they owe to the King; by giving them commiſſions of captains in the ſervice of his Britannic Majeſty, and decorating them with orders and medals. We ſhould never have done, if we would relate, with their circumſtances, theſe, and many more infringements of the treaties, violences, and uſurpations executed theſe late years by the Engliſh government againſt the Spaniſh dominions.

2. Spain gave, in regard to prizes, orders ſimilar to thoſe of France; and it cauſed them to be put in execution with ſo much rigour and exactneſs, that ſeveral American privateers, and among others the famous *Cunningham*, exaſperated againſt Spain, retaliated, by uſing the Spaniards very ill, and making upon them reprizals, which have not as yet been delivered back, though often aſked for.

3. Neither ought motives of jealouſy or the thirſt of diſcord to have prevailed upon the Engliſh ſo much, as to make them loſe any ſenſe of juſtice, gratitude, or reſpect in regard to Spain, conſidering that this laſt could carry on but little or no trade with the Engliſh Americans, having already enough of that it carries on with its own poſſeſſions of America; and being amply provided with every neceſſary by the ſame. Nevertheleſs, the court of London, with an intention of keeping at hand a ſpecious pretence for a rupture, whenever its projects ſhould be in maturity, affected a great uneaſineſs on account of the mercantile correſpondence carried on between ſome merchants of *Bilboa* and others of the Engliſh colonies, though that correſpondence had begun ſeveral years before their rupture with the mother country. The Engliſh miniſtry diſcovered the ſame uneaſineſs for a like mercantile correſpondence carried on by ſome French merchants of *Louiſiana* with the Americans; and pretended to call the Spaniſh government to an account for that contravention to its own laws in that part of the world: at the ſame period, wherein the ſubjects of

of England, called the Royaliſts, were found in the ſame contravention on the Spaniſh coaſts of *Miſſiſſipi* and *Louiſiana*, making a traffic of ſmuggled goods: many of them were taken up, and great complaints have been made for the ſame. The Engliſh commanders of thoſe parts pretended proudly, that the inhabitants proſecuted by them ſhould not be allowed to take refuge at *Louiſiana*, if they ſhould fly there for it, while the royaliſts were welcome there, and being under no apprehenſions either for their lives or properties; for which generous dealing ſeveral of them returned thanks to the Spaniſh government by word of mouth, and in writing. The Spaniſh government did not confine itſelf to thoſe tokens of humanity. Having heard of a great ſcarcity of flour prevailing at *Penzacola*, it ſpontaneouſly ſent a good quantity of it into that place;—— threats, violences, and the hoſtile proceedings laid down in the foregoing articles are the only thanks the miniſtry and the Engliſh nation gave for the ſame.

4. For fear we ſhould be detained in the enumeration of the events anterior to theſe late times, we ſhall only ſay, that the inſults offered by the Engliſh navy to the Spaniſh navigation and trade, from the year 1776 till the beginning of the preſent year 1779, were already 86 in number, including prizes taken by unjuſt practices, piracy, and robberies of various effects out of the veſſels; attacks made with gun-firing, and other incredible violences. Since the ſaid month of March, and notwithſtanding the memorial preſented by the ambaſſador, Marquis de Almadovar, on the 14th of the ſame, in which he complained of the principal grievances, and revived the Memorials that had preceded, three Spaniſh ſhips were taken by the Engliſh, on the 12th, 19th, and 26th of April, viz. the *Noſtra fra de la Conception*, the *la Virgen de Gracia*, and the *las Almas*: which proceeding, together with the other inſults, of which a detail was ſent to the ſame ambaſſador, in order to be laid before the Engliſh miniſtry, were ſufficient motives for the ambaſſador to aſſert, in his final declaration preſented to the miniſtry on the 16th of June, that the grievances of the late years did not fall much ſhort of a hundred.

5. In the two laſt years, and till the beginning of March of the preſent year, the Engliſh navy has inſulted at 12 different times, in the European and American ſeas, the ſhips of his Catholic Majeſty, among which were packets, and other ſmall veſſels, that had not a competent force to reſiſt. It makes one bluſh to deſcribe with what indecency and ignominy the King's flag was treated by the Engliſh officers in thoſe and other ſimilar caſes. We ſhall only relate the tranſaction of the 31ſt of October of the laſt year, when an officer having been diſpatched by two Engliſh frigates to reconnoitre the Spaniſh ſloop, named *Noſtra Signora de la Eſclavitud*, between the Iſles of *la Mona* and *la Saona*, he obliged it to ſtrike his Majeſty's flag, and then, taking it, he wiped the ſweat off his face with its coat of arms, to ſhew a greater contempt for it. This ſingular officer, with his companions, plundered

dered the ſhip, and ſtript the ſeamen of ſundry things eſſentially neceſſary to their uſe.

6. The Engliſh nation entered the Spaniſh territories eleven times within a very few years paſt. Among thoſe attempts, one deſerves a particular notice; viz. what was performed on the 31ſt of April, 1777, by the long-boats of three Engliſh frigates, then laying in the bay of Gibraltar, which fired at the King's cutter, and at the guard-houſe, that was on the bridge *Mayorga*, and carried away the crew and the goods of a bark which had been taken by the ſaid cutter on ſuſpicion of ſmuggling tobacco and money. After they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole, they retired, diſplaying affected civilities, and taking off their hats out of deriſion.

7. The complaints of the court of Spain have been as many as the inſults offered; memorials having been repeatedly preſented from time to time in London and in Madrid; ſo that they might be ſaid to have been innumerable. Nevertheleſs, the King of England told his parliament preciſely, that many of them never came to his knowledge, adding moreover, that he was fully convinced, he had never given occaſion for the unjuſt proceedings of Spain. We now ſay it over again, complaints have been ſo repeatedly made, that on the 5th of February, 1778, *Don Franciſco Eſcarano* having expoſed and ſhewn ſome of them in writing to Lord *Weymouth*, did expreſs plainly how tired he was of preſenting ſo many, by ſaying, "That it appeared as if all the "captains of ſhips of his Britiſh "Majeſty had agreed about the "mode of bad behaviour to thoſe "of the King and of the Spaniſh "nation; ſince it was known by "a conſtant experience, that the "Engliſh ſhips always began by "firing their guns at ours with "bullets; then their officers came "on board to regiſter them; put "the ſeamen in irons, or confined them under the hatches of "the ſhip: did not in the leaſt "ſcruple to carry away what "goods they had a fancy to, and "when they parted from us, bid us "fare well by another cannonading with ſmall ſhot: that the "Spaniſh ſhips, and eſpecially "the packet-boats, which are "provided with guns, might have "repelled thoſe inſults by force, "but that they never did it, on "account of the remarkable ſtrict "orders they had from the Spaniſh government, which was anxious to live in the beſt harmony with the Engliſh nation; "and that finally, by comparing "the exceſſive moderation of Spain "with the frequent affronts offered by the Engliſh navy, his "lordſhip will be able to judge, "whether they ought not to have "been paid attention to; and "whether they did not call aloud "for reddreſs."

Thoſe were the expreſſions made uſe of by Spain, in February 1778. Let us now ſee what that court ſaid on the 14th of March of the preſent year, by the channel of the *Marquis d'Almadovar*, in a memorial written for that purpoſe to the *Viſcount Weymouth*.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador, after referring to two caſes that had been anſwered by the Engliſh miniſter, proceeds in this manner; "The "King could not help to remark,

" that, from all the complaints " made to the Engliſh miniſtry by " his orders, for theſe two years, " theſe two caſes only met with a " clear inſtructive anſwer. His " Majeſty took into conſideration " the motives of the anſwer of " the 13th of January, and ex- " cuſes the delay alledged, as to " the tranſaction that happened " in America;" but he does not ſee, why any change in the deſtination of the ſhips, the death of the commanders, or the recall of the admirals, to whom the orders were directed, ſhould have prevented the verification longed after; ſuch were, however, the motives or pretences alledged. If the captains were dead, or if the ſhips had changed their ſtation, had even thoſe changes and alterations been univerſal, and had they happened preciſely at the time when the verification ſhould have taken place, the command of the places near whom the tranſactions happened, were, nevertheleſs, in the ſame hands, and there it was they ſhould have been enquired into. Suppoſe the officers had been changed, the exerciſe of their function was not interrupted, and the tribunals of the diſtricts, who ought to have known of matters of that ſort, were ſtill ſubſiſting. Since that time, ſome of the captains, who commanded the ſhips that either took or treated ill the Spaniſh veſſels, came over to England, and they might have been interrogated upon many articles.

The Marquis of Almadovar continued to make obſervations upon particular caſes, and concluded his memorial in this manner: " In " a word, had even every circum- " ſtance concurred to hinder or " delay the inſtruction which the " Britiſh miniſtry deſired, pre- " vious to its giving redreſs to " my court, the King, my maſter, " thought at leaſt, that orders ſent " by his Britiſh Majeſty to his " officers ſhould have ſtopt the " courſe of thoſe vexations; ſo " far from it, advice is conti- " nually received at Madrid of " recent injuries, there having " been ſent to me from thence " the relation of ſome of them, " with injunction to communicate " them to your lordſhip. In com- " pliance, therefore, with thoſe " orders, I have the honour to " include the relation thereunto " annexed, containing the moſt " notorious facts, omitting others, " for fear of multiplying com- " plaints, though they are equal- " ly well founded on truth. Your " lordſhip will know from this the " importance of thoſe complaints, " and the neceſſity of accelerat- " ing, as much as poſſible, the " ſatisfaction which the King my " maſter flatters himſelf he ſhall " obtain from the juſtice and equi- " ty of his Britiſh Majeſty."

This memorial, given in the month of March, produced nothing but fine promiſes on the part of the Engliſh miniſtry, without preventing the making prizes and committing other inſults in the months of April and May following, which was hinted at before in the fourth note. We may reaſonably queſtion, whether the Engliſh miniſtry ever took the trouble to read the notes or enumeration of the grievances; and if not, the reaſon is obvious, why his Britannic Majeſty had never been informed of them, as he was pleaſed to announce to his parliament.

Spain was more fortunate with the Engliſh government, becauſe at leaſt this laſt never denied facts, but always made good offers, though ſuch as never were productive of a compleat redreſs, or even prevented the uſual vexations. All the European powers know very well the practices of the Engliſh navy in its depredations; what country has not experienced them either in the preſent, or the late war againſt France and England: but they did not know, nor could they have imagined, that the captain of the Engliſh frigate or ſloop of war, *the Zephir*, commanded by *Thomas Haſth*, after taking by unjuſt means the Spaniſh ſhip, *La Trinidad*, going from Bilboa to Cadiz, towards the end of 1777, loaded with leather, nails, iron, and other goods, ſhould carry her into *Tangiers*, and there try to exchange her for an American brigantine (which had been taken by a corſair of *Morocco*) leaving the captain, pilot, and all the mariners for ſlaves. Happily, however, the Moors did not accept of that propoſal, and the ſhip was conducted to the Bay of Gibraltar; and there being no kind of pretence to declare her a lawful prize, they abandoned her, after having plundered a great deal of her cargo; the ſhip, however, ſuffered ſo much in the action when taken, that having met with a gale of wind near Gibraltar, ſhe could not hold it out, but was ſhipwrecked on the coaſts. No faith would be given to a fact of that nature, if the truth of it was not ſo well eſtabliſhed; and nobody could ever imagine, that a nation ſo learned and improved as the Engliſh are, ſhould bring up and employ ſea-officers poſſeſſing ſuch principles.

9. The injuſtice of the ſentences pronounced by the Engliſh judges of the Admiralty, and their extravagant conduct, may be aſcertained by the two following caſes: the Engliſh cutter, the Lively, commanded by Joſeph Smith, took the Spaniſh ſhip, the *St. Nicholas*, and *St. Celmo*, (the property of Don *Manuel del Cervo Rubio*, an inhabitant of the neighbourhood of *La Carugna*) bound from that port to the Spaniſh iſles. The Engliſh captain carried her into the iſland of *Anguila*, where it was declared ſhe was not a legal prize; and having been releaſed, the Engliſh governor gave her a paſſport to continue her voyage unmoleſted. That precaution, however, did not avail to her; for, at her going out of port, another Engliſh ſloop of war took her, and carried her into St. Chriſtopher's, to the port of *Baſſeterre*, in which place ſhe was ſentenced to be a legal prize. The Spaniſh packet-boat, the *St. Pedro*, commander, Captain *Franciſco Xavier Garcia*, had the ſame lot ſince, having been taken on the 8th of May, 1778, by the Engliſh captain *James Dunnovan*, and carried into the ſame iſle of *Anguila*, ſhe was there declared an *illegal* prize, but at her departure, another Engliſh cruizer, Captain *Joſeph Armet*, which happened to be in the ſame port, retook her, and carried her into *St. Chriſtopher*, where ſhe was ſentenced a *legal* prize, as the former had been.

10. No other power has experienced, like Spain, the aggreſſions and uſurpations of the Engliſh government, made in the time of the

the moſt profound peace, and without any previous declaration of war. There is hardly one of thoſe Engliſh territories, which formerly belonged to Spain, that has not been taken by ſurprize, in time of peace; and all the ſeas may be witneſſes that when the Spaniſh ſhips were beaten or taken, there was no reaſon to believe they ſhould be attacked: it has been a practice with no other cabinet, but the Engliſh, to conclude a treaty with Spain, and immediately after to commit the greateſt hoſtilities againſt that ſame treaty. After ſuch a conduct, we leave it to the conſideration of the impartial world to decide, if the King was wrong to augment his naval forces, and to fruſtrate, by anticipation, the deſigns of his enemies and offenders.

11. No motives whatſoever ſhould have hindered England to give redreſs to Spain, to have prevented new inſults, and return it the gratitude it deſerves; ſince, in ſpite of the projects and public threats of ſeveral members of the Engliſh parliament, in the ſeſſion of the months of December, 1777, and January and February, 1778, (who propoſed to ſettle the diſputes with the Americans, in order to make war againſt the Houſe of Bourbon) the Catholic King never would make any treaty with the colonies, for fear of giving to the court of London the leaſt pretence for complaints. We do not by this mean to ſay, that the French miniſtry had not the ſtrongeſt reaſons to fear new enemies, and conſequently to prevent the hoſtile deſigns of the Britiſh cabinet.

12. The French court behaved with ſo much candour and ſincerity in the treaty made with the Americans, (of which, however, the Catholic King knew nothing then) that the ſame court declared, by its ambaſſador in London, that Spain had no hand at all in it. Notwithſtanding this, by orders diſpatched to *Don Franciſco Eſcarano*, the Spaniſh *Chargé des Affaires* in London, on the 24th of March, he had inſtructions, among other things, to declare to the Engliſh miniſtry, that though his Catholic Majeſty had taken no ſhare in what had happened between France and America, and was ſtill reſolved to preſerve the peace, this was to be underſtood, "As long as his "Majeſty could make it conſiſtent "with the dignity of his crown, "with the preſervation of his "rights, and the protection he "owes to his ſubjects; and that, "therefore, the conduct of Spain "ſhould be guided by that of "England." This was the declaration made by *Eſcarano* to the Viſcount Weymouth, in a private audience he had on the 4th of April following, and he acquainted his court with it, on the 8th of the ſame month.

13. It has been the manifeſt leading project of England, to bring about a re-union of the colonies with the crown, in order to arm them againſt the Houſe of Bourbon, or to lead that ſame Houſe into an error, by means of treacherous negociations and treaties, in order to take revenge on the colonies, after having made them enemies to France. The beginning, progreſs, and concluſion of the negociations, related in this manifeſto, eſtabliſh evidently the certainty of that project, and the facts contained in the ſubſe-

quent notes, will prove it beyond a doubt.

14. The King of Spain could not obſerve a greater circumſpection than he did, to avoid engaging himſelf in an unfruitful negotiation, or getting entangled in its conſequences; he uſed the ſame expreſſions with the court of London that he had done with France, ſending orders, on the 19th of April, to the *Chargé des Affaires, Don Franciſco Eſcarano*, directing him to require from the Britiſh miniſtry, "a manifeſt declaration from "them, expreſſing their real long-"ing after a negotiation with "France, by the mediation of "his Majeſty, and ſetting forth "the chief articles whereupon to "ground it."

Thoſe and other like precautions became neceſſary with a miniſtry that always affects to ſpeak myſteriouſly, ambiguouſly, and with artful reſtriction, and who delivered their thoughts to the Spaniſh ambaſſadors and public miniſters in a mode very different from that made uſe of in the public diſpatches of buſineſs directed by that ſame miniſtry to the Engliſh ambaſſador in Madrid. The Spaniſh cabinet, which does not adopt that political method of delivery, had the open-heartedneſs to warn the ſaid miniſtry, to ſet it aſide during the courſe of the negotiation, without inſiſting on the candour and ſincerity the ſame requires.

15. Orders were ſent to *Eſcarano*, on the 23d and 25th of May, and on the 1ſt of June laſt year, directing him to keep a profound ſilence upon the negotiation that had been agitated; and to declare again to the court of London, that his catholic Majeſty was always in the ſame pacific diſpoſition, and would continue ſo, as long as the conduct of the Engliſh nation ſhould not compel him to alter his ſentiments. England cannot complain, that Spain has not repeatedly declared this ſame reſolution of the King.

16. It is evident from the contents of the above notes, that hoſtilities like the preceding, and even greater ones, were committed by England againſt the Spaniſh territories, and the Spaniſh flag, under the maſk of friendſhip, and in the midſt of the moſt cordial proteſtations, and aſſurances of peace.

17. It would not appear ſtrange, if clandeſtine orders, ſimilar to thoſe given to take poſſeſſion of the French ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, had been ſent, in the beginning of this year, for to fall upon the Philippine Iſlands, and if the emiſſaries, ſent ſoon after through *Alexandria* and *Suez*, had been intruſted with the conduct of that enterprize: at leaſt, thoſe are the opinions of the moſt judicious men, and alſo of thoſe who are the beſt acquainted with the tranſactions of the court of London. Time will bring thoſe myſteries and enigmas to light; and the world will be better able to comprehend, how the generoſity of the King of Spain has been correſpondent with that of the Engliſh cabinet; at a time, when his Catholic Majeſty ſpared no pains to obtain an honourable peace, and free that nation from great calamities and misfortunes.

18. The Catholic King continued his mediation to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with an intent of making a peace, not only becauſe his religious and pious heart, and the love he profeſſes to his ſubjects,

ſubjects, and to the human race in general, inſpired him with thoſe ſentiments; but moreover, becauſe the court of London continued to inſinuate its deſire of coming to an accommodation with France. And indeed hardly was the Count of *Almadovar* arrived in London, but he acquainted his own court, on the 14th of September, 1778, that in a long conference he lately had with the Viſcount *Weymouth*, that miniſter had concluded his diſcourſe with thoſe terms; viz. "That the King, his maſter, "knew the amiable diſpoſitions "of his Catholic Majeſty; that "he was indebted to him for his "demonſtrations of friendſhip; "and moſt ſincerely deſired to ter"minate the preſent war by his "mediations, by a method con"ſiſtent with the honour of the "crown of Great Britain, and by "which, at the ſame time, an "equal regard ſhould be paid to "France." In conſideration of the uſual tenderneſs and honour due to the crown, Lord *Weymouth* recommended to the Marquis *d'Almadovar*, not to uſe in his diſpatches (as he, *Weymouth*, would have the ſame care in his own) theſe words "to aſk the media"tion," but "to requeſt and to "wiſh that his Catholic Majeſty "ſhould interpoſe his mediation." The Lord Grantham ſpoke ſubſtantially the ſame language in Madrid; and his Catholic Majeſty, having taken it into his conſideration, ordered a note or memorial to be delivered to that ambaſſador, on the 28th of the ſaid month of September, and a copy of the ſame was diſpatched to the Marquis of *Almadovar*, with direction to communicate it to the Engliſh government. We thought it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to write out the anſwer contained in the ſame memorial; becauſe it will throw light upon, and ſerve for the right underſtanding of the ſaid negotiation; and which was as follows:

"The King conſidering what "has been written by his ambaſ"ſador, the Marquis of *Almado*"*var*, and out of love for man"kind; and, moreover, to con"tinue upon good and amicable "terms with both the Kings of "France and Great Britain; and "alſo leſt he might be reproached "with refuſing to promote, as far "as lays in his power, the tran"quillity of Europe, he has re"ſolved to notify to each court, "that if they ſincerely wiſh to "enter into a plan of reconcilia"tion, by the mediation of his "Majeſty, without prejudice to "the honour of either crown, but "with an anticipated anxiety for "the dignity of both; the moſt "regular and decent mode of pro"ceeding is, that each court "ſhould deliver into the King's "hand, without delay, and at the "ſame time, the conditions and "the articles they intend to ob"tain or to grant by the treaty, "that his Majeſty may communi"cate to the one court the propoſi"tions of the other, to the end "that they may be modified, diſ"cuſſed, or refuſed. That, after "a due examination of the whole, "his Majeſty ſhall propoſe his "own plan of pacification to ter"minate the difference. That "the negotiation muſt ſtipulate "the method of concerting with "the Americans; without which "the wiſhed-for peace cannot be "attained:

" attained: and finally, that at " one and the ſame time, the " conditions relative to the pri- " vate intereſt of England and " Spain ſhall likewiſe be diſcuſ- " ſed and ſettled; that the King " would be ſorry if this method " was not adopted, or if the ne- " gociation was not conducted with " ſincerity; ſince, in ſpite of the " wiſhes and pacific diſpoſitions of " his Majeſty, he foreſees that the " circumſtances of the preſent war " muſt oblige him to become a " party, the neceſſity of having " his flag reſpected, and of re- " pelling the inſults which are " daily offered to his ſubjects, " having occaſioned expenſive ar- " maments, and immenſe loſſes."

The concluſion of the foregoing anſwer cauſed much uneaſineſs to the court of London, which, nevertheleſs, ſent a frigate that entered the port of *Corunna* on the 10th of November, with diſpatches for Lord *Grantham*, with the anſwer of the ſame court. That anſwer was delivered on the 14th of the ſaid month of November; and the contents of it were, that the court of London accepted with pleaſure the mediation of his Catholic Majeſty to ſettle the differences that exiſted between England and France, provided the latter would withdraw the ſuccours and aid it gave to the colonies. As to the articles relative to the reciprocal intereſt of Great Britain and Spain, the reply was, that his Britiſh Majeſty was ready at all times, and wiſhed earneſtly to enter into that diſcuſſion; and to ſettle them ſo as to eſtabliſh reciprocal advantages to both empires. The Catholic King, in compliance with the tender he had made to both courts, communicated to each of them on the 20th of November the pretenſions, propoſitions, and overtures made reſpectively: perſuading both of them, with various reaſonings, to ſeek means and temperaments productive of a ſincere and honourable reconciliation. At the ſame time a letter was ſent to the Marquis of *Almadovar*, ſetting forth what follows; viz. " Your Ex- " cellency is authoriſed to ſettle " the matters relative to our own " intereſt, on which important " buſineſs the utmoſt efforts of " your zeal muſt be employed: " ſince the King, who wiſhes ſin- " cerely to preſerve the peace, " will receive the greateſt plea- " ſure, if he ſees thoſe differences " ſatisfactorily ſettled: to the ſame " purpoſe let your Excellency re- " mind the Engliſh miniſtry of " the generoſity of Spain, for its " impartial proceedings in cir- " cumſtances ſo critical as the pre- " ſent ones. But let your Ex- " cellency repreſent, how badly " we have been anſwered, and " how ill we are conſtantly treat- " ed by the Engliſh navy, as may " be aſcertained from the inſults " that our navigators receive al- " moſt daily in different parts of " the ocean, and in the very ports " and places on the coaſts of this " peninſula. That court will un- " derſtand that the greateſt pro- " teſtations of friendſhip have no " force to perſuade, while repeat- " ed inſults are never reproved or " chaſtiſed, eſpecially after we " have been for years expoſing to " them our grievances in the moſt " cordial open manner, and with " the moſt cautious expreſſions.

" Your Excellency is not igno- " rant of what has been regulated

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" by the preliminaries of the treaty of Paris in the year 1763, in " the 16th article, relative to the " Engliſh ſettlements in the Bay " of Honduras and other adjacent " territories. It was there ſtipulated in poſitive terms, that, " whatever fortifications had been " built, they ſhould be demoliſhed; and that the Engliſh ſhould " only be allowed to have ſome " houſes and magazines, without " being moleſted in the cutting " or in the carriage of the log-wood out of the territories which " have always been acknowledged " to belong to Spain. Not only " that demolition was never performed, but the fortifications " have been even augmented; " and there is now artillery and " garriſons in them: ſo that thoſe " plantations have been converted " both into a military government " with patents, and by the authority of that court; and into a " permanent colony by the uſurpation of foreign territories, and " a formal contravention to the " treaties.

" Other enterprizes of the ſame " nature have been made in different parts of thoſe extenſive " coaſts; as his Excellency will " find related in the papers of his " ſecretaryſhip; and his Excellency is likewiſe deſired to take " notice of the artful machinations made uſe of by the Engliſh to arm the Indians againſt " the Spaniards. There being no " poſſibility of eſtabliſhing a ſolid " and ſincere friendſhip, except " redreſs be given for ſuch notorious grievances, and except " they be prevented to happen in " future, it becomes the court of " London to compenſate thoſe injuries according to the dictates " of equity, and then others will " be laid before the ſaid court " with the ſame freedom: thoſe " redreſſes, however, once granted, England will find no inſtances of better diſpoſition than " thoſe harboured in the heart of " our auguſt Sovereign.

" I have at different periods acquainted your Excellency (as I " had often done your predeceſſor " in the embaſſy) of the various " inſults we received near *Louiſiana*; wherein the Engliſh, either " inſtigated the Indians, our allies, to raiſe a rebellion againſt " us, and to fight us with the " arms and ammunition they had " put into their hands, or inſulted " the Spaniſh plantations and ſettlements, and even threatened " to attack the capital towns, with " their men of war, under the " moſt frivolous pretences, no " way excuſable. On this head, " I ſhall only add, that extortions " have been ſo continual, that " they cry loud for a prompt remedy.

" Finally, your Excellency is " well informed of all the inſults " we have ſuffered, and which we " never deſerved, either by our " paſt or preſent conduct. Conſequently your Excellency will " expoſe our rights with the " greateſt cordiality and moderation, to the end that the Engliſh miniſtry may be convinced " of the rectitude and ſincerity " of our conduct, and of the neceſſity of ſettling at once our " differences, and of regulating " our claims and intereſt; at the " ſame time ſtifling whatever may " lead to any future diſcord, for " the reſpective utility of both nations,

" tions, upon which I refer to the " inſtructions ſent to your Excel- " lency. A ſufficient power has " already been inveſted in your " Excellency, and a greater one " will be given, if neceſſary, the " more effectually to conſolidate " the friendſhip of the two courts; " which important point, and " that of a general peace, are the " two objects, which the magna- " nimous heart of our Sovereign " greatly longs after. I ſuppoſe, " however, that your Excellency " will not forget, that we can do " nothing whatever againſt the in- " tereſt of France, whoſe friend- " ſhip muſt always be one of our " greateſt concerns."

In conſequence of the facts and tranſactions already enumerated, the world will be convinced of the circumſpection, ſincerity, and attention, with which the Catholic King has endeavoured to conclude a peace ſolidly cemented, and to obtain from England redreſs for an infinite number of inſults. The court of London, moreover, affects now to compel his Majeſty to take up arms, (a part he has already taken) by renewing the inſults, without any appearance of offering redreſs.

19. The propoſitions of England, in anſwer to the diſpatches of his Catholic Majeſty of the 20th of November, 1778, were not received in Madrid before the 13th of January, 1779, and were the reſult of a conference held the 28th of December laſt, between the Marquis of *Almadovar* and the Viſcount *Weymouth*.

What has been the conduct of that miniſter in this occurrence, may be collected from the following expreſſions contained in the diſpatches, deſigned as an anſwer, and directed to the Marquis of *Almadovar*, on the 20th of the ſame month of January: " I have read " to the King (thoſe are the very " words) the whole diſpatches of " your Excellency, as well as the " paper delivered to him by Lord " *Weymouth*; I have at the ſame " time informed his Majeſty of the " remarks and obſervations that " Lord *Grantham* has communi- " cated to me, relative to the ſame " object. This ambaſſador has " put in my hands another paper " ſimilar to that which your Mi- " niſter of State has forwarded by " your Excellency; nevertheleſs, I " muſt ſay that, neither in the ex- " plications of Lord *Grantham*, " nor in the diſpatches that he re- " ceived from his court, are found " the ſubſtantial and ſpecific ex- " preſſions, which have been made " uſe of with your Excellency, in " order to induce the King to pro- " poſe a method of an accommo- " dation.

" Notwithſtanding that, I ſhall " tell to your Excellency with " freedom and exactneſs, the re- " flections made by the King, the " reſolution he has taken, and the " conduct your Excellency ſhould " keep to cauſe it to be under- " ſtood, and get an anſwer, and " the preſent diſpatches will ſerve " to your Excellency as inſtruc- " tions.

" His Majeſty has already re- " marked, that the court of Lon- " don expreſſes itſelf differently by " word of mouth to what it does " in writing; that is to ſay, by " word of mouth, it appears, as if " that court wiſhed for nothing " more eagerly, than to hear the " convenient and honourable tem-

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" perament his Majeſty has found, " in order to accede to it; and in " writing, it appears, that the " Britiſh Miniſtry perſiſt in their " former ideas, expreſſing only " their deſire of a peace by gene- " ral proteſtations."

Subſequently to the foregoing reflections, others were ſet down in the ſaid diſpatches to the Marquis of Almadovar, explaining ſome thoughts that occurred to his Majeſty, with a deſire of falling into a prudent and honourable method that might facilitate the pacification. The ſubſtance of thoſe ideas was confined to know, whether it might be expected that the Engliſh Cabinet would conſent to a long continued truce between the belligerent powers and the colonies, that might be prudently combined, to preſerve the dignity of each of them, and conſolidated with various precautions, to remove any ſuſpicion of a new rupture; for which purpoſe it ſhould be referred to a ſubſequent negociation, or to a Congreſs, to be held in an impartial place, under the mediation of the King, for the ſtipulating or concluding the treaties that might take place between thoſe powers.

20. From the 20th January of this year, when an extraordinary diſpatch was forwarded to London, with the ideas or thoughts of the King, as recited in the above number, the Engliſh Cabinet deferred giving any anſwer until the 16th March. At the end of ſo long a delay, that Court came to an explication in a diſpatch ſent to Lord Grantham, which was received in Madrid the 28th of the ſame month. It amounted merely to advert at large on the reflections contained in that of the Court of Madrid of the 20th January; but it deſerves much notice what ſort of ſatisfaction Lord Viſcount Weymouth gave, relative to the difference obſerved between his manner of explaining himſelf by word of mouth and by writing. *My language* (theſe are the words of his anſwer) *with the Marquis d'Almadovar, flowing from my ardent deſire for peace, went too far, and were wanting in exactneſs, if they imported a diſpoſition to exchange the Royal Honour, and manifeſt rights for a decent exterior, and plauſible temperature.* If, with ſuch a fineſſe, Miniſters recede from their words, and ſatisfy thoſe with whom they treat, what faith or ſecurity can be put in the explanations of a Court made ſolemnly to the Ambaſſador of a powerful King?

Be it as it may: after all the obſervations contained in the foremention'd Engliſh diſpatch of the 16th March, it concluded with an appearance which flattered the King with an hope, that at leaſt a pacification would be effected. *Let France propoſe* (ſaid the Engliſh Cabinet) *her complaints, pretenſions, or points of any kind whatever, and an adequate anſwer will be given; or let there be a truce for a certain time between Great Britain and France, during which period the pretenſions of the one and the other may be adjuſted through the good offices of his Catholic Majeſty.*

Let the Colonies (added the Engliſh Cabinet) *propoſe their* complaints, and the conditions for their ſecurity and caution, by which may be re-eſtabliſhed the continuance and authority of a lawful government: we ſhall then ſee if we can come to a direct and immediate

immediate agreement; or if they alſo prefer the method above-mentioned, let there be likewiſe a truce made with North America, that is, a real truce, and effective ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; during which, the liberty and effects of all ſorts and claſſes of perſons may be re-eſtabliſhed and ſecured, and all violence ſuſpended, on one ſide and the other, againſt the reſpective individuals, and the eſtates or effects they poſſeſs. In theſe truces, the French may treat of their own peculiar matters, without giving the umbrage, which would be inevitable, if they mixed in the negotiation their own particular advantages with the ſuppoſed intereſts of thoſe whom France affects to call her allies: and his Britannic Majeſty may eſtabliſh the government of his own dominions, without the diſagreeable circumſtance of receiving the conditions relative thereto from the hands of a declared enemy.

21. It appears by the opening made by the Court of London, in the diſpatch mentioned in the preceding note, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a truce between France and the Colonies, that it contained no difficulty, except the reſerving for a ſeparate treaty the pretenſions of the ſaid Power, and thoſe of the American Provinces aforeſaid, ſo that France ſhould not interfere in the arrangement of their intereſts;—at leaſt, this is what any perſon of ſincerity and good faith would then or even now believe, who read, or now reads the explanations of the Engliſh Cabinet in that diſpatch. Under this ſuppoſition, we ſhall communicate, for the eye of the impartial public, the ultimatum of the propoſitions made by the Catholic King to the two Courts of Paris and London, he having taken on himſelf the adjuſtment of the diſputes ſubſiſting with the American provinces, and conſidering there was not time to communicate to them, or even to France, this his reſolution, and whereof advice was given to the ſaid Courts on the 3d of April in the preſent year; that is to ſay, ſeven days after the having received the anſwer of the Engliſh Cabinet.

" If theſe openings or propoſitions (thus literally are the " expreſſions of the ultimatum) " had come immediately after the " King had made his, for the " forming a plan of reconciliation, many difficulties might " already have been removed or " adjuſted by the modifications " which it might have been practicable to have negociated, if " reciprocal good faith had exiſted, and a confidence to conclude a peace. But having " loſt more than two months time, " (without mentioning what was " neglected before, and obſerving " in this interval, there was no " need of ceſſation in the forming " great expeditions or preparations) ſuſpicions inevitably aroſe, that the drift was to " amuſe and conſume the remaining months of the campaign, " and to continue the war with " vigour. If this be the caſe, " every attempt of the King will " be uſeleſs towards eſtabliſhing " concord between the belligerent powers. Nevertheleſs, his " Majeſty, to give the laſt proof " of his love of humanity, and " and that he has not left undone

" any

" any thing to impede and put a " ſtop to the calamities of war, " has commanded that the fol- " lowing plan be propoſed to the " two Courts, which on his part " is the ultimatum of his nego- " ciation.

" That with a view that this " ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities may re- " eſtabliſh reciprocal ſecurity and " good faith between the two " Crowns, there ſhall be a gene- " ral diſarming, within one " month, in all the European " ſeas, within four, in thoſe of " America, and within eight, or " one year, in thoſe remote parts " of Africa and Aſia. That in " the ſpace of one month, a place " ſhall be fixed upon, in which " the Plenipotentiaries of the two " Courts ſhall meet to treat on a " definitive adjuſtment of peace, " regulate the reſpective reſtitu- " tions or compenſations neceſ- " ſary, in conſequence of the " repriſals that have been made, " without any declaration of war, " and to ſettle ſuch matters of " complaint or pretenſion, as the " one Crown may have againſt " the other: to the accompliſh- " ment of which end, the King " will continue his mediation, " and does now, for the holding " of this Congreſs, make an offer " of the city of Madrid. That " a like ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities " ſhall be ſeparately granted by " the King of Great Britain to the " American Colonies, through " the interceſſion and mediation " of his Catholic Majeſty, to " whom the ſaid Potentate ſhall " promiſe the obſervance thereof, " and with the condition that it " ſhall not be broke, without " giving to his Majeſty an antici- " pated notice of one year, that " he may communicate it to the " ſaid American provinces; and " that there be eſtabliſhed a reci- " procal diſarming the ſame as " with France, in the ſame times " and places, regulating the li- " mits that ſhall not be paſſed by " the one or the other party, with " reſpect to the places they may " reſpectively occupy at the time " of ratifying this adjuſtment.

" That for ſettling theſe parti- " culars, and others relative to " the firmneſs of the ſaid ſuſpen- " ſion, and to the effects it may " produce while it ſubſiſts, there " ſhall come to Madrid one or " more Commiſſaries or Agents " of the Colonies, and his Britan- " nic Majeſty will ſend his under " the like mediation of the King " (if they ſhould be in need of it) " to accord or agree in the fore- " going, and that in the mean " time the Colonies ſhall be treat- " ed as independent in acting.

" Finally, if it be deſired by " all or any of the belligerent " powers, or by the aforeſaid Co- " lonies, the forementioned pow- " ers ſhall, jointly with Spain, " guarantee the treaties or agree- " ments which ſhall be made:— " the Catholic King now makes " an offer of his guarantee to the " ſaid preliminaries."

Whoever compares theſe articles with the preceding openings made by the Court of London, will decide, if there can be imagined propoſals more moderate, or more analogous to the ſyſtem laid down by the Britiſh Cabinet.—Perhaps his Catholic Majeſty has rather gone too far in the moderation to

which he reduced the ſaid propoſitions, taking on himſelf the difficult taſk of ſettling the diſputes.

22. The greateſt repugnance which the Britiſh Cabinet affected to ſhew to the ultimatum and propoſitions of the King of Spain, reſts on the point of treating the Colonies as Independent in acting during the interval of the truce.

To what has been already ſaid, may be added, what was affirmed in all the public papers of the month of February, 1778, that Lord North had on the 17th of the ſaid month, propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, as a matter of courſe, "That the Commiſ-"ſioners, then appointed by the "Court of London, ſhould treat "with the American Deputies, "as if they were Plenipotentiaries "of independent States; with "proviſo, that this conceſſion "ſhould not be prejudicial to Great "Britain, if in the courſe of the "negociation the colonies ſhould "reſolve to deſiſt from their claim "of independance."

It is a thing very extraordinary, and even ridiculous, that the Court of London treats the Colonies as independent, not only in acting, but of right, during this war, and that it ſhould have a repugnance to treat them as ſuch, only in acting during a truce or ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities. The Convention of Saratoga; the reputing General Burgoyne, as a lawful priſoner, to ſuſpend his trial; the exchange and liberating of other priſoners made from the Colonies; the having named Commiſſioners to go and ſupplicate the Americans at their own doors; requeſt peace of them, and treat with them and the Congreſs; and finally, by a thouſand other acts of this ſort, authoriſed by the Court of London, have been, and are true ſigns of the acknowledgment of the independence: and the Engliſh nation itſelf may judge and decide, whether all thoſe acts are ſo compatible with the decorum of the Britiſh crown, as would be the granting to the Colonies, at the interceſſion of his Catholic Majeſty, a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, adjuſt their differences, and treat them in this interval as independent States.

23. It muſt appear incredible, after having conſidered the preceding articles, that the Court of London ſhould refuſe to accept of the propoſitions of the ultimatum of that of Madrid, although with ſome explanations that it might think neceſſary; but that Court not only rejected them, in its anſwer given the 4th of May, after various pretexts for delay, but put forth indirect and ſtrained interpretations of the propoſals that were then made, having the effrontery to ſay, that "the drift "of Spain was to form, from the "pretenſions of the Colonies to "independence, one common "cauſe with them and with "France."—The Britiſh Cabinet concluding, with ſaying, "That if the conditions which "the Court of Verſailles had "communicated to his Catholic "Majeſty, did not preſent a bet-"ter aſpect than this for the "treaty, or did not offer leſs im-"perious and unequal terms, the "King of Great Britain would "only have to lament, that he "found the hopes fruſtrated, "which he had always conceived "of the happy reſtoration of "peace,

"peace, as well for his ſubjects "as the world in general."

If this is not a want of reſpect to the mediating King, a real provocation, and evident in conſequence, it will be difficult to find expreſſions more adapted for it. Neither did his Catholic Majeſty make a common cauſe with France and the Colonies in his laſt propoſals, nor were they made to France, to whom they were not, nor could not, for want of time, be communicated, before they were tranſmitted to the Court of London; ſo that the whole apparatus of thoſe haughty expreſſions of the Engliſh Miniſtry amount merely to ſay, that in ſpite of the overture made by themſelves on the 16th of March, they preferred war to peace, or treating with the fore-mentioned mediator, whom they provokingly inſulted, treating him as partial, leagued with the enemies of Great Britain, imperious, and inconſiſtent.

In aggravation to all the foregoing, at the ſame time the Britiſh Cabinet anſwered the King of Spain in the terms already mentioned, they were inſinuating themſelves at the Court of France, by means of ſecret emiſſaries, and making very great offers to her to abandon the Colonies, and make peace with England. But there is yet more: at the very ſame time, the Engliſh Miniſtry were treating, by means of another certain emiſſary, with Dr. Franklin, Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the Colonies, reſiding at Paris, to whom they made various propoſals to diſunite them from France, and to accommodate matters with England, on conditions almoſt identically the ſame as thoſe which they had rejected or ſpurned at, as coming from his Catholic Majeſty, but in fact with offers much more favourable to the ſaid Colonies. The ſaid treaty went ſo far as to be extended in formed articles, with various explanations; and was carried on under the authority of one of the principal Engliſh Miniſters. Of all this, and much more, it would be eaſy to inform the public, by true and formal copies, if it were neceſſary, or that this implacable enemy hereafter obliges it to be done, and who has always been treated by Spain with the greateſt moderation.

24. The true intentions of the Court of London being clearly diſcovered, the Catholic King could not longer withhold the putting in full force the treaties concluded with France. From what has been obſerved in the preceding note, it evidently follows, that the whole of the Engliſh policy was to diſunite the two Courts of Paris and Madrid, by means of the ſuggeſtions and offers ſhe ſeparately made to them; alſo to ſeparate the Colonies from their treaties and engagements entered into with France, induce them to arm againſt the Houſe of Bourbon, or, more probably, to oppreſs them, when they found (from breaking their engagements) they ſtood alone and without protectors or guarantees for the treaties they might enter into with the Britiſh Miniſtry. This, therefore, is the net they laid for the American States; that is to ſay, to tempt them with flattering and very magnificent promiſes to come to an accommodation with them, excluſive of any intervention of Spain

or France; that the Britiſh Miniſtry might always remain the arbitrators of the fate of the ſaid Colonies, in the point of fulfilling any treaties or agreements they might make. But the Catholic King, faithful, on the one part, to the engagements which bind him to the Moſt Chriſtian King, his nephew; juſt and upright, on the other, to his own ſubjects, whom he ought to protect and guard againſt ſo many inſults; and finally, full of humanity and compaſſion for the Americans and other individuals who ſuffer from the calamities of the preſent war, he is determined to purſue and proſecute it, and to make all the efforts in his power, until he can obtain a ſolid and permanent peace, with full and ſatisfactory ſecurities that it ſhall be obſerved.

25. To attain, as before-mentioned, the much-deſired end of a ſecure peace, it is abſolutely neceſſary to curtail and deſtroy the arbitrary proceedings and maxims of the Engliſh maritime power; to the attainment of which, all other maritime powers, and even all nations in general, are become much intereſted. The Catholic King, for his part, has done all he poſſibly could, that the inſults founded in ſuch proceedings and maxims ſhould be put an end to, but this he has not been able to effect by amicable means. On the contrary, injuries have been repeatedly continued, as has been repreſented in the negociation ſet on foot with England by the mediation of the ſaid monarch. The Court of London has become forgetful, in theſe later times, that ſhe ſhould have adjuſted and ſettled her differences with Spain according to agreement. In the ſame month of May, in which this negociation was put an end to, there came advices of the violences committed by Engliſh ſhips and their crews in the river Saint John, and Bay of Honduras, (of which mention has been made in note the firſt) and it was known alſo, with great probability, that the Engliſh Cabinet had given anticipated orders for the invaſion of the Phillipine Iſlands. From ſuch deeds, as well as from the foregoing, the impartial and candid world will be enabled to do juſtice in this famous controverſy, and decide whether the declaration preſented by the Marquis of Almadovar, the 16th June laſt, is founded in reaſon and truth. In the mean while it ſhould be obſerved, that the Court of London, on the 18th of ſaid month, iſſued orders for commencing and committing hoſtilities, and making repriſals againſt Spain, who did not iſſue ſimilar orders till after ſhe had received advice thereof.

Copy of the ANSWER *tranſmitted to the Marquis d'*Almadovar *by Lord Viſcount* Weymouth, *dated the* 13*th of* July, 1779.

THE Marquis d'Almadovar, late Ambaſſador of his Catholic Majeſty at this Court, on his ſudden departure, left with Viſcount Weymouth, Secretary to his Britannic Majeſty, a declaration of war, founded on a detail of motives to juſtify ſo violent a ſtep.—In this detail Spain affects to complain in general of the little deſire the King ſhewed towards the preſervation of peace, and, in particular,

particular, againſt the diſreſpectful treatment of the Spaniſh flag, and the violation of the territory belonging to his Catholic Majeſty.

As nothing could be more diſtant from the King's intention than to break the friendſhip ſubſiſting between Great Britain and Spain, it is by order of his Majeſty, that the ſaid Viſcount Weymouth offers ſuch a ſtate of the matters ſet forth in the ſaid Declaration, as, he doubts not, muſt ſhew the ſincerity with which his Majeſty hath endeavoured to maintain the general tranquillity.

The little deſire for peace, as ſuppoſed on the part of the King, is deducible from the conduct attributed to Great Britain during the laſt negociation: after the profeſſions of the impartiality of his Catholic Majeſty; his offers of mediation between Great Britain and France, and after the acceptance of the ſame, the Declaration affirms,—'That every ſtep had been taken neceſſary to produce the beſt effects, in order to prepare the two powers towards an accommodation equally honourable to both parties; that to this end wiſe expedients had been propoſed; but notwithſtanding theſe terms were conformable to ſuch as the Court of London, at other times, judged proper and conducive to an accommodation, they were, however, rejected in a manner that proves too well the reluctance on the part of the Britiſh Cabinet to reſtore peace to Europe, and to preſerve the friendſhip of his Catholic Majeſty.'

The conditions offered by France were, to the higheſt degree, injurious and inadmiſſible; the King expreſsly declared, that he conſidered them as ſuch; nothing can be more evident than that the expedients offered by Spain inevitably tended to enforce theſe very injurious conditions, but juſt before declared as inadmiſſible.

The pernicious conſequences of the propoſed expedients had been explained to the Court of Spain, by order of the King, and that they were in the moſt amicable manner expreſsly rejected. Had it been otherwiſe, there could be no reaſon for an ultimatum: yet it is not without aſtoniſhment, that, after the firſt anſwer, the King received the ultimatum from the Court of Spain, not only containing the very ſame offers thus rejected, but announced with ſcarce any difference in point of form.

The Declaration further ſays, 'That, on the 28th of September, the Court of Spain had notified to the belligerent powers, that in caſe the negociation did ſucceed, ſhe would then determine how to act.'—If the open part the Court of Spain now takes, be THAT ſhe ſecretly intended at that time, it would have been more conſiſtent with her dignity THEN to avow it, and range herſelf openly under the banners of France.

Inſtead of ſuch a conduct, the Court of Madrid, affecting impartiality, hath offered to mediate, but not to dictate the terms of peace, promiſing to communicate to each Court the conditions claimed by either, that ſo they might be modified, explained, or rejected. When the propoſals made by France were rejected, and the Declaration made to Spain to ceaſe her mediation, ſince her en-

deavours did not ſucceed, it was accompanied with aſſurances, that the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two nations ſhould not be interrupted.

How far this is true, appears from the actual Declaration, announcing hoſtilities on the part of Spain, without venturing to ſtate the non-acceptance of the terms as one of the cauſes of the war: but ſhould it be otherwiſe inſinuated, it will furniſh his Majeſty with an additional reaſon to complain of the injuſtice and arrogance of ſuch a pretenſion.

The previous cauſes which the Court of Spain hath thought proper to urge, are, the inſults againſt her flag, and the violation on her territory. As to the firſt, theſe are the terms of her memorial: 'Prizes have been made; veſſels have been ſearched and plundered; many have been fired upon who were forced to defend themſelves; the regiſters and packets belonging to the Court, and found on board his Catholic Majeſty's packet-boats, have been opened and torn to pieces.'

All ſorts of American veſſels have been received in the ports of Spain; they have been furniſhed with falſe documents, and ſuffered to carry Spaniſh colours; their privateers have plundered all nations without diſtinction, and ſuch has been the induſtry of the Spaniſh Miniſtry in order to enhance the number of grievances, that theſe depredations were by them repreſented as injuries committed by Great Britain. Theſe complaints, which do not exceed the number of twenty-four, ſeldom ſpecify the author of the ſuppoſed inſult, and thoſe which did were frequently ill-founded, and in general frivolous; however, it is granted that the anſwers were amicable. The King thought it worthy of himſelf not only to uſe every precaution neceſſary to prevent diſorders which might offend neutral powers, but alſo to exert every effort to puniſh the authors, and repair the loſs of the ſufferers. Such hath been his conduct at all times when poſſible to diſcover and convict the guilty.—Among the vaſt operations, ſuch as in the preſent war, it is not ſurpriſing that ſome irregularities have happened; but when ſuch caſes were proved, reſtitution was made with ample damages, and all charges paid.

It has been advanced, 'That his Catholic Majeſty formally declared to the Court of London, ever ſince France commenced hoſtilities, that the Court of Madrid would regulate her conduct by that of the Court of Great Britain.'—Nevertheleſs thirteen Engliſh veſſels have been ſeized, on what pretence, or by whoſe order, we are ſtill to learn, although his Majeſty ordered ſuch repreſentations to be made, as are uſual on the like occaſions, between nations in a ſtate of amity; which his Majeſty did, not attributing theſe ſeizures to a perfidious and inimical deſign, until the conduct of the Court of Spain has been better explained by the preſent Declaration.

The pretended violation of the Spaniſh territory may be reduced to four heads.

In the firſt place it is ſaid, 'That the dominions in America, belonging to the Court of Spain, have been threatened,' without ſpecifying time, place, or circumſtance.

Secondly,

Secondly, the memorial mentions, 'That the Indians have been ſet againſt the innocent inhabitants of Louiſiana, who muſt have fallen victims to their fury, had not even the Chactaws repented, and revealed the conſpiracy.'—It is well known that the Governor of New Orleans tried to ſeduce the Chactaws, and that he received with open arms thoſe tribes, which committed devaſtations in the Engliſh Weſtern ſettlements. Theſe tribes returned, but were not ſet againſt the Spaniſh territory; it was never attempted, nor was ſuch an idea ever entertained.

The Declaration aſſerts, 'That a formal repreſentation was made to the Court of London concerning theſe different grievances, and ſeeing the equivocal expreſſions on the two preceding points, ſuch remonſtrances were particularly neceſſary towards the ſtrict obſervance of the good faith between two nations at peace.'—It is not true that the leaſt repreſentation was ever made on either of the two preceding articles, to which the moſt ample and ſatisfactory anſwers might have been given.

Thirdly, they pretend, 'That the ſovereignty of his Catholic Majeſty, in the province of Darien, and on the coaſt of Saint Blas, hath been uſurped, the government of Jamaica having appointed an Indian to the rank of General over thoſe provinces:'—On this ſubject, inſtructions were diſpatched, bearing date the 28th of April laſt, as is uſual between nations in friendſhip; no advices being received from Jamaica on this matter, freſh orders were ſent for a full explanation, but in point of time no anſwer could yet be expected.

Fourthly, 'That the territory in the Bay of Honduras has been uſurped, acts of hoſtilities committed, the Spaniards impriſoned, and their houſes plundered; as alſo that England had neglected to fulfil the ſtipulated article relative to this coaſt, agreeable to the 17th article of the treaty of Paris.'—With regard to the Engliſh ſubjects frequenting the Bay of Honduras, that matter had been regulated according to the aforeſaid article, and finally adjuſted with the Court of Spain in the year 1764. Since which period no complaint having been made on either ſide, this Court is ſtill ignorant whether the leaſt cauſe ever exiſted.—Surely this cannot be included among the pretended grievances which the Declaration ſuppoſes, as having been duly repreſented either to the Engliſh Court, or to her Ambaſſador at the Court of Madrid.

Such are the motives alledged by the Court of Spain in the name of his Catholic Majeſty, as a juſtification before God and the world, for commencing hoſtilities againſt Great Britain. The King appeals to the actual ſtate of affairs, being the ſame as that which ſubſiſted ſince the concluſion of the laſt treaty, as a full proof that no attempt was ever made on his part to infringe this treaty.—He appeals to his uniform conduct ever ſince this epoch, to furniſh ſtill ſtronger proofs that he hath endeavoured to preſerve the ſame with all the aſſiduity and care, which the intereſts of humanity and the happineſs of his ſubjects

required.—Ultimately, he appeals to the conduct of his enemies, and in particular to the aforesaid Declaration from the Court of Spain, as the last proof of the necessity he is under to defend the rights of his Crown and people, against a determined project to invade the same; a project wherein the Court of Spain at length openly joins, without the least reason to colour such a proceeding.

A MANIFESTO *published at Paris, displaying the Motives and Conduct of his Most Christian Majesty towards* England.

TRANSLATION.

WHEN the Sovereign Disposer of events called his Majesty to the throne, France enjoyed the most profound peace. The first concern of his Majesty was to signify to all the powers of Europe, his sincere desire, that the blessings of peace might be perpetuated to his kingdom. This gracious disposition of his Majesty was generally applauded; the King of England in particular testified his satisfaction, and gave his Majesty the most expressive assurances of sincere friendship. Such a reciprocity of sentiment justified his Majesty in believing, that the Court of London was at last disposed to adopt a mode of conduct more equitable and friendly, than that which had been adopted since the conclusion of the peace of 1763, and that a final stop would be put to those various acts of tyranny, which his subjects had in every quarter of the globe experienced on the part of England, from the æra above mentioned. His Majesty persuaded himself that he could still place the greater reliance on the King of England's protestations, as the primordial seed of the American revolution began to unfold itself in a manner highly alarming to the interest of Great Britain.

But, the Court of London, vainly imputing that to fear or feebleness, which was only the natural effect of his Majesty's pacific disposition, strictly adhered to her customary system, and continued every harrassing act of violence against the commerce and the navigation of his Majesty's subjects. His Majesty represented these outrages to the King of England with the utmost candour, and judging of his sentiments by his own, his Majesty had the greatest confidence, that the grievances would be no sooner made known to the King of England, than he would redress them. Nay, further, his Majesty being thoroughly acquainted with the embarrassment which the affairs of North America had occasioned the Court of London, charitably forbore to increase that embarrassment, by insisting too hastily on those reparations of injuries, which the English Ministers had never ceased to promise, nor ever failed to evade.

Such was the position of affairs between the two Courts, when the measures of the Court of London compelled the English colonists to have recourse to arms to preserve their rights, their privileges, and their liberty. The whole world knows the æra when this brilliant event shone forth; the multiplied and unsuccessful efforts made by the

the Americans to be reinſtated in the boſom of their mother country; the diſdainful manner in which they were ſpurned by England; and finally, the act of independence, which was at length, and could not but have been the neceſſary reſult of this treatment.

The war in which the United States of North America found themſelves involved, with regard to England, neceſſarily compelled them to explore the means of forming connections with the other powers of Europe, and of opening a direct commerce with them. His Majeſty would have neglected the moſt eſſential intereſts of his kingdom, were he to have refuſed the Americans admiſſion into his ports, or that participation of commercial advantages which is enjoyed by every other nation.

This conduct, ſo much the reſult of juſtice and of wiſdom, was adopted by far the greater part of the commercial ſtates of Europe; yet it gave occaſion to the Court of London, to prefer her repreſentations, and give vent to all the bitterneſs of complaint. She imagined, no doubt, that ſhe had but to employ her uſual ſtyle of haughtineſs and ambition, to obtain of France an unbounded deference to her will. But, to the moſt unreaſonable propoſitions, and the moſt intemperate meaſures, his Majeſty oppoſed nothing but the calmneſs of juſtice, and the moderation of reaſon. His Majeſty gave the King of England plainly to underſtand, that he neither was, nor did he pretend to be, a judge of the diſputes with his colonies; much leſs would it become his Majeſty to avenge his quarrel; that, in conſequence his Majeſty was under no obligation to treat the Americans as rebels; to exclude them from his ports, and to prohibit them from all commercial intercourſe with his ſubjects. Notwithſtanding, his Majeſty was very ready to ſhackle, as much as depended on him, the exportation of arms and military ſtores; and gave the moſt poſitive aſſurance, not only that he would not protect this ſpecies of commerce, but that he would alſo allow England free permiſſion to ſtop thoſe of his ſubjects who ſhould be detected in carrying on ſuch illicit traffic, obſerving only the faith of treaties, and the laws and the uſages of the ſea. His Majeſty went ſtill further: he was ſcrupulouſly exact in obſerving every commercial ſtipulation in the treaty of Utrecht, although it was daily violated by the Court of London, and England, at the very time, had refuſed to ratify it in all its parts. As a conſequence of the amicable part thus taken by his Majeſty, he interdicted the American privateers from arming in his ports; he would neither ſuffer them to ſell their prizes, nor to remain one moment longer in the ports of France, than was conſiſtent with the ſtipulations of the above treaty. His Majeſty ſtrictly enjoined his ſubjects not to purchaſe ſuch prizes; and in caſe of diſobedience they were threatened with confiſcation. Theſe acts, on the part of his Majeſty, had the deſired effect. But all theſe acts, diſtinguiſhed as well by their condeſcenſion, as by their ſtrict adherence to the ſpirit and letter of a treaty, which his Majeſty, (had he been ſo diſpoſed) might have conſidered as non-

exiſting; all theſe acts were far from ſatisfying the Court of London. That Court affected to conſider his Majeſty as reſponſible for all tranſgreſſions, although the King of England, notwithſtanding a ſolemn act of parliament, could not himſelf prevent his own merchants from furniſhing the North American colonies with merchandize and even military ſtores.

It is eaſy to conceive how the refuſal of yielding to the aſſuming demands, and arbitrary pretenſions of England, would mortify the ſelf-ſufficiency of that Power, and revive its ancient animoſity to France. She was the more irritated from her having begun to experience ſome checks in America, which prognoſticated to her the irrevocable ſeparation of her colonies; and from foreſeeing the inevitable calamities and loſſes following ſuch a ſeparation; and obſerving France profiting by that commerce, which ſhe, with an inconſiderate hand, had thrown away, and adopting every means to render her flag reſpectable.

Theſe are the combined cauſes which have increaſed the deſpair of the Court of London, and have led her to cover the ſeas with her privateers, furniſhed with letters of marque conceived in the moſt offenſive terms; to violate without ſcruple the faith of treaties, to harraſs, under the moſt frivolous and abſurd pretences, the trade and navigation of his Majeſty's ſubjects; to aſſume to herſelf a tyrannical empire of the ſea; to preſcribe unknown and inadmiſſible laws and regulations; to inſult on many occaſions his Majeſty's flag; in ſhort, to infringe on his territories, as well in Europe as in America, in the moſt marked and characteriſtic ſtyle of inſult.

If his Majeſty had been leſs attentive to the ſacred rights of humanity; if he had been more prodigal of the blood of his ſubjects: in ſhort, if, inſtead of following the benevolent impulſe of his nature, he had ſought to avenge wounded honour, he could not have heſitated a moment to make uſe of repriſals, and to repel thoſe inſults which had been offered to his dignity, by the force of his arms. But his Majeſty ſtifled even his juſt reſentments. He was deſirous that the meaſure of his goodneſs might overflow, becauſe he ſtill retained ſuch an opinion of his enemies as to expect, they would yield that to moderation and amicable adjuſtment on his part, which their own intereſts required of them.

It was theſe conſiderations which moved his Majeſty to detail the whole of his complaints to the Court of London. This detail was accompanied with the moſt ſerious repreſentations, his Majeſty being deſirous that the King of England ſhould not be left in any uncertainty, as to his Majeſty's actual determination to maintain his own dignity inviolate; to protect the rights and intereſts of his ſubjects; and to render his flag reſpectable. But the Court of London affected to obſerve an offenſive ſilence on every grievance repreſented by his Majeſty's Ambaſſador; and when it was determined to vouchſafe an anſwer, it was an eaſy matter to deny the beſt authenticated facts; to advance principles contrary to the law of nations, to poſitive treaties,

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to marine uſage; and to encourage judgments without juſtice, and confiſcations without mercy, not leaving the injured even the means of appeal. At the ſame time that the Court of London put the moderation and forbearance of the King to the ſevereſt trial, in the ports of England there were preparations making and armaments equipping, which could not have America for their object; the deſign was too determinate to be miſtaken. His Majeſty, therefore, found it indiſpenſible to make ſuch diſpoſitions on his part, as might be ſufficient to prevent the evil deſigns of his enemy, at the ſame time provide againſt depredations and inſults ſimilar to thoſe committed in 1755.

In this ſtate of things his Majeſty, who had hitherto rejected the overtures of the United States of North America, (and that in contradiction to his moſt preſſing intereſts) now perceived that he had not a moment to loſe in concluding a treaty with them. Their independence had been declared and eſtabliſhed; England herſelf had in ſome ſort recognized that independence, by permitting the exiſtence of acts which carried every implication of ſovereignty. Had it been the intention of his Majeſty to deceive England, and to adopt meaſures for the purpoſe of covering the deception, he might have drawn the veil of ſecreſy over his engagements with his now allies; but the principles of juſtice, which have ever directed his Majeſty, and his ſincere deſire of preſerving peace, were deciſive inducements for him to purſue a conduct more generous and noble: his Majeſty conceived it a duty which he owed to himſelf, to notify to the King of England the alliance he had formed with the United States. Nothing could be more ſimple or leſs offenſive than the Reſcript delivered by his Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the Britiſh Miniſter. But the Council of St. James's were not of this opinion; and the King of England, after having firſt broken the peace, by recalling his Ambaſſador, announced to his Parliament the Declaration of his Majeſty, as an *act* of hoſtility, as a formal and premeditated aggreſſion. It would be inſulting credulity to ſuppoſe it can be believed, that his Majeſty's recognition of the independence of the Thirteen United States of America, ſhould of itſelf have ſo irritated the King of England; that Prince, without doubt, is well acquainted with all thoſe inſtances of the kind which not only the Britiſh annals, but his own reign, can furniſh. His reſentment is founded on another principle. The French treaty defeated and rendered uſeleſs the plan formed at London for the ſudden and precarious coalition that was about to be formed with America, and it baffled thoſe ſecret projects adopted by his Britannic Majeſty for that purpoſe. The real cauſe of that extreme animoſity which the King of England has manifeſted, and which he has communicated to his Parliament, was the not being able to regain America, and turn her arms againſt France.

A conduct thus extraordinary, taught his Majeſty what he had to expect from the Court of London; and, even had there remained a poſſibility of doubt, the immenſe preparations carrying on in the different

different ports of England with redoubled vigour, would have cleared up the doubt. Meaſures ſo manifeſtly directed againſt France, had the effect of impoſing a law on his Majeſty; he put himſelf in a condition to repel force by force; it was with this view that he haſtened the equipment of his armaments, and that he diſpatched a ſquadron to America under the command of Compte d'Eſtaing.

It is notorious that the armaments of France were in a condition to act offenſively, long before thoſe of England were prepared. It was in his Majeſty's power to have made a ſudden and a moſt ſenſible impreſſion on England. The King was avowedly engaged in the enterprize, and his plans were on the point of being carried into execution, when the bare whiſper of peace ſtayed his hand, and ſuſpended their execution. His Catholic Majeſty imparted to the King the deſire of the Court of London to avail herſelf of the mediation of Spain on the ſubject of conciliation. But his Catholic Majeſty would not engage to act as mediator without a previous aſſurance of his good offices being unequivocally accepted, in a caſe where he interpoſed without being made acquainted with the principal objects, which were to ſerve as the baſis of the negociation.

The King received the overture with a ſatisfaction proportioned to the wiſh he had uniformly expreſſed for the continuance of peace. Notwithſtanding the King of Spain had profeſſed it to be a matter of perfect indifference to him, whether his mediation was accepted or not; and that notwithſtanding the overtures he made, he left the King, his nephew, entirely at liberty to act as he thought proper; yet his Majeſty not only conſented to the mediation, but he immediately countermanded the ſailing of the Breſt fleet, and he agreed to communicate his conditions of peace the moment that England ſhould expreſs, in poſitive terms, a deſire of reconciliation, in which the United States of North America were to be comprehended, France by no means entertaining an idea of abandoning them: there could not ſurely be any thing more conformable to the oſtenſible wiſhes of the Court of London, than this propoſal. His Catholic Majeſty loſt not a moment to diſcuſs the buſineſs with the King of England and his Miniſter; but it was quickly diſcovered by the Court of Madrid, that the Engliſh Miniſters were not ſincere in their overtures for peace. The Britiſh Miniſter talked expreſsly of his Majeſty withdrawing the Reſcript which had been delivered by his Ambaſſador on the 13th of March, 1778, as a preliminary and abſolutely neceſſary ſtep to reconciliation. Such an anſwer was injurious to Spain as well as to France; and it developed the hoſtile intentions of England, in the cleareſt point of view. Both monarchs viewed each other with amazement; and although his Majeſty (always animated with the love of peace) left the Catholic King to act as he thought moſt prudent with reſpect to continuing his mediation, yet he judged it expedient to command his Chargé des Affaires at London, to obſerve a profound ſilence on the ſubject.

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The hope of peace continued, however, to flatter the diſpoſition of his Majeſty, until the fleets commanded by the Admirals Keppel and Byron ſailed out of port. Then it was, that the veil of deception which had ſerved to cover the real intentions of the Court of London, was rent aſunder. It was no longer poſſible to place confidence in her inſidious profeſſions, nor could the aggreſſive deſign of England be any longer doubted. The face of things being thus changed, his Majeſty found himſelf obliged to make an alteration in thoſe meaſures he had previouſly adopted, for the ſecurity of his poſſeſſions, and to preſerve the commerce of his ſubjects. The event will very ſoon demonſtrate his Majeſty's foreſight to have been juſt. The world can witneſs in what manner his Majeſty's frigate the *Belle Poule* was attacked by an Engliſh frigate, within view of the coaſt of France, nor is it leſs notorious that two other frigates, and a ſmaller veſſel, were ſurpriſed and carried into the ports of England. The departure of the fleet under Compte d'Orvilliers became abſolutely neceſſary, to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemies of his Majeſty's Crown, and to revenge the inſults his flag had received. Providence diſpoſed the triumph in favour of his Majeſty's arms: Compte d'Orvilliers, after being attacked by the Engliſh fleet, forced them to retreat with conſiderable damage.

Since that period hoſtilities have been continued without any declaration of war. The Court of London has not declared it, becauſe ſhe would be wanting in reaſons to juſtify her conduct. Nor has ſhe dared to accuſe France publicly of being the aggreſſor, after three of his Majeſty's veſſels had been captured by the Engliſh fleet; and ſhe felt that ſhe would have ample cauſe to bluſh, when the execution of thoſe orders ſhe had ſent clandeſtinely to India ſhould have opened the eyes of all Europe to the degree of reliance which can be placed in her pacific profeſſions, and ſhould have enabled every power in it to determine, to which of the two powers, France or England, the term of *perfidious* moſt properly applies, an epithet which the Engliſh Miniſter loſes no opportunity of beſtowing upon France.

As to the King, if he has deferred notifying to the world the multiplied injuries he has ſuſtained from the Court of London; if he has delayed demonſtrating the abſolute neceſſity of his having recourſe to arms; ſuch a procraſtination on the part of his Majeſty, has been owing to a fond hope that the Engliſh Miniſter would at laſt recollect himſelf, and, that either juſtice, or the more critical ſituation into which he has plunged his country, would have prevailed on him to change his conduct.

This hope appeared to have been the better founded, as the Engliſh Miniſter was continually diſpatching his emiſſaries to ſound his Majeſty's diſpoſitions, at the very time the King of Spain was negociating with him for peace. His Majeſty, ſo far from belying thoſe ſentiments which he had always expreſſed, liſtened with eagerneſs to the advice of the King his uncle; and, to convince that Prince of his perſevering ſincerity, his Majeſty entruſted him, without reſerve

reſerve, with thoſe very moderate conditions, on which his Majeſty would moſt gladly have laid down his arms.

The Catholic King communicated to the Court of London the aſſurances he had received from his Majeſty, and he urged that Court to perfect the reconciliation which ſhe had long ſo earneſtly affected to deſire. But the Engliſh Miniſter, although conſtantly feigning a deſire of peace, never returned an ingenuous anſwer to the King of Spain, but was perpetually inſulting his Catholic Majeſty, with a tender of inadmiſſible propoſitions, quite foreign to the ſubject of diſpute.

It was now clear from the moſt indiſputable evidence, that England did not wiſh for peace, and that ſhe negociated for no other purpoſe but to gain time to make the neceſſary preparations for war. The King of Spain was perfectly ſenſible of this truth; nor was he leſs ſenſible how much his own dignity was committed; yet his heart anticipated the calamities of war, and he forgot his own wrongs in his anxious wiſh for peace. He even ſuggeſted a new plan of a ceſſation of arms for a term of years. This plan was perfectly agreeable to his Majeſty, on condition that the United States of America ſhould be compriſed in the propoſal, and that during the truce, they ſhould be treated as independent. To render it more eaſy for the King of England to ſubſcribe to this eſſential ſtipulation, his Majeſty conſented that he ſhould either treat immediately with Congreſs, or through the mediation of the King of Spain.

In conſequence of theſe overtures, his Catholic Majeſty diſpatched his plan to the Court of London. Beſides the time limited for the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities (during which the United States were to be conſidered as independent *de facto*) his Catholic Majeſty took it on himſelf to propoſe, relative to America, that each party ſhould have the poſſeſſion of what they occupied at the time of ſigning the treaty of ſuſpenſion, guaranteed to them. Such infinite pains did the King of Spain take to ſtop the effuſion of human blood!

There is not a doubt but that theſe conditions muſt appear, to every well-judging perſon, ſuch as would have been accepted; they were, however, formally rejected by the Court of London, nor has that Court ſhewn any diſpoſition to peace, unleſs on the abſurd condition that his Majeſty ſhould abandon the Americans, and leave them to themſelves.

After this afflicting declaration, the continuation of the war is become inevitable; and therefore his Majeſty has invited the Catholic King to join him in virtue of their reciprocal engagements, to avenge their reſpective injuries, and to put an end to that tyrannical empire which England has uſurped and pretends to maintain upon the ocean.

This ſuccinct expoſure of the political views, and the progreſſive ſeries of events which have occaſioned the preſent rupture between the Courts of Verſailles and London, will enable all Europe to draw a parallel between the conduct of his Majeſty, and that of the King of England; to render juſtice to the purity and directneſs

of intention, which during the whole of the diſpute has characteriſed his Majeſty; and finally, all Europe will be enabled by this publication to judge, which of the two Sovereigns is the real author of the war which afflicts their kingdoms; and which of the two potentates will be anſwerable at the tribunal of Heaven, for that train of calamities occaſioned by the war!

Paris, 1779.
Publiſhed by authority.

The JUSTIFYING MEMORIAL* *of the King of* Great Britain, *in Anſwer to the* EXPOSITION, *&c. of the Court of* France.

THE ambition of a power, ever a foe to public tranquillity, hath at length obliged the King of Great Britain to employ the ſtrength which God and his people have confided to him, in a juſt and lawful war.—It is in vain that France endeavours to juſtify, or rather diſguiſe, in the eyes of Europe, by her laſt Manifeſto, the politics which ſeem to be dictated by pride and cunning, but which cannot be reconciled with the truth of facts, and the rights of nations. That equity, moderation, and love of peace, which have always regulated the ſteps of the King, now engage him to ſubmit the conduct of himſelf and his enemies, to the judgment of a free and reſpectable tribunal, which will pronounce, without fear or flattery, the decree of Europe to the preſent age, and to poſterity. This tribunal, compoſed of the underſtanding and diſintereſted men of all nations, will never regard profeſſions; and it is from the actions of Princes, that they ought to judge of the motives of their conduct, and the ſentiments of their hearts.

When the King aſcended the throne, he enjoyed the ſucceſs of his arms in the four quarters of the world! His moderation re-eſtabliſhed public tranquillity, at the ſame time that he ſupported with firmneſs the glory of his crown, and procured the moſt ſolid advantages to his people. Experience had taught him how bitter and afflicting even the fruits of victory are; and how much wars, whether happy or unſucceſsful, exhauſt a people without aggrandizing their Princes. His actions proved to the world, that he knew the value of peace, and it was at leaſt to be preſumed, that that reaſon which had enlightened him to diſcern the inevitable calamities of war, and the dangerous vanity of conqueſt, inſpired him with the ſincere and unſhaken reſolution of maintaining the public repoſe, of which he was himſelf the author and guarantee. Theſe principles were the foundations of that conduct which his Majeſty held invariably for the fifteen years which followed the peace concluded at Paris in 1763; that happy æra of quiet and happineſs, will be preſerved for a long time, by the recollection, perhaps the regret, of the European nations. The inſtructions of the King to all his Ambaſſadors, were impreſſed with the marks of his character and maxims.

He recommended it to them, as the moſt important part of their duty, to liſten, with the moſt ſcru-

* Although this Memorial has not been formally avowed, its authenticity is not doubted.

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pulous attention, to the complaints and repreſentations of the powers, his neighbours or allies; to ſtifle in the beginning, all grounds of quarrel that might embitter or alienate the minds of men; to turn aſide the ſcourge of war, by every expedient compatible with the dignity of the Sovereign of a reſpectable nation; and to inſpire all people with a juſt confidence on the political ſyſtem of a Court which deteſted war, without fearing it; which employed no other means than thoſe of reaſon and ſincerity, and which had no other object, but the general tranquillity. In the midſt of this calm, the firſt ſparks of diſcord were kindled in America. The intrigues of a few bold and criminal leaders, who abuſed the credulous ſimplicity of their countrymen, inſenſibly ſeduced the greateſt part of the Engliſh Colonies to raiſe the ſtandard of revolt againſt the Mother Country, to which they were indebted for their exiſtence and their happineſs. The Court of Verſailles eaſily forgot the faith of treaties, the duties of allies, and the right of Sovereigns, to endeavour to profit of circumſtances, which appeared favourable to its ambitious deſigns. It did not bluſh to debaſe its dignity, by the ſecret connections it formed with rebellious ſubjects; and after having exhauſted all the ſhameful reſources of perfidy and diſſimulation, it dared to avow, in the face of Europe (full of indignation at its conduct) the ſolemn treaty which the Miniſters of the Moſt Chriſtian King had ſigned with the dark agents of the Engliſh Colonies, who founded their pretended independence on nothing but the daringneſs of their revolt.

The offenſive Declaration which the Marquis de Noailles was ordered to make to the Court of London, on the 13th of March, in the laſt year, authorized his Majeſty to repel, by force of arms, the unheard-of inſult that was offered to the honour of his crown; and the King remembered, on that important occaſion, what he owed his ſubjects and himſelf. The ſame ſpirit of impoſture and ambition continued to reign in the councils of France.—Spain, who has, more than once, repented having neglected her true intereſts, to follow blindly the deſtructive projects of the elder branch of the Houſe of Bourbon, was engaged to change the part of mediator, for that of enemy of Great Britain. The calamities of war are multiplied, but the Court of Verſailles hath, hitherto, nothing to boaſt of the ſucceſs of its military operations; and Europe knows well how to rate thoſe naval victories, which exiſt no where but in the Gazettes and Manifeſtos of pretended conquerors.

Since war and peace impoſe on nations duties entirely different, and even oppoſite, it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to diſtinguiſh, in reaſoning as well as in conduct, the two conditions: but in the laſt Manifeſto, publiſhed by France, theſe two conditions are perpetually confounded: ſhe pretends to juſtify her conduct in making the beſt, by turns, nay, almoſt at the ſame time, of thoſe rights which an enemy only is permitted to claim, and of thoſe maxims which regulate the obligations and procedure of national friendſhip. The fineſſe of the Court of Verſailles, in blending inceſſantly two ſuppoſitions, which have no connection,

tion, is the natural conſequence of a falſe and treacherous policy, which cannot bear the light of the day. The ſentiments and conduct of the King have nothing to fear from the moſt ſevere ſcrutiny; but, on the contrary, invites it to diſtinguiſh clearly what his enemies have confounded with ſo much artifice. Juſtice alone can ſpeak, without fear, the language of reaſon and truth.

The full juſtification of his Majeſty, and the indelible condemnation of France, may be reduced to the proof of two ſimple, and almoſt ſelf-evident principles.—Firſt, That a profound, permanent, and, on the part of England, a ſincere and true peace, ſubſiſted between the two nations, when France formed connections with the revolted Colonies, ſecret at firſt, but afterwards public and avowed.—Second, That according to the beſt acknowledged maxims, of the rights of nations, and even according to the tenor of treaties actually ſubſiſting between the two crowns, theſe connections might be regarded as an infraction of the peace; and the public avowal of theſe connections was equivalent to a declaration of war on the part of the Moſt Chriſtian King.—This is, perhaps, the firſt time that a reſpectable nation had an occaſion to prove two truths, ſo inconteſtible, the memory of which is already acknowledged by every diſintereſted and prejudiced perſon.

"When Providence called the King to the throne, France enjoyed a moſt profound peace." Theſe are the expreſſions of the laſt Manifeſto of the Court of Verſailles, which eaſily remembers the ſolemn aſſurances of a ſincere friendſhip, and the moſt pacific diſpoſition which it received from his Britannic Majeſty, and which were often renewed by the intervention of Ambaſſadors to the two Courts, during four years, until the fatal and deciſive moment of the Declaration of the Marquis de Noailles. The queſtion, then, is to prove, that during this happy time of general tranquillity, England concealed a ſecret war under the appearance of peace; and that her unjuſt and arbitrary procedure was carried to ſuch a pitch, as to render lawful, on the part of France, the boldeſt ſteps, which are permiſſable only in a declared enemy. To attain this object, griefs clearly articulated and ſolidly eſtabliſhed, ſhould be produced before the tribunal of Europe. This great tribunal will require formal, and, perhaps, repeated proofs of the injury, of the complaint, of a refuſal of competent ſatisfaction, and of a proteſtation of the injured party, that it held itſelf highly offended by ſuch refuſal, and that it ſhould look upon itſelf hereafter as releaſed from the duties of friendſhip, and the bonds of treaties. Thoſe nations which reſpect the ſanctity of oaths, and the advantages of peace are the ſloweſt to catch hold of opportunities which ſeem to diſcharge them from a ſacred and ſolemn obligation; and it is but with trembling that they dare to renounce the friendſhip of powers, from which they have long borne injuſtice and inſult.

But the Court of Verſailles hath been either ignorant of theſe wiſe and ſalutary principles, or it hath deſpiſed them; and, inſtead of fixing the foundations of a juſt and legitimate war, it hath contented

tented itſelf to ſpread through every page of its Manifeſto, general and vague complaints, expreſſed with exaggerations in a metaphorical ſtyle.—It goes above threeſcore years back to accuſe England of her want of care to ratify ſome commercial regulations, ſome articles of the treaty of Utrecht. It preſumes to reproach the King's miniſters with uſing the language of haughtineſs and ambition, without condeſcending to the duty of proving imputations as unlikely as they are odious. The free ſuppoſitions of the ambition, and inſincerity of the court of London, are confeſſedly healed up, as if they feared to be diſcriminated; the pretended inſults which the commerce, the flag, and the territories of France, have undergone, are inſinuated in a very obſcure manner, and at laſt there eſcapes an avowal of the engagement which the moſt Chriſtian King had already made with Spain, "to avenge their reſpective wrongs, and put bounds to the tyrannical empire which England had uſurped, and pretended to maintain over every ſea."

It is difficult to encounter phantoms, or to anſwer cloſely and preciſely to the language of declamation. The juſt confidence of the King, would doubtleſs deſire to ſubmit to the ſtricteſt examination, thoſe vague complaints, thoſe pretended wrongs, upon which the court of Verſailles has ſo prudently avoided to explain itſelf, with that clearneſs and particularity which alone could ſupport its reaſons, and excuſe its conduct. During a fifteen years peace, the intereſts of two powerful, and perhaps jealous nations, which approached in ſo many places in the old and new world, would inevitably furniſh ſubjects of complaint and diſcuſſion, which a reciprocal moderation would always know how to ſettle, but which are but too eaſily ſharpened and impoiſoned by the real hatred, or affected ſuſpicions, of a ſecret and ambitious enemy: and the troubles of America were but too apt to multiply the hopes, the pretexts, and the unjuſt pretenſions of France. Nevertheleſs, ſuch has been the ever uniform, and ever peaceable conduct of the King and his miniſters, that it hath often ſilenced his enemies; and if it may be permitted to diſcover the true ſenſe of theſe indefinite and equivocal accuſations, whoſe ſtudied obſcurity betrays the features to ſhame and artifice—if it may be permitted of conteſted objects which have no exiſtence, it may be affirmed with the boldneſs of truth, that ſeveral of theſe pretended injuries, are announced for the firſt time, in a declaration of war, without having been propoſed to the court of London, at a time when they might have been conſidered with the ſerious and favourable attention of friendſhip. In reſpect to thoſe complaints which the ambaſſadors of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty have communicated from time to time to the King's miniſters, it would be eaſy to give, or rather to repeat ſatisfactory anſwers, which would demonſtrate, to the eyes of France herſelf, the King's moderation, his love of juſtice, and the ſincerity of his diſpoſition to preſerve the general tranquillity of Europe. Thoſe complaints, which the court of Verſailles may diſpenſe with recollecting, were very rarely founded

founded in truth and reaſon; and it was moſt generally found that thoſe perſons in Europe, America, or on the ſeas, from whom an ill-founded and ſuſpected intelligence was derived, had not been afraid to abuſe the confidence of France, the better to ſerve her ſecret intentions.

If ſome facts, which France enhanced as the ground of her complaints, were built on a leſs brittle foundation, the King's miniſters cleared them without delay, by a moſt clear and entire juſtification of the motives and rights of their Sovereign, who might puniſh a contraband trade on his coaſt, without wounding the public repoſe; and to whom the law of nations gave a lawful right to ſeize all veſſels which carried arms or warlike ſtores to his enemies, or rebellious ſubjects. The courts of juſtice were always open to individuals of all nations, and thoſe muſt be very ignorant of the Britiſh conſtitution, who ſuppoſe that the royal authority was capable to ſhut out the means of an appeal. In the vaſt and extended theatre of the operations of a naval war, the moſt active vigilance, and the moſt ſteady authority, are unable to diſcover or ſuppreſs every diſorder; but every time that the court of Verſailles was able to eſtabliſh the truth of any real injuries that its ſubjects had ſuſtained, without the knowledge or approbation of the King, his Majeſty gave the moſt ſpeedy and effectual orders to ſtop an abuſe, which injured his own dignity, as well as the intereſt of his neighbours, who had been involved in the calamities of war. The object and importance of this war will ſuffice to ſhew all Europe, on what principles the political proceedings of England ought to be regulated. Is it likely, that whilſt England employed her forces to bring the revolted colonies of America back to their duty, ſhe ſhould have choſen that moment to irritate the moſt reſpectable powers of Europe, by the injuſtice and violence of her conduct? Equity hath always governed the ſentiments and conduct of the King; but on this important occaſion, his very prudence is a warrant for his ſincerity and moderation.

But to eſtabliſh clearly the pacific ſyſtem that ſubſiſts between the two nations, nothing more is wanting than to appeal to the very teſtimony of the court of Verſailles. At the very time in which it doth not bluſh to place all theſe pretended infractions of the public peace, which would have engaged a Prince leſs ſparing of his ſubjects blood, to make, without heſitation, repriſals, and to repel inſult by force of arms, the miniſter of the moſt Chriſtian King ſpoke the language of confidence and friendſhip. Inſtead of denouncing any deſign of vengeance, with that haughty tone, which at leaſt ſpares injuſtice from the reproaches of perfidy and diſſimulation, the court of Verſailles concealed the moſt treacherous conduct under the ſmoothest profeſſions. But thoſe very profeſſions ſerve, at preſent, to belie its declaration, and to call to mind thoſe ſentiments which ought to have regulated its conduct. If the court of Verſailles is unwilling to be accuſed of a diſſimulation unworthy of its grandeur, it will be forced to acknowledge, that till the moment that it dictated to the Marquis de

Noailles, that declaration, which has been received as the ſignal of war, it did not know any grounds of complaint, ſufficiently real or important, to authorize a violation of the obligations of peace, and the faith of treaties, to which it had ſworn in the face of heaven and earth; and to diſengage from that amity, to which, to the laſt moment, it had repeated the moſt ſolemn and lively aſſurances.

When an adverſary is incapable of juſtifying his violence in the public opinion, or even in his own eyes, by the injuries which he pretends to have received, he has recourſe to the chimerical danger to which his patience might have been expoſed; and in the place of facts, of which he is totally unprovided, he endeavours to ſubſtitute a vain picture, which hath exiſtence only in his own imagination, perhaps his own heart. The miniſter of the moſt Chriſtian King, who ſeems to have felt the weakneſs of the means they were forced to employ, yet made impotent efforts to ſupport thoſe means, by the moſt odious and unaccountable ſuſpicions. "The court of London made preparations in its ports, and armaments, which could not have America for their object. Their intention was, conſequently, too well determined for the King to miſtake them, and from thence it became their duty to make ſuch diſpoſitions, as were capable of preventing the evil deſigns of his enemy, &c.—In this ſtate of affairs, the King found he had not a moment to loſe." This is the language of *France*; now we will ſhew that of *truth*.

During the diſputes which had ariſen between Great Britain and her colonies, the court of Verſailles applied itſelf, with the moſt lively and determined ardor, to the augmentation of her marine. The King did not "pretend to reign as a tyrant of the ſeas," but knows that, at all times, maritime forces have conſtituted the glory and ſafety of his dominions; and that they have often protected the liberty of Europe, againſt the ambitious ſtate, which hath ſo long laboured to ſubdue it.

A ſenſe of his dignity, and a juſt knowledge of his duty and his intereſt, engaged his Majeſty to watch, with an attentive eye, over the proceedings of France, whoſe dangerous policy, without a motive, and without an enemy, precipitated the building and arming of ſhips in all her ports; and which employed a conſiderable part of her revenues in the expence of thoſe military preparations, the neceſſity or object of which it was impoſſible to declare. In that conjuncture the King could not avoid following the counſel of his prudence, and the example of his neighbours. The ſucceſſive augmentation of their marine ſerved as a rule for his; and without wounding the reſpect that he owed to friendly powers, his Majeſty declared publicly to his parliament, that England ſhould be in a reſpectable ſtate of defence. The naval force which he had ſo carefully ſtrengthened, was deſigned only to maintain the general tranquillity of Europe; and whilſt the dictates of his own conſcience diſpoſed the King to give credit to the profeſſions of the court of Verſailles, he prepared to

have nothing to fear from the perfidious deſigns of its ambition. France now dares to ſuppoſe that the King, "inſtead of confining himſelf within the limits of a lawful defence, gave himſelf up to a hope of conqueſt, and that the reconciliation of Great Britain with her colonies, announced, on her part, a fixed project of re-allying them with her crown, to arm them againſt France." Since, then, that the court of Verſailles cannot excuſe its procedure, but in favour of a ſuppoſition deſtitute of truth and likelihood, the King hath a right to call upon that court, in the face of Europe, to produce a proof of an aſſertion as odious as bold; and to develope thoſe public operations, or ſecret intrigues, that can authoriſe the ſuſpicions of France, that Great Britain, after a long and painful diſpute, offered peace to her ſubjects, with no other deſign than to undertake a freſh war againſt a reſpectable power, with which ſhe had preſerved all the appearances of friendſhip.

After having faithfully expoſed the frivolous motives, and pretended wrongs of France, we can reflect, with a certainty, juſtified by reaſon and by fact, on the firſt propoſition, ſo ſimple and ſo important—That a peace ſubſiſted between the two nations, and that France was bound by every obligation of friendſhip and treaty with the King, who had never failed in his legitimate engagement.

The firſt article of the treaty ſigned at Paris, the 10th of February 1763, between his Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and moſt Faithful Majeſties, confirms, in the moſt preciſe and ſolemn manner, the obligations which natural juſtice impoſes on all nations which are in mutual friendſhip; but theſe obligations are ſpecified and ſtipulated in that treaty by expreſſions as lively as they are juſt.——After having compriſed, in a general form, all the ſtates and ſubjects of the high contracting powers, they declared their reſolution "not only never to permit any hoſtilities by land or ſea, but even to procure reciprocally, on every occaſion, all that can contribute to their mutual glory, intereſt, and advantages, without giving any ſuccour or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would do any prejudice to one or other of the high contracting parties." Such was the ſacred engagement which France contracted with Great Britain; and it cannot be diſguiſed, that ſuch a promiſe ought to bind with greater ſtrength and energy againſt the domeſtic rebels, than the foreign enemies of the two crowns. The revolt of the Americans put the fidelity of the court of Verſailles to a proof; and notwithſtanding the frequent examples that Europe hath already ſeen of its little regard to the faith of treaties, its conduct in theſe circumſtances aſtoniſhed and enraged every nation which was not blindly devoted to the intereſts, and even to the caprices of France. If France had intended to fulfil her duty, it was impoſſible for her to have miſtaken it; the ſpirit as well as the letter of the treaty of Paris, impoſed on her an obligation to bar their ports againſt the American veſſels; to forbid her ſubjects to have any commerce with that rebellious people; and not

to afford either ſuccour or protection to the domeſtic enemies of a crown with which ſhe had ſworn a ſincere and inviolable friendſhip. But experience had too well enlightened the King in regard to the political ſyſtem of his antient adverſaries, to ſuffer him to hope that they would conform exactly to thoſe juſt and reaſonable principles, which would have aſſured a general tranquility.

As ſoon as the revolted colonies had compleated their criminal enterprize, by an open declaration of their pretended independence, they thought to form ſecret connections with the powers who were the leaſt favourable to the intereſts of their mother country; and to draw from Europe thoſe military aids, without which it would have been impoſſible for them to have ſupported the war they had undertaken. Their agents endeavoured to penetrate into, and ſettle in the different ſtates of Europe; but it was only in France that they found an aſylum, hopes, and aſſiſtance. It is beneath the King's dignity to enquire after the æra, or the nature of the correſpondence that they had the addreſs to contract with the miniſters of the court of Verſailles, and of which the public effects were ſoon viſible in the general liberty, or rather unbounded licence of an illegitimate commerce. It is well known that the vigilance of the laws cannot always prevent artful illicit traders, who appear under a thouſand different forms, and whoſe avidity for gain makes them brave every danger, and elude every precaution: but the conduct of the French merchants, who furniſhed America not only with uſeful and neceſſary merchandize, but even with ſaltpetre, gun-powder, ammunition, arms, and artillery, loudly declared that they were aſſured not only of impunity, but even of the protection and favour of the miniſters of the court of Verſailles.

An enterprize ſo vain and ſo difficult, as that of hiding from the eyes of Great Britain, and of all Europe, the proceedings of a commercial company, aſſociated for furniſhing the Americans with whatever could nouriſh and maintain the fire of a revolt, was not attempted. The informed public named the chief of the enterprize, whoſe houſe was eſtabliſhed at Paris; his correſpondents at Dunkirk, Nantz, and Bourdeaux, were equally known. The immenſe magazines which they formed, and which they repleniſhed every day, were laden in ſhips that they built or bought, and they ſcarcely diſſembled their objects, or the place of their deſtination. Theſe veſſels commonly took falſe clearances for the French iſlands in America, but the commodities which compoſed their cargo were ſufficient, before the time of their ſailing, to diſcover the fraud and the artifice. Theſe ſuſpicions were quickly confirmed by the courſe they held; and at the end of a few weeks, it was not ſurprizing to hear they had fallen into the hands of the King's officers cruizing in the American ſeas, who took them even within ſight of the coaſts of the revolted colonies. This vigilance was but too well juſtified by the conduct of thoſe who had the luck or cunning to eſcape it; ſince they approached America only to deliver the rebels

the arms and ammunition which they had taken on board for their ſervice. The only marks of theſe facts, which could be conſidered only as manifeſt breaches of the faith of treaties, multiplied continually, and the diligence of the King's ambaſſador to communicate his complaints and proofs to the court of Verſailles, did not leave him the ſhameful and humiliating reſource of appearing ignorant of what was carried on, and daily repeated in the very heart of the country. He pointed out the names, number, and quality of the ſhips, that the commercial agents of America had fitted out in the ports of France, to carry to the rebels arms, warlike ſtores, and even French officers, who had engaged in the ſervice of the revolted colonies. The dates, places and perſons were always ſpecified, with a preciſion that afforded the miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the greateſt facility of being aſſured of theſe reports, and of ſtopping in time the progreſs of theſe illicit armaments. Amongſt a croud of examples, which accuſe the court of Verſailles of want of attention to fulfil the conditions of peace, or rather its conſtant attention to nouriſh fear and diſcord, it is impoſſible to enumerate them all; it is very difficult to ſelect the moſt ſtriking objects. Nine large ſhips, fitted out and freighted by the Sieur de Beaumarchais, and his partners, in the month of January, 1777, are not confounded with the Amphitrite, who carried about the ſame time a great quantity of ammunition, and thirty French officers, who paſſed with impunity into the ſervice of the rebels. Every month, almoſt every day, furniſhed new ſubjects of complaint; and a ſhort memorial that Viſcount Stormont, the King's ambaſſador, communicated to the Count de Vergennes, in the month of November, in ſame year, will give a juſt, but very imperfect idea of the wrongs which Britain had ſo often ſuſtained.—"There is a ſixty gun ſhip at Rochfort, and an Eaſt India ſhip, pierced for ſixty guns, at L'Orient. Theſe two ſhips are deſtined for the ſervice of the rebels. They are laden with different merchandize, and freighted by Meſſrs. Chaumont, Holken, and Sebatier. ——The ſhip L'Heureux, ſailed from Marſeilles the 26th of September, under another name: ſhe goes ſtreight to New Hampſhire, though it is pretended ſhe is bound to the French iſlands. They have been permitted to take on board three thouſand muſquets, and 25000 pounds of ſulphur, a merchandiſe as neceſſary to the Americans as uſeleſs to the iſlands. This ſhip is commanded by M. Lundi, a French officer of diſtinction, formerly lieutenant to M. de Bouganville.—L'Hippopotame, belonging to the Sieur Beaumarchais, will have on board four thouſand muſquets, and many warlike ſtores for the uſe of the rebels. —There are about fifty French ſhips laden with ammunition for the uſe of the rebels, preparing to ſail to North America. They will go from Nantz, L'Orient, St. Malo, Havre, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and other different ports.—Theſe are the names of ſome of the perſons principally intereſted; M. Chaumont, M. Menton, and his partners, &c. &c.

In this kingdom, where the will of the Prince meets with no obſtacle, ſuccours, ſo conſiderable, ſo

public, ſo long ſupported; in fine, ſo neceſſary to maintain the war in America, ſhew clearly enough the moſt ſecret intentions of the moſt Chriſtian King's miniſters. But they ſtill carried further their forgetfulneſs, or contempt of the moſt ſolemn engagements, and it was not without their permiſſion that an underhand and dangerous war iſſued from the ports of France, under the deceitful maſk of peace, and the pretended flag of the American colonies. The favourable reception that their agents found with the miniſters of the court of Verſailles, quickly encouraged them to form and execute the audacious project of eſtabliſhing a place of arms in the country, which had ſerved them for an aſylum. They had brought with them, or knew how to fabricate letters of marque, in the name of the American Congreſs, who had the impudence to uſurp all the rights of ſovereignty. The partnerſhip, whoſe intereſted views eaſily embarked in all their deſigns, fitted out ſhips that they had either built or purchaſed. They armed them to cruize in the European ſeas, nay, even on the coaſts of Great Britain. To ſave appearances, the captains of theſe corſairs hoiſted the pretended American flag, but their crews were always compoſed of a great number of Frenchmen, who entered, with impunity, under the very eyes of their governors and the officers of the maritime provinces. A numerous ſwarm of theſe corſairs, animated by a ſport of rapine, ſailed from the ports of France, and after cruiſing in the Britiſh ſeas, re-entered, or took ſhelter in the ſame ports. Thither they brought their prizes, and under a rude, weak artifice, which they ſometimes vouchſafed to employ, the prizes were ſold publicly and commodiouſly enough, in the ſight of the royal officers, always diſpoſed to protect the commerce of thoſe traders, who violated the laws, to conform to the French miniſtry. The corſairs enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the King's ſubjects; and after having profited of full liberty to repair their loſſes, provide for their wants, and procure all warlike ſtores, gunpowder, cannon, and rigging, which might ſerve for new enterprizes, they departed freely from the ſame ports, to make new cruizes. The hiſtory of the Repriſal privateer may be cited from a crowd of examples, to ſet the unjuſt, but ſcarcely artificial, conduct of the court of Verſailles in a clear light. This ſhip, which had brought Mr. Franklin, agent of the revolted colonies, to Europe, was received, with two prizes ſhe had taken in her paſſage. She remained in the port of Nantz, as long as ſhe thought convenient; put twice to ſea to plunder the King's ſubjects, and came quietly into L'Orient with the new prizes ſhe had made.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt repreſentation of the King's ambaſſador; notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of the French miniſters, the captain of that corſair was permitted to ſtay at L'Orient as long as it was neceſſary to refit his ſhip, to provide ſixty barrels of gunpowder, and to receive as many French ſeamen, as choſe to engage with him. Furniſhed with theſe reinforcements, the repriſal ſailed a third time from the ports of their new allies, and

and preſently formed a little ſquadron of pirates, by the concerted junction of the Lexington and the Dolphin, two privateers; the firſt of which had already carried more than one prize into the river of Bourdeaux; and the other, fitted out at Nantz, and manned entirely by Frenchmen, had nothing American, but the commander. Theſe three ſhips, which ſo publicly enjoyed the protection of the court of Verſailles, in a ſhort time afterwards took fifteen Britiſh ſhips, the greateſt part of which were brought into the ports of France, and ſecretly ſold.—Such facts, which it would be eaſy to multiply, ſtand inſtead of reaſonings and reproaches. The faith of treaties cannot avoid being called upon, on this occaſion; and it is not neceſſary to ſhew that an allied, or even a neutral power, can ever permit war, without violating peace. The principle of the law of nations, will, doubtleſs, refuſe to the ambaſſador of the moſt reſpectable power that privilege of arming privateers, which the court of Verſailles granted under-hand, in the very boſom of France, to the agents of rebels. In the French iſlands, the public tranquility was violated in a manner yet more audacious; and notwithſtanding the change of the governor, the ports of Martinico ſerved always as a ſhelter to corſairs who cruized under American colours, but manned by Frenchmen. Mr. Bangham, agent for the rebels, who enjoyed the favour and confidence of two ſucceſſive governors of Martinico, directed the arming of thoſe privateers, and the public ſale of their prizes. Two merchant ſhips, the Lancaſhire Hero, and the Iriſh Gambier, which were taken by the Revenge, aſſures, that out of her crew, conſiſting of 125 men, there were but two Americans; and that the owner, who at the ſame time was proprietor of eleven other privateers, acknowledged himſelf to be an inhabitant of Martinico, where he was looked upon as the favourite, and the ſecret agent of the governor himſelf.

In the midſt of all theſe acts of hoſtility, (which it is impoſſible to call by any other name) the court of Verſailles continued always to ſpeak the language of peace and amity, and its miniſters exhauſted all the ſources of artifice and diſſimulation, to lull the juſt complaints of Great Britain, to deceive her juſt ſuſpicions, and to ſtop the effects of her juſt reſentment. From the firſt æra of the American troubles, to the moment of a declaration of war by the Marquis de Noailles, the miniſters of the moſt Chriſtian King never ceaſed to renew the ſtrongeſt and moſt expreſſive proteſtations of their pacific diſpoſitions; and however the common conduct of the court of Verſailles was adapted to inſpire a juſt doubt, yet his Majeſty's juſt heart furniſhed him with powerful motives to believe, that France had at length adopted a ſyſtem of moderation and peace, which would perpetuate the ſolid and reciprocal happineſs of the two nations. The miniſters of the court of Verſailles endeavoured to excuſe the arrival and reſidence of the rebels agent, by the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that he found only a ſimple aſylum in France, without either diſtinction or encouragement.

The freedom of commerce, and the thirſt of gain, ſerve ſometimes

as pretexts to cover the illegitimate designs of the subjects of France; and at a time when they vainly alledged the impotence of the laws to prevent abuses, which neighbouring states know so well how to suppress, they condemned, with every appearance of sincerity, the transportation of arms and ammunition, which she permitted with impunity, for the service of the rebels. To the first representation of the King's ambassador upon the subject of the privateers, which were fitted out in the ports of France under American colours, the ministers of his most Christian Majesty replied, with expressions of surprise and indignation, and by a positive declaration, that attempts, so contrary to the faith of treaties, and the public tranquility, should never be suffered. The train of events, of which a small number hath been shewn, soon manifested the inconstancy, or rather the falsehood of the court of Versailles; and the King's ambassador was ordered to represent to the French ministers the serious, but inevitable consequences of their policy. He fulfilled his commission with all the consideration due to a respectable power, the preservation of whose friendship was desired, but with a friendship worthy of a Sovereign, and a nation little accustomed to do, or to suffer injustice. The court of Versailles was called upon to explain its conduct, and its intentions, without delay or evasion; and the King proposed to it the alternative of peace or war.—France chose peace, in order to wound her enemy more surely and secretly, without having any thing to dread from her justice. She severely condemned those succours and those armaments, that the principles of public equity would not permit her to justify. She declared to the King's ambassador, that she was resolved to banish the American corsairs immediately from all the ports of France, never to return again; and that she would take, in future, the most rigorous precautions to prevent the sale of prizes taken from the subjects of Great Britain. The orders given to that effect astonished the partizans of the rebels, and seemed to check the progress of the evil; but subjects of complaint sprung up again daily; and the manner in which these orders were first eluded, then violated, and at length entirely forgotten, by the merchants, privateers, nay, even by the royal officers, were not excusable by the protestations of friendship, with which the court of Versailles accompanied those infractions of peace, until the very moment that the treaty of alliance, which it had signed with the agents of the revolted American colonies, was announced by the French ambassador in London.

If a foreign enemy, acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, had conquered the King's American dominions, and if France had confirmed by a solemn treaty, an act of violence, that had plundered in the midst of a profound peace, a respectable neighbour, of whom she stiled herself the friend and ally, all Europe would stand up against the injustice of a conduct which shamefully violated all that is most sacred among men. The first discovery, the uninterrupted possession of two hundred years, and the consent of all nations,

were

were ſufficient to aſcertain the rights of Great Britain over the lands of North America, and its ſovereignty over the people that had ſettled there with the permiſſion, and under the government of the King's predeceſſors. If even this people had dared to ſhake off the yoke of authority, or rather of the laws, if they had uſurped the provinces and prerogatives of their Sovereign; and if they had ſought the alliance of ſtrangers to ſupport their pretended independence; thoſe ſtrangers could not accept their alliance, ratify their uſurpations, and acknowledge their independence, without ſuppoſing that *revolt* hath more extenſive rights than thoſe of *war*; and without granting to rebellious ſubjects a lawful title to conqueſt, which they could not have made but in contempt of both law and juſtice. The ſecret enemies of peace, of Great Britain, and perhaps of France herſelf, had nevertheleſs the criminal dexterity to perſuade his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he could, without violating the faith of treaties, publicly declare, that he received the revolted ſubjects of a King, his neighbour and ally, into the number of his allies. The profeſſions of friendſhip which accompanied that declaration, which the Marquis de Noailles was ordered to make to the court of London, only ſerve to aggravate the injury by the inſult; and it was reſerved for France to boaſt of pacific diſpoſitions in the very inſtant that her ambition inſtigated her to execute and avow an act of perfidy, unexampled in the hiſtory of nations. Yet, ſuch as the court of Verſailles dares allow itſelf to uſe, "Yet it would be wrong to believe that the acknowledgment that the King has made of the independence of the Thirteen United States of North America, is what has enraged the King of England: that Prince is, without doubt, not ignorant of all the examples of the like kind that the Britiſh annals, even of his own reign, do furniſh."—But theſe pretended examples do not exiſt.—The King never acknowledged the independence of a people, who had ſhaken off the yoke of their lawful Prince; it is doubtleſs very afflicting that the miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, have cheated the piety of their Sovereign, to cover, with ſo reſpectable a name, aſſertions without any foundation or likelihood, which are contradicted by the memory of all Europe.

At the commencement of the diſputes which aroſe between Great Britain and her colonies, the court of Verſailles declared, that it did not pretend to be a judge of the quarrel, and its ignorance of the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, as well as the privileges and obligations of the colonies, ought to have engaged it to perſiſt always in ſuch a wiſe and modeſt declaration, that would have ſpared it the ſhame of tranſcribing the manifeſtos of the American Congreſs, and of pronouncing now, "That the proceedings of the court of London had compelled its antient colonies to have recourſe to arms for the maintenance of their rights, their privileges, and their liberty." Theſe vain pretenſions have been already refuted in the moſt convincing manner, and the rights of Great Britain over that revolted people, her benefactions, and her long patience, have been already

already proved by reaſon and by facts. It is ſufficient here to remark, that France cannot take any advantage of the injuſtice with right, and in fact is the object of diſpute. And the King's dignity will not permit him to accept of thoſe propoſals, which, from the very beginning of a negociation, grants all that can ſatisfy the ambition of the rebellious Americans, whilſt they exact from his Majeſty, without any ſtipulation in his favour, that he ſhould deſiſt, for a long or indefinite term, from his moſt lawful pretenſions. It is true, the court of Verſailles vouchſafed to conſent, that the court of London might treat with the Congreſs, either directly, or by the intervention of the King of Spain. His Majeſty, certainly, will not ſo much demean himſelf as to complain of that inſolence, which ſeems to grant him, as a favour, the permiſſion of treating directly with his rebellious ſubjects. But the Americans themſelves are not blinded by paſſion and prejudice, they will ſee clearly in the conduct of France, that their new allies will ſoon become their tyrants, and that that pretended independence, purchaſed at the price of ſo much miſery and blood, will be ſoon ſubjected to the deſpotic will of a foreign court.

If France could verify that eagerneſs which ſhe attributes to the court of London, to ſeek the mediation of Spain, a like eagerneſs would ſerve to prove the King's juſt confidence in the goodneſs of his cauſe, and his eſteem for a generous nation which hath always deſpiſed fraud and perfidy. But the court of London was obliged to own, that the mediation was offered to it by the miniſters of the Catholic King, and it claims no other merit, than that of having ſhown, on all occaſions, a lively and ſincere inclination to deliver its ſubjects, nay even its enemies from the ſcourge of war. The conduct of the court of Madrid, during that negociation, ſoon ſhewed the King that a mediator, who forgets his own deareſt intereſts, to give himſelf up to the ambition, or reſentment of a foreign power, muſt be incapable of propoſing a ſafe or honourable accommodation. Experience confirmed theſe ſuſpicions; the unjuſt and inadmiſſible ſcheme juſt mentioned, was the ſole fruit of this mediation. In the ſame inſtant that the miniſters of the Catholic King offered, with the moſt diſintereſted profeſſions, his capital, his good offices, his guaranty, to facilitate the concluſion of the treaty, they ſuffered to appear from the bottom of obſcurity new ſubjects for diſcuſſing, particularly relative to Spain, but upon which they always refuſed to explain themſelves. His Majeſty's refuſal to accede to the *ultimatum* of the court of Madrid, was accompanied with all convenient precautions and reſpect: and, unleſs that court will arrogate to itſelf a right to dictate conditions of peace to an independent and reſpectable neighbour, there was nothing paſſed in that conjuncture, which ought to have altered the harmony of the two crowns. But the offenſive meaſures of Spain, which ſhe could never cloath with the faireſt appearances of equity, will ſoon ſhow that ſhe had already taken her reſolutions; had been inſtigated by the French miniſtry,

niſtry, who had only retarded the declaration of the court of Madrid, from the hope of giving a mortal blow to the honour and intereſt of Great Britain under the maſk of friendſhip.

Such are the unjuſt and ambitious enemies, who have deſpiſed the faith of treaties, to violate the public tranquility, and againſt whom the King now defends the rights of his crown and people. The event is yet in the hands of the Almighty; but his Majeſty, who relies upon the divine protection, with a firm but humble aſſurance, is perſuaded that the wiſhes of Europe will ſupport the juſtice of his cauſe, and applaud the ſucceſs of his arms, which have no other object than to eſtabliſh the repoſe of nations on a ſolid and unſhaken baſis.

But France herſelf appears to feel the weakneſs, the danger, and the indecency of theſe pretenſions; when, in the declaration of the Marquis de Noailles, as well as in her laſt manifeſto, ſhe quits her hold on the right of independence: ſhe is content to maintain, that the revolted colonies enjoy *in fact*, that independence they have beſtowed on themſelves; that even England herſelf, in ſome ſort acknowledges it, in ſuffering acts of ſovereignty to ſubſiſt; and that therefore France, without any violence of peace, might conclude a treaty of friendſhip and commerce with the United States of North America. — Let us ſee in what manner Great Britain had acknowledged that independence, equally imaginary in right, as in fact. Two years had not yet elapſed from the day in which the rebels declared their criminal reſolution of ſhaking off the yoke of their mother country; and that time had been occupied by the events of a bloody and obſtinate war. Succeſs had hung in ſuſpence, but the King's army, which poſſeſſed the moſt important maritime towns, continue always to menace the interior provinces. The Engliſh flag reigned over all the American ſeas, and the re-eſtabliſhment of a lawful dependence, was fixed as the indiſpenſible condition of the peace, which Great Britain offered to her revolted ſubjects, whoſe rights, privileges, nay even whoſe prejudices ſhe reſpected. The court of Verſailles, which announced, with ſo much openneſs and ſimplicity, the treaty ſigned with the pretended States of America, which it found in an independent ſituation, had alone contributed, by its clandeſtine ſuccours, to foment the fire of revolt; and it was the dread of peace that engaged France to employ the rumour of that alliance, as the moſt effectual means to inflame the minds of the people who began already to open their eyes upon the unfortunate conſequences of the revolt, the tyranny of their new leaders, and the paternal diſpoſition of their lawful Sovereign.

Under ſuch circumſtances it is impoſſible, without inſulting in too groſs a manner both truth and reaſon, to deny that the declaration of the Marquis of Noailles, of the 13th of March, 1778, ought to be received as a true declaration of war on the part of the moſt Chriſtian King; and the aſſurances "that he had taken eventual meaſures, in concert with the United States of America, to maintain a freedom of commerce," which had ſo often excited the juſt complaints of Great

Great Britain, authoriſed the King, from that moment, to rank France in the number of his enemies. The court of Verſailles could not avoid acknowledging that the King of England, after having "recalled his ambaſſador, denounced to his parliament the meaſures taken by his Majeſty, as an act of hoſtility, as a formal and premeditated aggreſſion." Such was, indeed, the declaration which both honour and juſtice demanded from the King, and which he communicated, without delay, to the miniſters of the different courts of Europe, to juſtify before-hand the effects of a lawful reſentment. From thence it is uſeleſs to ſeek for orders, that were ſent to the Eaſt-Indies, to remark the preciſe day when the fleets of England or France quitted their reſpective ports, or to ſcrutinize into the circumſtances of the action with the *Belle Poule*, and the taking two other frigates, which were actually carried off in ſight of the very coaſt of France. Hence the reproach made to the King of having ſo long ſuſpended a formal declaration of war, vaniſhes of itſelf. Theſe declarations are only the meaſures that nations have reciprocally agreed on, to avoid treachery and ſurpriſe; but the ceremonies which announce the terrible exchange of peace for war, the heralds declarations and manifeſtos are not always neceſſary, are not always alike. The declaration of the Marquis de Noailles was a ſignal of the public infraction of the peace. The King directly proclaimed to all nations that he accepted the war which France offered; the laſt proceedings of his Majeſty were rather the ſpring of his prudence, than his juſtice, and Europe may now judge if the court of London wanted means to "juſtify a declaration of war, and if ſhe did not dare to accuſe France, publicly, of being the aggreſſor."

Three Memorials from the Dutch *Merchants to the* States General, *preſented Sept.* 12*th*, 1778.

To their High Mightineſſes *the* States General *of the* United Provinces.

A MEMORIAL,

Reſpectfully delivered from the Merchants, Proprietors of Veſſels, and Exchange Inſurers, of the Town of Amſterdam.

THAT it cannot be unknown to your High Mightineſſes in what manner, for theſe ſeveral weeks paſt, a conſiderable number of veſſels belonging to the inhabitants of this republic, bound for the ports of France, have been ſtopped in their paſſage by the ſhips of his Britannic Majeſty, and other commiſſioned veſſels belonging to his ſubjects; and that, although our captains have proved that their ſhips belonged to the ſubjects of this republic, and were not laden with contraband goods, they have, notwithſtanding, been ſeized and conducted into the different ports of Great Britain, where they are yet detained, without the letters of recommendation written to Count Welderen, your Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the court of Great Britain, and granted by your High Mightineſſes at the ſolicitations of many perſons intereſted in the

the above veſſels, in order to reclaim and effect their ſpeedy enlargement, having produced the leaſt effect, but, on the contrary, the Engliſh continue to ſeize our veſſels more than ever, which ſeems to announce a plan formed by the Engliſh nation to totally prevent the navigation and commerce of the inhabitants of this republic with the ports of France.

That, in conſequence, if theſe proceedings of the Britiſh nation continue, they will, no doubt, operate to the total ruin of the commerce and navigation of this republic in general, and alſo to the ruin of ſeveral private perſons intereſted therein, either as proprietors of the veſſels, or of the cargoes, or as inſurers, and which will occaſion them a conſiderable injury.

From theſe conſiderations your memorialiſts have judged it neceſſary to lay their injuries, as legal as well founded, before your High Mightineſſes, and to implore your relief. The memorialiſts conſider it as ſuperfluous to endevour to prove more amply to your High Mightineſſes the injuſtice of ſuch ſeizures and detentions, ſince it is known to you, that by the naval treaty concluded between the court of Great Britain and the republic, on the 11th of December, 1674, the following, as the firſt article, is ſtipulated: "that it ſhall be permitted, and is legal, for the ſubjects of the reſpective nations to navigate *with liberty and ſafety*, to deal and negotiate *in all kingdoms and countries*, where the reſpective Sovereigns are at peace, neutrality and friendſhip, and in ſuch a manner, that their navigation and commerce may be neither hindered or moleſted, neither by any violence of people who carry on war, nor by the ſhips of war or other veſſels whatſoever, under pretence of any hoſtility or malice which may ariſe between one of the ſovereign powers and the nations with which the other is in peace or neutrality."

And this liberty of navigation and commerce is alſo determined by the ſecond article of the ſame treaty, by which it is agreed, "not to ſuffer that it ſhall be made the leaſt hindrance of any branch of commerce, on account, or by reaſon of a war; but on the contrary, to extend this liberty to all ſorts of merchandize, which was accuſtomed to be ſold in times of peace, excepting only goods comprized under the denomination of contraband, and which are ſpecified by a ſubſequent article."

Your High Mightineſſes are not leſs ignorant, that by the point or article fixed on, and concluded the 30th of Dec. 1675, at the Hague, between Sir William Temple, ambaſſador extraordinary from the King of Great Britain, and the deputies of your High Mightineſſes, it is ſpecially explained, "that the true ſenſe of the above articles of the treaty concluded the 11th of December, 1674, is, and ought to be, that ſince the concluſion of the above articles, the veſſels and ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of the two contracting powers, ſhould and may *navigate, trade, and negotiate*, not only from a neutral place to a place at war with either of the two nations, but from a place at war to a neutral place, whether or not the two places belong to the ſame Sovereign

reign or State, or to different States and Sovereigns with which either of the two contracting powers may be at war."

It will not be difficult for your memorialists to prove in the most convincing manner, as well by solid reasons, as by the authority of the best authors, who have written on the law of nations, and the judgment of civilized States in general, as also by the common rights of men, and without the necessity of any treaty or alliance; that in case of war between two powers, the subjects of that State in peace or neutrality with the belligerent powers, ought to enjoy the liberty of an uninterrupted commerce, and without being tied down by all the powers who are at war, and without meeting with the least obstacle under any pretext whatever; except in cases where neutral nations would supply the belligerant powers with warlike stores or other contraband goods, or are endeavouring to negotiate with places besieged or blockaded.

Your memorialists, therefore, consider it as superfluous to call your attention to such an object, seeing that the law of nations hath obtained the strictest sanction by the treaty concluded between this republic and England. That consequently it is not a question what ought to be the case between two nations who have not any reciprocal alliance, but that it is only to be considered, what treatment the inhabitants of this republic have a right to expect on the part of the subjects of Great Britain, since the alledged treaty still subsists, and was concluded on, as it is well known to your High Mightinesses, in a time when this state was at war with France; and that consequently it was principally dictated by the English, in order *to procure them a free navigation to and from the several ports of France.* Since then the English nation were the first who reaped the fruits of that convention, they ought not to prevent the subjects of this republic from profiting in their turn of the advantages of a free navigation and commerce, which they stipulated in themselves, and which they have enjoyed as they have found it convenient. And this objection ought to appear the better founded, as the stipulations in the treaty agreeing with the law of nations, ought to be a consideration of the greatest weight with a nation which would wish to preserve any pretensions to reason and equity, and that would not violate in any point the faith of a treaty so solemn as the above-mentioned.

The memorialists, therefore, hope, that by the efficacy of these reasons, the injustice will appear to your High Mightinesses, as well of making those prizes as the manner of carrying away the vessels of the inhabitants of this republic, navigated from a third place to the ports of France, or from one port of the same kingdom to another, without considering what or who he is, who ought to be considered as proprietor of the cargo.

That this injustice carries such a demonstrative proof, that neither the proprietors nor the sharers of the vessels ought, on that head, to begin making by instituting a process; but that it belongs to *his Britannic Majesty to give immediate orders,*

ders, as well to the commanders of ſhips of war as to thoſe of the letters of marque, that they no longer cauſe the leaſt injury, nor any longer ſeize the ſhips or veſſels belonging to this State; but, on the contrary, that they ſhall be bound directly to repair the injuries already done, and make good the damages already ſuſtained, ſince they can no longer pretend the neceſſity of a judicial examination, before having decided previouſly on the validity of the *captures*, and that it is otherwiſe evident, or at leaſt ought to be ſo, that the commiſſion for ſeizing the ſhips and effects belonging to an enemy, cannot concern the ſubjects of a power with whom they are bound by treaty, and according to which the navigation and commerce ſhould be free; and that there is, beſides, a right that the ſhip ſhould protect the cargo; nothing being ſo certain, that in ſuch circumſtances, the leaſt obſtruction given to a ſhip is an act of the moſt daring injuſtice; that of courſe, the dangerous conſequences brought on by ſo flagrant a violation of the law of nations cannot be repaired, although the ſhips ſhould be afterwards releaſed, and damages ſhould be awarded.

Beſides the juſtice of theſe aſſertions, and the validity of theſe complaints, the taking of ſhips bound for the ports of France, not only induces your memorialiſts to ſolicit your High Mightineſſes to interpoſe, and even *to inſiſt on immediate reparation* for damages already ſuſtained, and ſecurity for what may accrue. Your memorialiſts alſo cannot diſpenſe with reſpectfully laying open to your High Mightineſſes the lamentable conſequences which will reſult to the merchants, and of courſe to the ſtate in general, in caſe the veſſels and ſhips of the ſubjects of this republic cannot be guarded againſt what are little ſhort of *acts of piracy*.

In effect, the ſeizure of the ſhips not only occaſions to the proprietors a prejudice and conſiderable damage, and oppreſſes them in many reſpects by very large expences, but the ſtopping even of merchandize, and the danger and ſpoil of goods, to which they are ſubject; the poſſibility of the fall of the price of markets, as well as other events, are alſo very prejudicial to the above proprietors, and others intereſted therein; and if ſtill by ſuch proceedings, and againſt all remonſtrance, the Engliſh will pretend that the goods embarked are from that moment to be conſidered as French property, and ſubject to confiſcation, the conſequences of ſo unjuſt a ſuppoſition will infallibly cauſe the entire ruin of many inſurers in this country; and it will be the more unjuſt, as the veſſels hitherto ſeized, or liable to be ſeized, have had all their cargoes inſured in a time when there was not the leaſt hoſtility commenced between France and Great Britain, which alone gives a ſufficient reaſon why thoſe ſhips *ſhould not be ſeized*, much leſs ſhould they be declared legal prizes.

Further, without eſtimating the damage which neceſſarily muſt befal on the ſeveral perſons intereſted in ſhips ſeized, or expoſed to ſeizure, the conſequences of a ſeizure ſo unjuſt as that of Dutch ſhips, deſtined for the ports of France, will have the moſt dangerous influence on the commerce and navigation of the republic in general, ſince not only the inevitable effect will

will be the abſolute ruin of all commerce with France, but the more ſo, as all the other nations, which until this time have employed, and will again employ Dutch ſhips to tranſport their merchandize to the ports of France, or other places, will be deprived of employing for the future, ſhips expoſed to be detained or made prizes of.

Theſe premiſes will afford a vaſt ground of ſpeculation, when it will pleaſe your High Mightineſſes to reflect, that notwithſtanding his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by the firſt article of his regulations, concerning the navigation of neutral ſhips in times of war, under the date of July 26, 1778, has voluntarily forbidden all his privateers and ſhips, to ſtop or ſeize any ſhip belonging to neutral powers, even ſailing from, or bound to, the enemy's ports, excepting only blockaded places, and ſhips laden with contraband goods; judging it proper, nevertheleſs, to declare, that his Majeſty reſerves the right of revoking this liberty, in caſe the power at war with him doth not think it proper to extend the ſame favour, before the expiration of ſix months, to be computed from the date when the above regulations were publiſhed. According to this, it may then happen that his Chriſtian Majeſty, in making repriſals, would alſo limit the franchiſements of the ſhips of this ſtate, when the memorialiſts, and other inhabitants of the republic, will ſee your Mightineſſes entirely deprived of their commerce and navigation with the two kingdoms and their dependencies, and in this manner ſupporting, however unjuſtly, the vigorous effects of war, the ſame as if this republic was actually concerned therein.

However matters may terminate, your memorialiſts deem it needleſs to ſhew to your High Mightineſſes the horrible reſult of ſuch a commercial decline, for all the inhabitants of this country in general, ſeeing that by commerce the republic is aggrandized; that in trade ſhe finds the moſt ſolid benefits, and that if her commerce periſhes, ſhe will ſoon find herſelf on the brink of deſtruction. What is ſtill further to be apprehended, when we have reflected on the unjuſt proceedings on the part of the Engliſh, the navigation and commerce between this country and France, and very likely by an inevitable rupture with England, both will be totally prevented, it may furniſh occaſion to other kingdoms to carry on our trade, of which, againſt all reaſon and juſtice, the uſage will be forbidden to the inhabitants of this republic, whilſt frequent examples, founded on moſt woeful experience, will teach us, that one time or other, by a certain concurrence of circumſtances, one branch of commerce taken away, can never return into its ancient courſe.

Prompted thus by every motive that can be alledged, your memorialiſts reſpectfully addreſs your High Mightineſſes, that it may pleaſe them to prevent and reſtore the damages done to the merchants of this country, by the ſeizure of her ſhips bound for the ports of France, by the Engliſh nation, *againſt the faith of treaties, in open violation of the law of nations, in oppoſition to natural equity.* In ſhort, to prevent for the future ſuch extraordinary

traordinary proceedings, to maintain the rights and privileges of the several inhabitants of this State, which they hold from God and nature, and on which the English nation are bound by the most solemn treaties to make no infractions.

That it will please your High Mightinesses to provide speedily and efficaciously, as well by the most serious representations to the Court of England, on the subject of the disorders committed, and to prevent their consequences, by giving a sufficient protection, by the means of the ships of war, to the commerce and navigation of this country, in such a manner as your High Mightinesses, inspired by your acknowledged wisdom, and animated by paternal regard and zeal for the prosperity of this republic, shall judge proper.

To their High Mightinesses *the* States General *of the* United States.

A MEMORIAL,

Respectfully presented by the Merchants and Owners of Ships of the Town of Rotterdam.

THAT very lately a considerable number of ships belonging to the inhabitants of this State, and bound for France, have been stopped at sea either by the ships of the royal marine of England, or by commissioned ships of the same nation, and afterwards carried into the ports of Great Britain, where they continue to be detained, notwithstanding the bare inspection of the consignments and other papers found on board the above ships would sufficiently shew *that they were not laden with any sort of merchandize under the denomination of contraband goods*, specified by the third article of the Marine Treaty, concluded in the month of December, 1674, between the Court of Great Britain and this republic.

That this conduct of the British nation, the *flagrant injustice of which might be very easily proved by an appeal to the law of nations*, if it be not already evident, as well by the aforesaid treaty *as by the Explanatory Convention* of 1675, will infallibly accelerate the entire ruin of the commerce and navigation of the United Provinces, if not timely and efficaciously prevented.

Notwithstanding the many arguments that might be urged, your memorialists will not trouble your High Mightinesses with all the reasons they have to alledge in proof that the destruction of our commerce and navigation must follow, as the unavoidable consequence of the unjust proceedings of the English, our neighbours, of which there is no occasion of any further proof, it having already been fully represented to your High Mightinesses.

Your memorialists therefore only assume the liberty of observing in very few words, that by the seizure of their ships, although they may afterwards be released even with indemnity, the necessary delays in such cases are yet highly prejudicial, and totally ruinous to the merchants of these provinces.

That, during the detention of the merchandize, the commodities

are expoſed to the injury of the fall of markets, and the merchants are, beſides, in that interval, deprived of the opportunity of furniſhing themſelves in return with ſuch goods as they intended when the firſt cargoes arrived at their deſtined ports.

In ſhort, the Dutch ſhips employed for the tranſportation of merchandize to France and elſewhere, being detained, will, without doubt, (the reſult of ſuch proceedings out of the queſtion) occaſion fewer numbers to be hired in ſuch ſervice for the future.

That this ſeizure and detention are not only in themſelves ſufficient entirely to ruin our commerce and navigation, but that this ruin will be more rapidly brought on, whenever it ſhall pleaſe the Engliſh nation to make a ſecond ſtride of injuſtice, and having ſeized the ſhips bound for our French merchants, or from France, to this State, they have only to declare them legal prizes.

That this proſpect is ſtill more deplorable, when your memorialiſts reflect on the regulation given by his Chriſtian Majeſty, on the 26th of July laſt, concerning the navigation of *neutral ſhips*; becauſe, although that Monarch therein *forbids* the ſtoppage and ſeizure of neutral ſhips, bound to or from an enemy's port, he nevertheleſs reſerves to himſelf a right of revoking that edict, in caſe any foreign power *ſhould not agree to the ſame regulation reſpecting neutral ſhips*. From hence it neceſſarily reſults, that, if the Engliſh continue to detain and ſeize our ſhips coming from France, or going thereto, we may expect the ſame treatment from the French with regard to our ſhips coming from, or going to Great Britain, and by theſe means, and to the total ruin of theſe States, they will be deprived of the benefits of commerce and navigation with both countries.

Your memorialiſts, therefore, flatter themſelves that your High Mightineſſes will find theſe reaſons ſufficiently concluſive to juſtify the preſentation of this memorial, as alſo that your High Mightineſſes will take ſuch meaſures, dictated by your uſual wiſdom, and agreeable to the protection of the commerce and navigation of theſe provinces, in order to ſave them from that total ruin with which they are now threatened.

To their High Mightineſſes *the* States General *of the* United Provinces.

A MEMORIAL,

Reſpectfully delivered from the Merchants, Proprietors of Veſſels, and Exchange Inſurers, of the Towns of Amſterdam, Rotterdam, *and* Dordrecht.

THAT the unjuſt procedure of interrupting the navigation and commerce of the inhabitants of this republic, for a conſiderable time paſt, by *Engliſh commiſſioned ſhips*, as well as by the ſhips and officers of his Britannic Majeſty, has put many proprietors and others, whoſe ſhips and goods have been ſeized, under the indiſpenſible neceſſity of calling upon the interceſſion, and entreating the fatherly protection of your High Mightineſſes, in order to obtain a releaſe of the ſhips and cargoes which have been

been thus unjuſtly captured, and detained.

That beſides a great number of merchants eſtabliſhed in theſe towns, as well as others throughout the provinces, having preſented a reſpectful addreſs to your High Mightineſſes, to ſee thoſe evils redreſſed, of which, with great reaſon, they think they have a right to complain, your memorialiſts flattered themſelves, that your High Mightineſſes letters of recommendation to *Count Welderen*, your Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Great Britain, ſent at the requeſt of the reclaimants, as well as by a general notification addreſſed by your High Mightineſſes to Count Welderen, in order for him to preſent without delay the moſt ſerious remonſtrances in the name of your High Mightineſſes, as well to his Britannic Majeſty, as to his Miniſters, (in which your memorialiſts acknowledged with gratitude the paternal care of your High Mightineſſes, for the welfare of the inhabitants of this ſtate) that, we expected, the ſaid letters of recommendation would have produced the deſired effect; that is to ſay, that the ſhips ſo ſtopped and ſo unjuſtly ſeized, with their cargoes, would have been immediately ſet at liberty.

That the expences, damages, and intereſts occaſioned by their detention, would have been defrayed to the ſufferers, and that the inhabitants of this ſtate would have received the neceſſary aſſurances, that they could have continued to carry on their navigation and commerce with that freedom and ſafety which they have a right to expect, as well from the common rights of nature, as by the moſt ſolemn treaties which now exiſt between Great Britain and this Republic; and that your memorialiſts would then have had every reaſon to believe, that the violence hitherto committed, were the acts of private perſons, and committed without the order or permiſſion of the King of Great Britain, and that ſo far from avoiding them, his Britannic Majeſty, according to his acknowledged equity, would not have made the leaſt difficulty of immediately remedying them, eſpecially after he had received our juſt complaints from the hands of your High Mightineſſes.

That notwithſtanding your memorialiſts, with great regret, perceive that all the repreſentations made by, or on the part of your High Mightineſſes on this ſubject, have only produced an injunction from the Lords of the Engliſh admiralty, to releaſe the ſhips which were not laden with timber or rigging, but not that for the future, ſuch of our ſhips as might be laden with the under-mentioned articles ſhould be indemnified from capture, and ſo far from allowing the leaſt damages to the ſufferers concerned in the ſmall number of ſhips which have been releaſed, the Engliſh continue daily to detain ſuch of our veſſels as are laden with maſts, planks, hemp, and other articles for ſhip building, coming from the Baltic, *and bound to France*.

Your memorialiſts are alſo informed, that the intentions of the Britiſh Miniſtry are to order a confiſcation of the lading of all ſhips whoſe cargoes they ſhall deem *to belong to France*; or rather, in this

caſe, where they ſhall think that the French have not an intereſt in the veſſels, to order them to be releaſed, but to retain the cargo, reimburſing only the value, and paying only the freightage of the ſhips according to the ſums awarded.

Under this conſideration, as they cannot but allow, that on the one hand this mode of arguing, and this manner of acting, by the Britiſh Miniſtry, are diametrically oppoſite to the reciprocal obligations which bind the two nations, the rights of men, as ſanctioned by the laws of nature and nations, as well as to the marine treaty of the 11th of December, 1674, in particular; on which, notwithſtanding this republic hath not on her part made the leaſt infraction, and that ſuch procedures muſt evidently wound and even deſtroy thoſe rules of equity and good faith, from which civilized nations ought not to depart; ſo, on the other hand, if the Engliſh Miniſtry ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in ſuch an unjuſt conduct, the conſequences muſt neceſſarily bring on, not only the total ruin of a great number of your memorialiſts, who are immediately intereſted, but alſo the intire decline of the commerce and navigation of all the inhabitants of this country, on which the welfare, proſperity, and preſervation of the ſtate entirely depend.

Theſe evils have been exemplified in former times, but particularly in the years 1746, 1747, and 1748, and from 1756 to 1758. In the firſt period we may eſtimate a loſs of upwards of *twenty millions*, cauſed by the Engliſh on the commerce and navigation of this State; and during the ſecond period, near *twelve millions*, which is ſufficiently proved by the printed records of thoſe times, and which are laid before your High Mightineſſes.

Beſides, the value of the cargoes contained in the ſhips now actually detained in England, amount already to a very conſiderable ſum, which is not only excluded from circulation, but the total loſs of it, or of great part of it, if ſuch proceedings continue under *the frivolous pretext that it belongs to the French, and is, under that deſcription, to be confiſcated*, will fall almoſt entirely on the Dutch merchants, aſſurers, &c. to which we muſt again add, the prodigious damage occaſioned to the owners of ſhips by the delay of ſuch veſſels, the continuance of wages and proviſions during the detention, as well as the ſtoppage of the navigation during the interval.

Further, the ſeamen on board ſuch veſſels, and who are ſo eſſential to this republic, will either eſcape or *be ſeduced into the ſervice of Great Britain*. In ſhort, if the inhabitants of this republic are prevented from freely navigating in a manner agreeable to the faith of treaties, their veſſels will be leſs employed than the ſhips of any other nation, on whom the Engliſh dare not impoſe the ſame reſtrictive law; conſequently the ſhips of the latter will be employed in tranſporting the goods and merchandize, the exportation and vend of which, intereſts as much the inhabitants of the north, as their beneficial importation from the ſouth of Europe.

The conſideration of all theſe objects collectively determined your

your memorialiſts again to addreſs your High Mightineſſes, and to implore once more your ſovereign and efficacious protection. Their memorials are founded upon well grounded apprehenſions of inevitable ruin, not only to themſelves, but to the State at large, if the Engliſh Miniſtry obſtinately perſiſt in their preſent proceedings towards our ſhips.

Finally, your memorialiſts firmly believe, *that this State is neither deficient in power, nor that her inhabitants want inclination or courage to maintain the independency of their republic againſt all unjuſt violence*; *and they alſo look on it as inſufferable, that a nation which owes the ſecurity and preſervation of her civil and religious liberties to the aſſiſtance and co-operation of this republic, and which otherwiſe is united with her by ties of mutual and poſitive intereſt, ſhould dare, againſt the firſt principles of natural equity, againſt all rules of right, adopted by all civilized nations, and againſt the faith of all ſolemn treaties, for the reaſon only of* CONVENIENCE; *that this very nation, we ſay, ſhould dare to cauſe ſo much trouble and prejudice to the commerce and navigation of this republic, and that in ſo notorious a manner, that the total ruin of individuals, and the entire decay of trade, as well as of navigation, muſt be the final reſult of their conduct.*

A MEMORIAL,

Delivered by Sir Joſeph Yorke, *to the* Deputies *of the* States General, *on the* 22*d of* November, 1778.

THEIR High Mightineſſes will have received, by the anſwer from Lord Suffolk, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, to the Count Welderen, dated the 19th of October, the moſt convincing proofs of his Majeſty's friendſhip towards them.

After an explicit detail of the hoſtile and unprecedented conduct of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, which conduct occaſioned the ſeeming irregularity of the Court of Great Britain, in ſeizing the ſhips appertaining to neutral powers bound to the ports of France, the meaſure hath been fully explained on the principles of neceſſity and ſelf-defence, againſt an enemy who hath ever acted covertly and by ſurprize.—The moderation and equity of the King my maſter, would not permit him to diſregard the complaints of the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes, from the moment there appeared a poſſibility to renew them. It is for this reaſon that his Majeſty has declared his intention to releaſe the Dutch veſſels, under conditions the moſt amicable and the leaſt diſadvantageous, as far as circumſtances will admit. The war, however, ſtill continues, and the active endeavours of the enemy to puſh matters to extremity, obliges his Majeſty to guard againſt the danger. He wiſhes, nevertheleſs, to involve his good neighbours and allies as little as poſſible; and although France has even threatened to invade his Majeſty's dominions and territories, having, for that purpoſe, aſſembled numerous armies on their coaſt, the King, my maſter, ſtill forbears to claim ſuch ſuccour from their High Mightineſſes as they are bound to grant, by the moſt explicit and ſolemn treaties, whenever

such succours may be on his part required, namely, the treaty of 1678, and the separate article of 1716; his Majesty confines himself for the present solely to lay before their High Mightinesses the state of affairs, the motive of his conduct, and the necessity he finds himself under to take measures for his own defence, and the preservation of his dominions.

It is only with this view that I am ordered by his Britannic Majesty, to propose to their High Mightinesses a conference, to consider of the most proper means towards an amicable regulation of such a mode of proceeding in future, respecting such articles as his Majesty, without yielding to his enemies, cannot possibly suffer them to be supplied with. It cannot have escaped the attention of their High Mightinesses, that Lord Suffolk in explaining his Majesty's sentiments to Count Welderen, fully demonstrated the King's sincere desire to pay the strictest regard to the faith of treaties, as far as they do not directly tend to expose him to imminent danger. It is by no means his intention, nor is it his wish, to cause the least interruption to the commerce of Holland, usually carried on with France, excepting warlike and naval stores, and even this restriction shall be enjoyed with equity, and, I am confident, with every possible degree of generosity.

I therefore, in obedience to my instructions, have taken the liberty to request an audience, to know whether, in consequence of the answer delivered to Count Welderen, their High Mightinesses are resolved to open a conference with me? On my part, I intreat you to assure their High Mightinesses, that as well from my being authorised by his Majesty, as from my being personally disposed, after a residence in this country of 27 years, their High Mightinesses will find in me every readiness to attend to their complaints, and regard for their welfare; and I flatter myself that in the course of the conference I shall convince them, that whatever forced and affected turn may have been given to the conduct of my Court, it has been founded on the justice, moderation, and necessity of our situation. In expectation of the decision of their High Mightinesses on what I have laid before them, I trust that their known equity and friendship towards his Majesty, agreeable to their recent assurances by their Envoy, will prove sufficient not to authorize their subjects to carry naval stores, under convoy, to France, as being the most dangerous object to the security of Great Britain.

A MEMORIAL,

Presented by his Excellency the Duke de Vauguyon, *Ambassador of* France *to the* States General *of the* United Provinces *of the* Low Countries.

THE opinion which the King my master hath entertained, that your High Mightinesses, animated with the desire of perpetuating the perfect harmony which subsists between France and the States General, will, in the present circumstances, scrupulously adhere to the principles of absolute neutrality, has induced his Majesty to comprehend the United Provinces

in

in the regulation which was made in the month of July laſt, concerning the commerce and navigation of neutral powers,

His Majeſty has ſtill leſs reaſon to doubt the perſeverance of your High Mightineſſes in theſe principles, after ſo many aſſurances given in claiming their captures, which are the foundation and guarantee of the ſolid repoſe and proſperity of the Republic. But his Majeſty, notwithſtanding, wiſhes to procure on this head a more certain aſſurance, and it is with this view that his Majeſty has ordered me to demand of your High Mightineſſes a clear and ſpecific explanation of your ulterior determinations, and ſo to ſtate them, that his Majeſty may be enabled to judge whether they tend to maintain or annul the reciprocal regulations which his Majeſty would wiſh to conſolidate.

The better to explain his Majeſty's views and intentions to your High Mightineſſes, I have the honour of notifying to you, that the King my maſter flatters himſelf, that your anſwer to this Memorial will preſerve to the flag of the United Provinces, all the liberty which of right belongs to them as an independent State, and to their commerce all the reſpect which is due by the law of nations, and the faith of treaties.

The leaſt derogation from thoſe principles of neutrality you have profeſſed, will betray a partiality, the conſequences of which will incur the neceſſity of putting an end to not only the advantages which his Majeſty promiſes to your flag in caſe of a ſtrict obſervance of neutrality, but alſo the eſſential favours and benefits which the commerce of the United Provinces enjoy in all the ports of his kingdom.

This Memorial is preſented without any other motive, than to ſhew the good will and affection of his Majeſty for your High Mightineſſes.

Hague, Dec. 8, 1778.

ORDER of the French King's Council of State, which is to take place on the 26th of January, 1779, and revokes, with reſpect to the ſubjects of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, (the City of Amſterdam excepted) all the advantages given, by the firſt article of the regulation of the 26th of July, 1778, to the navigation of neutral veſſels: directs alſo, that all Holland veſſels ſhall proviſionally execute the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth articles of the regulation of the 21ſt of October, 1744; ſubjecting the ſaid veſſels to the payment of duties on freightage, and to the making a new entry.

January 14, 1779.

Extract from the Regiſters of the Council of State.

THE King having declared, by his regulation of the 26th of July laſt, concerning the navigation of neutral veſſels, that he reſerved to himſelf the power of revoking the liberty granted by the firſt article, in caſe the belligerent powers ſhould not grant the like within the ſpace of ſix months; and his Majeſty, judging it proper to make known his intentions, relative to the veſſels belonging to

the ſubjects of the Republic of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, has in council ordered and declared as follows:

Article the 1ſt.

The Republic of the United Provinces not having obtained of the Court of London the liberty of navigation, equal to that which the King had conditionally promiſed to their flag, and which their treaties with England ſhould ſecure to them, his Majeſty revokes, with reſpect to the ſubjects of the ſaid Republic, the advantages granted by the firſt article, concerning the commerce and navigation of neutral ſhips; and in conſequence declares it his pleaſure, that the veſſels of the ſaid Republic ſhall proviſionally execute the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth articles of the regulation of the 21ſt of October, 1744.

2. His Majeſty further declares, that from the date of the 26th of January, 1779, the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid Republic, ſhall pay the duty on freightage, as is eſtabliſhed by the ordinances and regulations, and particularly by the declaration of the 24th of November, 1750, and the order of Council of the 16th of July, 1757; his Majeſty reſerving to himſelf the power of laying, when he pleaſes, new duties on the commodities of the United Provinces, and the productions of their manufactures.

3. His Majeſty, however, conſidering that the city of Amſterdam has made the moſt patriotic exertions, to perſuade the Republic to procure, from the Court of London, the ſecurity of that unlimited liberty, which belongs to their flag, in conſequence of her independence and integrity of commerce, which the rights of nations and treaties ſecure to her; and his Majeſty, deſirous of giving the ſaid city a ſtriking example of his benevolence, has reſerved to the ſhips freighted by the inhabitants of Amſterdam, the liberty promiſed by the firſt article of the regulation of the 26th of July laſt, concerning the navigation of neutral veſſels, as well as the exemption of the duties of freightage; except ſuch veſſels as are employed in the French coaſting trade, which ſhall continue to be ſubject to the order of Council of the 16th of July, 1757. His Majeſty further reſerves to the inhabitants of the ſaid city, the advantages granted to their own commodities, and the productions of their manufactures, conformably to what is at preſent practiſed.

4. To ſecure to the veſſels of Amſterdam, excluſively, the enjoyment of the advantages granted in the preceding article, his Majeſty declares, that the captains of the ſaid veſſels ſhall be ſupplied with a certificate from the Commiſſary of the Marine eſtabliſhed at Amſterdam, and an atteſtation of the magiſtrates of the ſaid city, aſſerting that the veſſels were actually freighted by the inhabitants of that city, and that they went directly from their port for the place they were bound to.

5. The ſaid Captains ſhall be bound, on their return, to appear before the ſaid Commiſſary of the Marine, and to give ſufficient proof, that he landed his cargo in no other port or harbour of the Republic than that of Amſterdam. His Majeſty alſo enjoins the ſaid Commiſſary,

commiſſary, to refuſe in future any new certificate to thoſe, who ſhall not be provided with good proof of their integrity, or who ſhall be convicted of having landed their cargo in any other port or harbour of the republic.

6. His Majeſty eſpecially commands his ambaſſador to the republic of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, ſtrictly to attend to the due obſervance of this order.

His Majeſty orders and commands the Duke de Penthievre, Admiral of France, to ſign the execution of the preſent order, which ſhall be entered on the regiſters of the Admiralty, and from whence all the neceſſary letters ſhall be diſpatched.

Given in the King's Council of State, his Majeſty being preſent, held at Verſailles, Jan. 14, 1779.

(Signed)

DE SARTINE.

Memorial preſented by Sir Joſeph Yorke, *to the States General of the United Provinces.*

" High and Mighty Lords,

" THE King of Great Britain, from the friendſhip he has for your High Mightineſſes, and taking into conſideration the regard reciprocally between Sovereigns, has hitherto forebore interfering in the negociation which has been carrying on relative to the protection to be given to the tranſportation of all ſorts of naval ſtores during the war, which is actually carrying on between your High Mightineſſes and France; but the laſt proceedings of the French ambaſſador forbid his keeping ſilence any longer, and his Majeſty would think he wronged the ancient leagues between his crown and your High Mightineſſes, if he did not inform them to what danger they will expoſe themſelves, by liſtening to propoſals which will oblige them to infringe a neutrality which they have ſo often declared they wiſhed to ſupport, and which at once attack their independence, ſap the baſis of their government, and threaten nothing leſs than their diſunion.

" Your High Mightineſſes are too well inſtructed not to feel that a foreign power, who takes upon itſelf the right of granting particular favours to part of your government to the prejudice of the reſt, can have no other view than to ſow diſcord, and to break the ties which unite you; and that if other powers were to follow the ſame example, the republic would be torn to pieces by an internal combuſtion, and an univerſal anarchy would ſucceed.

" Thus far the intereſt only of your High Mightineſſes ſeems concerned; but when we perceive that the end of all theſe intrigues is manifeſtly deſigned to cauſe the republic to quarrel with the King, and to bring on a war between your High Mightineſſes and Great Britain, under the ſeducing pretence of a perfect neutrality and the intereſt of trade, the King can no longer remain an indifferent ſpectator, but finds himſelf obliged to lay before your High Mightineſſes the danger into which France wiſhes to plunge you.

" What right has France to dictate to your High Mightineſſes the arrangements you ought to make

make with England? When and how has that court obtained any ſuch right? The treaty which your High Mightineſſes do, and which the King might reclaim, contains nothing of that kind; it muſt therefore be ſought for in the ambitious views of that power, which has made a league with the rebels of America, and now endeavours to bring other ſtates into it with them.

"In October laſt the King, in an amicable manner, communicated his ſituation and ſentiments to your High Mightineſſes, by a memorial delivered to your Envoy, Count Welderen, by the late Lord Suffolk, in which he explained his views, and the neceſſity he was under to defend himſelf againſt an enemy, who had attacked him by ſurprize in an unjuſt manner; and although that enemy has gone ſo far as to dictate to your High Mightineſſes, what they were to do during the preſent troubles; his Majeſty, far from imitating any ſuch arbitrary conduct, only propoſed to your High Mightineſſes to conſer with his ambaſſador upon what was moſt proper to be done for the ſecurity, &c. of the two countries. Your High Mightineſſes, it is true, to my great regret, thought proper to decline this offer, and to inſiſt upon the literal and ſtrict obſervance of a treaty which you yourſelves muſt ſee is incompatible with the ſecurity of Great Britain, and contrary to the ſpirit and ſtipulations of all the future treaties between the two nations.

"What object can be more important, more indiſpenſible, than that of depriving the enemy of any materials which may enable them to redouble their efforts during the war? and how can a protection of thoſe materials be reconciled to the alliances ſo often renewed between the two nations, or with the aſſurances of friendſhip, which your High Mightineſſes are continually profeſſing to the King? To prevent future bad conſequences, and to aſſure the republic of the unequivocal friendſhip his Majeſty entertains for this republic, the King has ordered me to aſſure your High Mightineſſes of the ardent deſire he has to cultivate good harmony between the two nations, to renew the promiſes he made to them to maintain the liberties of legal trade to their ſubjects, agreeable to the orders given to the King's ſhips and privateers, notwithſtanding the advantage that may reſult from it to the enemy; but his Majeſty orders me to add, that he cannot depart from the neceſſity he is under of excluding the tranſportation of naval ſtores to the ports of France, and particularly timber, even if they are eſcorted by men of war.

"The example which France has ſet of favouring ſome members of the republic to the detriment of others, ſo directly contrary to the union and independence of your High Mightineſſes, the King hopes never to be obliged to follow, unleſs a condeſcenſion to the views of France obliges him to take that method of making amends to thoſe members of the republic who are hurt by the partiality of his enemies. His Majeſty always thought it derogatory from the dignity of ſovereignty to ſow diſcord in any neighbouring ſtates.

"The laſt edict publiſhed by the court of France, which excepts

cepts the cities of Amſterdam and Haerlem from certain duties impoſed on the other members of the republic, to puniſh them for having made uſe of that ſovereign right which belongs to them, cannot but ſhew all Europe the motives which have engaged France to league with America.

" The King is always ready to do all in his power for the advantage and tranquility of the ſubjects of the republic, provided it is not incompatible with the intereſts of his kingdoms.

" He flatters himſelf, that your High Mightineſſes will, on this occaſion, conſult your true intereſts, without ſuffering yourſelves to be intimidated by foreign views, and that you will co-operate by that means to keep up the good intelligence between the two nations, and that his Majeſty may never be obliged to take other meaſures towards the republic, than thoſe which friendſhip and good harmony may dictate.

(Signed)

JOSEPH YORKE."

Hague, April 9, 1779.

Ordinance of the French *King's Council of State, reſpecting the Suſpenſion of the Order to collect the Duties of Freightage, and fifteen per Cent. upon the Ships of the Province of* Holland *excluſively.*

July 3, 1779.

Extract from the Regiſters of the Council of State.

THE King, by the orders of his council of the 14th of January, the 27th of April, and the 5th of June laſt, having ordered to be collected, in all the ports of his kingdom, not only the right of freightage, but alſo that of *fifteen per cent.* as well upon the ſhips of Holland as thoſe of the other Provinces, and upon the merchandize with which they ſhall be laden, excepting from thoſe diſpoſitions, the cities of Amſterdam and Harlem; and his Majeſty being willing to grant the ſame exception to the whole Province of Holland, the Sieur Moreau de Beaumont, Counſellor of State in Ordinary, and of the Council of the Royal Finances, has made the following report: The King, being preſent in his council, has ordered, and does order, that the execution of the ordinances of the 14th of January, the 27th of April, and the 5th of June, ſhall be ſuſpended, until a new order to the contrary, in favour of the ſaid Province of Holland excluſively; provided nevertheleſs, the captains of ſhips belonging to the ſaid Province be furniſhed with a certificate, either from the Commiſſary of Marine at Amſterdam, or from the Marine Agent at Rotterdam, to prove that the ſaid ſhips really belonged to a citizen of the ſaid Province, and that their ladings conſiſted of articles of their own growth, fiſhery, manufactures, and commerce. His Majeſty commands and enjoins his Intendants and Commiſſaries in his Provinces, to attend to the execution of this preſent ordinance. Given in the King's Council of State, held at Verſailles, his Majeſty being preſent, the 3d day of July, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine.

(Signed)

DE SARTI[illegible].

Memo-

Memorial presented by Sir Joseph York, *Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King of* Great Britain, *to their* High Mightinesses *the* States General *of the* United Provinces *of the* Low Countries, *on the 22d of July*, 1779.

"High and Mighty Lords,

"SINCE France, by the declaration made at London on the 13th of March last year, fully discovered the vast and dangerous designs which the Family Compact had before announced to Europe, this part of the world must bear witness to the wisdom and moderation of the King of Great Britain, who endeavoured to ward off the calamities of war, avoiding, as much as possible, engaging his neighbours and allies.

"A conduct like this, founded in the most pointed moderation, seemed so much to embolden the court of Versailles, that after perfidiously encouraging of rebel subjects, under the mask of liberty, commerce, and independence, to plunge a poignard into the heart of their mother country; France, not contented with so hostile a proceeding, has, without any national quarrel, drawn Spain into its views, and, without any plausible reasons to colour the design, is making every preparation that an imperious disposition can dictate to invade the British islands.

"On the news of these extraordinary and great preparations, your High Mightinesses cannot but justify the pressing and reiterated instances which the King of Great Britain could not but make to you, relative to the naval armament; and the notorious danger of England will no doubt convince all the subjects of these Provinces, who have hitherto spoke against it, of the necessity of this request of my court.

"But those motives, which were only palliatives to prevent an evil, are now out of season; the danger is become imminent, and the remedy must be speedy. The stipulations of a treaty, founded on the interests of trade only, must give way to those founded on the dearest interests of the two nations. The moment is come to decide whether Great Britain, who has spilt so much blood, and expended so much treasure to succour others, and to maintain liberty and religion, is to have no other resources against the malice and envy of her enemies, than her own courage, and her own internal strength; whether she is to be abandoned by her most antient friends and allies, to the most ambitious views of the House of Bourbon, which would crush all, to reign over all; and whether Europe in general, and your High Mightinesses in particular, will with indifference see a system established, which will evidently destroy that equilibrium which is the only guarantee of your commerce, liberty, and even existence itself.

"The King, High and Mighty Lords, has too high an opinion of the understanding, the good faith, and the wisdom of the republic, to doubt a moment of the sentiments of your High Mightinesses on this occasion. A nation whose history contains scarce any thing but the detail of the dangers which the ambition of France successively created, whose best days began with their union with England:

in

in ſhort, a nation accuſtomed to exact the literal execution of a hard treaty, has too much generoſity not to fulfil thoſe which have united the intereſts of the two nations upwards of a century.

"It is in this perſuaſion, joined to all that is held moſt ſacred among men, that the under-written Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain, has, by expreſs order, the honour to notify to your High Mightineſſes, that the danger which threatens his kingdoms, neceſſitates his Majeſty to reclaim, without loſs of time, the ſuccours ſtipulated in the treaties of 1678, and others, and of which the *Caſus Fœderis* is ſo fully explained in the ſeparate article of 1716. His Majeſty expects the ſame with confidence from a neighbour who has never failed in his engagements, and for the reſt confides in the divine benediction on the juſtneſs of his cauſe, and on the fidelity and valour of his ſubjects.

"The underwritten waits with the greateſt impatience for a juſt, ſpeedy, and favourable anſwer, and is ready to confer with the deputies of your High Mightineſſes on what ſteps are further neceſſary to be taken.

(Signed) JOSEPH YORKE."

Hague, July 22, 1779.

Reſolutions of their High Mightineſſes, *relative to* Paul Jones's *Squadron and Prizes, delivered to the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador at the* Hague, *on the 25th of October*, 1779.

THAT their High Mightineſſes being informed that three frigates had lately arrived at the Texel, namely, two French and one called an American, commanded by Paul Jones, bringing with them two prizes taken by them in the open ſea, and called the Serapis and the Counteſs of Scarborough, deſcribed in the ambaſſador's memorial. That their High Mightineſſes having for a century paſt ſtrictly obſerved the following maxim, and notified the ſame by placards, viz. that they will in no reſpect whatever pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of thoſe who have on the open ſea taken any veſſels which do not belong to this country, and bring them into any of the ports of this republic; that they only open their ports to them to give them ſhelter from ſtorms or other diſaſters; and that they oblige them to put to ſea again with their prizes without unloading or diſpoſing of their cargoes, but letting them remain exactly as when they arrived. That their High Mightineſſes will not examine whether the prizes taken by the three frigates in queſtion belong to the French or the Americans, or whether they are legal or illegal prizes, but leave all that to be determined by the proper judges, and will oblige them to put to ſea, that they may be liable to be retaken, and by that means brought before the proper judge, particularly as his Excellency the Ambaſſador muſt own he would have no leſs a right to re-claim the abovementioned ſhips, if they had been private property, than as they have been King's ſhips; therefore their High Mightineſſes are not authoriſed to paſs judgment either upon theſe prizes, or the perſon of Paul Jones;

Jones; that as to what regards acts of humanity, their High Mightineſſes have already made appear how ready they are to ſhew them towards the wounded on board of the veſſels, and that they have given orders accordingly. That an extract of the preſent reſolution ſhall be given to Sir Joſeph Yorke by the Agent Vander Burch de Spierinxhock.

At the ſame time it was reſolved, that word ſhould be ſent to the Admiralty of Amſterdam that their High Mightineſſes approve their proceedings, and adhere to their placard of the 3d of November, 1756, by which it is forbid to meddle with any prizes, or to open their cargoes, ſo as by that means to free them from being retaken, &c. That this is ſtrictly to be obſerved with regard to the Serapis and Counteſs of Scarborough. Their High Mightineſſes authoriſe the ſaid Admiralty to order matters ſo that theſe five ſhips do put to ſea as ſoon as poſſible, and that they take care they are not furniſhed with any warlike or naval ſtores but what are abſolutely neceſſary to carry them ſafe to the firſt foreign port they can come at, in order that all ſuſpicion of their being fitted out here may drop.

Memorial preſented by Sir Joſeph Yorke, *his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at the* Hague, *to their* High Mightineſſes, *requeſting the delivering up the Serapis and Counteſs of Scarborough, taken by* Paul Jones.

High and Mighty Lords,

IN thanking your High Mightineſſes for the orders which your humanity dictated relative to the wounded men on board the two King's ſhips the Serapis and Counteſs of Scarborough, I cannot but comply with the ſtrict orders of his Majeſty, by renewing in the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing manner his requeſt that theſe ſhips and their crews may be ſtopped, and delivered up, which the pirate Paul Jones of Scotland, who is a rebel ſubject, and a criminal of the State, has taken.

The ſentiments of equity and juſtice which your High Mightineſſes poſſeſs, leave me no room to doubt but that, upon mature deliberation upon all the circumſtances of this affair, you will acknowledge the reaſonableneſs of this requeſt, founded both on the moſt ſolemn treaties now ſubſiſting between Great Britain and the United Provinces, and the right and cuſtoms of nations in friendſhip and alliance.

The ſtipulation of the treaty of Breda of the 10th of July 1667, (Old Stile) confirmed particularly in that of 1716, and all the later ones, are too clear and inconteſtible in that reſpect for the full force of them not to be left.

The King would think he derogated from his own dignity, as well as that of your High Mightineſſes, was he to enter into the particulars of a caſe ſo notorious as that in queſtion, or to ſet before the eyes of the ancient friends and allies of his crown analogous examples of other Princes and States; but will only remark, that all the placards even of your High Mightineſſes require that all the captains of foreign armed veſſels ſhall, upon their arrival, preſent their letters of marque or commiſſion,

ſion, and authoriſes, according to the cuſtom of Admiralties, to treat all thoſe as pirates whoſe letters are found to be illegal for want of being granted by a ſovereign power.

The quality of Paul Jones, and all the circumſtances of the affair, are too notorious for your High Mightineſſes to be ignorant of them. The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon your reſolution; your High Mightineſſes know too well the value of good faith not to give an example of it in this eſſential rencontre. The ſmalleſt deviation from ſo ſacred a rule, by weakening the friendſhip of neighbours, may produce ſerious conſequences.

The King has always gloried in cultivating the friendſhip of your High Mightineſſes; his Majeſty conſtantly perſiſts in the ſame ſentiments; but the Engliſh nation does not think that it any ways has deſerved its fellow-citizens to be impriſoned in the ports of the republic by a man of no character, a ſubject of the ſame country, and who enjoys that liberty which they are deprived of.

It is for theſe and many other ſtrong reaſons, which cannot eſcape the wiſdom and penetration of your High Mightineſſes, that the underwritten hopes to receive a ſpeedy and favourable anſwer conformable to the juſt expectations of the King his maſter and the Britiſh nation.

(Signed)

JOSEPH YORKE.

Done at the Hague, Oct. 29, 1779.

The anſwer which their High Mightineſſes cauſed to be given to the above memorial was in brief; "That they will in no reſpect take upon them to judge of the legality or illegality of thoſe who have on the open ſea taken any veſſels which do not belong to their country; that they only open their ports to give them ſhelter from ſtorms or other diſaſters; and that they oblige them to go to ſea again with their prizes without ſuffering them to unload or diſpoſe of any part of their cargoes, that they may be liable to be re-taken in the ſame ſtate they were taken; but do not think themſelves authorized to paſs judgment upon thoſe prizes, or the perſon of Paul Jones, &c."

Memorial preſented by Sir Joſeph Yorke, *to their* High Mightineſſes, *Nov. 26th*, 1779.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE King cannot without ſurprize ſee the ſilence that has been obſerved, with regard to the memorial which the underwritten had the honour to preſent upwards of four months ago to your High Mightineſſes, requiring the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty.

His Majeſty would not have claimed the aſſiſtance of his allies, if he had not been fully authorized to it by the menaces, the preparations, and even the attacks of his enemies; and if he had not thought your High Mightineſſes as much intereſted in the preſervation of Great Britain as in their own.

The ſpirit and the letter of the treaties confirm this truth. Your High Mightineſſes are too wiſe and too juſt to diſpenſe with the obſervance of them, having particularly yourſelves ſollicited the addition

addition of the ſeparate article of the treaty of 1716, in which the *Caſus Fœderis* is ſtipulated in a clear and inconteſtible manner.

The hoſtile declaration made at London by the Marquis de Noailles, the attack of Jerſey, the ſiege of Gibraltar, and all the other notorious enterprizes, are ſo many clear proofs of a manifeſt aggreſſion. Beſides which, your High Mightineſſes have ſeen, during the paſt ſummer, that the combined forces of the Houſe of Bourbon were evidently directed againſt his Majeſty's kingdoms; and although the vigorous meaſures of the King, the zealous and patriotic efforts of the nation, crowned with the bleſſings of Providence, have happily hitherto fruſtrated their ambitious deſigns, yet the danger exiſts ſtill, and the enemy continues ſtill to announce their intended attacks and invaſions, under the protection of their naval forces.

The King can never imagine that the wiſdom of your High Mightineſſes can permit them to remain indifferent in intereſts ſo ſolid and ſo common to both countries, and ſtill leſs that they ſhould not be convinced of the juſtice of the motives which have determined his Majeſty to claim that ſuccour which is his due on ſo many accounts. His Majeſty would rather perſuade himſelf that your High Mightineſſes, having reſolved to augment their navy, had through prudence kept back their anſwer till they were better able to furniſh the ſuccour required.

It is for this reaſon, that, in renewing this ſubject in the moſt preſſing manner, I have orders to requeſt of your High Mightineſſes moſt amicably not to defer the concerting of meaſures, in order to fulfil their engagements on this head. The deciſion of your High Mightineſſes is ſo neceſſary, and ſo important in its conſequences, that the King would think himſelf wanting to himſelf, his ſubjects, and the republic, if his Majeſty did not recommend this affair immediately to the moſt ſerious deliberation of your High Mightineſſes. It is of infinite import to the King to have matters made clear, by a ſpeedy and immediate anſwer to ſo eſſential an object.

His Majeſty hopes, from the equity of your High Mightineſſes, that their anſwer will be conformable to the treaties and the ſentiments of friendſhip he has always had for the republic; and it will be according to the reſolutions of your High Mightineſſes that his Majeſty propoſes to take ſuch future meaſures as may be moſt adapted to circumſtances, and moſt proper for the ſecurity of his eſtates, the welfare of his people, and the dignity of his crown.

Done at the Hague, Nov. 26, 1779.

(Signed)

JOSEPH YORKE.

Treaty of Friendſhip and Commerce between the French *King, and the United States of* North America.

THE Moſt Chriſtian King, and the Thirteen United States of North America, viz. New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſets-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the Counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex on the Delaware,

ware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, desirous of establishing, in an equitable and permanent manner, the rules which ought to be observed, relative to the correspondence and commerce, which the two parties wish to establish between their respective states, dominions and subjects; his most Christian Majesty and the said United States have thought proper, and as most conducive to this end, to found their arrangements on the basis of the most perfect equality and reciprocal advantage, taking care to avoid disagreeable preferences, the sources of altercation, embarrassment, and discontent; to leave to each party the liberty, respecting commerce and navigation, of making such interior regulations as shall suit themselves; to found their commercial advantages as well on reciprocal interest, as on the laws of mutual agreement; and thus to preserve to both parties the liberty of dividing, each according to his will, the same advantages with other nations. In this idea, and to accomplish these views, his said Majesty, having nominated and appointed, as his plenipotentiary, M. Conrad Alexander Gerard, royal Syndic of the city of Strasburgh, Secretary of his Majesty's Council of State; and the United States having, on their part, invested with full powers Messf. Benjamin Franklin, Deputy of the General Congress of the State of Pennsylvania, and president of the assembly of the said state; Silas Deane, formerly Deputy of the State of Connecticut; and Arthur Lee, Counsellor at Law: the said plenipotentiaries respectively, after having exchanged their credentials, and upon mature deliberation, have concluded and agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. A firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship, shall subsist between the most Christian King, his heirs and successors, and the United States of America, as well as between his most Christian Majesty's subjects, and those of the said states; as also between the people, islands, cities, and places, under the government of his Christian Majesty, and the said United States; and between the people and inhabitants of all classes, without any exception to persons or places. The conditions mentioned in the present treaty, shall be perpetual and permanent between the most Christian King, his heirs and successors, and the said United States.

Art. II. The most Christian King and the United States mutually engage, not to grant any particular favour to other nations, respecting commerce and navigation, which shall not be immediately made known to the other party; and such nation shall enjoy that favour gratuitously, if the concession is such, or in granting the same compensation, if the concession is conditional.

Art. III. The subjects of the most Christian King shall not pay, in the ports, harbours, roads, countries, islands, cities, and places of the United States, any greater duties or imposts, of what nature soever they may be, or by whatever name they may be called, than such as the most favoured nation shall pay; and they shall enjoy all the rights, liberties, privileges, immunities,

munities, and exemptions, in point of trade, navigation, and commerce, whether in paſſing from one port of the ſaid States to another, or in going thither, or in returning from or going to any part of the world whatever, as the ſaid nations may or ſhall enjoy.

Art. IV. The ſubjects, people, and inhabitants of the ſaid United States, or each of them, ſhall not pay, in the ports, harbours, roads, iſlands, cities, and places, within the dominions of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in Europe, any greater duties or impoſts, of what nature ſoever they may be, or by whatever name they may be called, than the moſt favourite nation are or ſhall be bound to pay; and they ſhall enjoy all the rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in point of trade, navigation, and commerce, whether in paſſing from one port to another of the ſaid dominions of the moſt Chriſtian King in Europe, or in going thither, or in returning from or going to any part of the world whatever, as the ſaid nations may or ſhall enjoy.

Art. V. In the above exemption is particularly comprized the impoſition of one hundred pence per ton, eſtabliſhed in France upon foreign ſhips; excepting when the ſhips of the United States ſhall load with French merchandizes in one port of France for another in the ſame kingdom; in which caſe the ſaid ſhips of the ſaid United States ſhall diſcharge the uſual rights, ſo long as the moſt favourite nations ſhall be obliged to do the ſame; nevertheleſs, the ſaid United States, or any of them, ſhall be at liberty to eſtabliſh, whenever they ſhall think proper, a right equivalent to that in queſtion, in the ſame caſe as it is eſtabliſhed in the ports of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Art. VI. The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall uſe all the means in his power to protect and defend all the ſhips and effects belonging to the ſubjects, people, and inhabitants of the ſaid United States, and of each of them, which ſhall be in his ports, harbours, or roads, or in the ſeas near his territories, countries, iſles, cities, and places; and ſhall uſe every effort to recover and reſtore to the lawful proprietors, their agents or order, all the ſhips and effects which ſhall be taken within his juriſdiction; and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſhips of war, or other convoys, ſailing under his authority, ſhall take, on every occaſion, under their protection the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects, people, and inhabitants of the ſaid United States, or any of them, which ſhall keep the ſame courſe and make the ſame rout, and defend the ſaid ſhips, ſo long as they ſhall keep the ſame courſe and make the ſame rout, againſt every attack, force, or violence, in the ſame manner as they are bound to defend and protect the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Art. VII. In like manner the ſaid United States, and their ſhips of war ſailing under their authority, ſhall protect and defend, agreeable to the contents of the preceding article, all the ſhips and effects belonging to the moſt Chriſtian King, and ſhall uſe all their efforts to recover and reſtore the ſaid ſhips and effects, which ſhall be taken within the extent of the juriſ-

jurisdiction of the said United States, or either of them.

Art. VIII. The most Christian King will employ his endeavours and mediation with the King or Emperor of Morocco or Fez, with the Regencies of Algier, Tunis, and Tripoli, or any of them, as well as with every other Prince, State, or Powers, of the Barbary coast in Africa, and with the subjects of the said King, Emperor, States and Powers, and each of them, to secure, as fully and effectually as possible, to the advantage, convenience, and security, of the said United States, and each of them, as also their subjects, people, and inhabitants, their ships and effects, against violence, insult, attack, or depredation, on the part of the said Barbary Princes and States, or their subjects.

Art. IX. The subjects, inhabitants, merchants, commanders of ships, masters, and seamen, of the states, provinces, and dominions of the two parties, shall reciprocally refrain from and avoid fishing in any of the places possessed, or which shall be possessed, by the other party. The subjects of his most Christian Majesty shall not fish in the harbours, bays, creeks, roads, and places, which the said United States possess, or shall hereafter possess; and in the same manner the subjects, people, and inhabitants, of the said United States, shall not fish in the harbours, bays, creeks, roads, coasts, and places, which his most Christian Majesty actually possesses, or shall hereafter possess; and if any ship or vessel shall be surprized fishing, in violation of the present treaty, the same ship or vessel, and its cargo, shall, upon clear proof, be confiscated. Provided, the exclusion stipulated in the present article shall stand good only so long as the King and the United States shall not suffer it to be enjoyed by any other nation whatever.

Art. X. The United States, their citizens and inhabitants, shall never disturb the subjects of the most Christian King in the enjoyment and exercise of the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, any more than in the unlimited and exclusive enjoyment they possess on that part of the coasts of that island, as specified in the treaty of Utrecht, nor in the rights relative to all and each of the isles which belong to his most Christian Majesty; the whole conformable to the true sense of the treaties of Utrecht and Paris.

Art. XI. The subjects and inhabitants of the said United States, or any of them, shall not be considered as foreigners in France, and consequently shall be exempt from the right of escheatage, or any other such like right, under any name whatever; they may, by will, donation, or otherwise, dispose of their goods, moveables, and fixtures, in favour of whom they shall please; and their heirs, subjects of the said United States, resident in France or elsewhere, shall succeed to them, *ab intestat*, without being obliged to obtain letters of naturalization, and without being exposed to any molestation or hindrance, under pretence of any rights or prerogatives of provinces, cities, or private persons; and the said heirs, either by particular title, or *ab intestat*, shall be exempt from all right of detraction, or other right of that kind, provided that

ſuch or the like local rights are not eſtabliſhed by the ſaid United States, or any of them. The ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall enjoy, on their ſide, in all the dominions of the ſaid States, an entire and perfect reciprocation, with reſpect to the ſtipulations included in the preſent article.

But it is at the ſame time agreed, that the contents of this article ſhall not affect the laws made in France againſt emigrations, or ſuch as may be made hereafter, ſuch being left in their full force and vigour; the United States, on their ſide, or any of them, ſhall be free to make ſuch laws, reſpecting that matter, as they ſhall judge proper.

Art. XII. The merchant ſhips of both parties, which ſhall be bound to any port, belonging to a power then an enemy of the other ally, and of which the voyage, or nature of its cargo, ſhall give juſt ſuſpicions, ſhall be bound to produce, either on the high ſeas, or in ports and harbours, not only their paſſports, but alſo certificates, which ſhall expreſsly ſtate, that their cargoes are not of prohibited and contraband wares.

Art. XIII. If the contents of the ſaid certificates leads to a diſcovery, that the ſhip carries prohibited and contraband merchandizes, conſigned to an enemy's port, it ſhall not be permitted to open the hatches of the ſaid ſhip, nor any caſe, cheſt, trunk, bale, caſk, or other caſes, contained therein, or to diſplace or remove the leaſt part of the merchandize, whether the ſhip belongs to the moſt Chriſtian King, or to the inhabitants of the United States, until the cargo has been landed in the preſence of the officers of the Admiralty, and an inventory taken of them; but they ſhall not be permitted to ſell, exchange, or diſpoſe of the ſhips or cargoes, in any manner whatever, until a fair and legal enquiry has been made, the contraband declared, and the Court of Admiralty ſhall have pronounced the confiſcation by judgment, nevertheleſs without prejudice of ſhips or cargoes, which, by virtue of this treaty, ſhould be conſidered as free. It ſhall not be permitted to retain merchandizes, under pretence that they were found among contraband goods, and ſtill leſs to confiſcate them as legal prizes. In caſe where a part only, and not the whole of the cargo, conſiſts of contraband articles, and that the commander of the ſhip conſents to deliver up to the captor what ſhall be diſcovered, then the captain, who ſhall have made the prize, after having received thoſe articles, ſhall immediately releaſe the ſhip, and in no manner prevent it from purſuing its voyage; but in caſe that the whole of the contraband articles cannot be all taken into the veſſel of the captor, then the captain of ſuch veſſel ſhall remain maſter of his prize, notwithſtanding the offer to give up the contraband goods, and conduct the ſhip into the neareſt port, conformably to what is above ſpecified.

Art. XIV. It is agreed, on the contrary, that every thing that ſhall be found embarked by the reſpective ſubjects, in ſhips belonging to the enemies of the other party, or their ſubjects, ſhall be confiſcated, without regard to their being prohibited or not, in the ſame manner as if they belonged to the enemy; excepting, however, ſuch effects and merchandizes as had

had been put on board the said ships before the declaration of war, or even after the said declaration, if they were ignorant of it at the time of loading; so that the merchandizes of the subjects of both parties, whether they be found among contraband goods or otherwise, which, as hath been just mentioned, shall have been put on board a ship, belonging to the enemy, before the war, or even after the said declaration, when unknown to them, shall not be, in any manner, subject to confiscation, but shall be faithfully and truly restored, without delay, to the owners who shall claim them; it must, however, be understood, that it will not be permitted to carry contraband goods into an enemy's ports. The two contracting parties agree, that after the expiration of two months, from the declaration of war, their respective subjects, from what part of the world soever they shall come, shall not be permitted to plead ignorance of the question in this article.

Art. XV. And in order the more effectually to secure the subjects of the two contracting parties from receiving any prejudice from the ships of war or privateers of either party, orders shall be given to all captains of ships of his most Christian Majesty and the said United States, and to all their subjects, to avoid offering insult or doing damage to the ships of either party; and whoever shall act contrary to these orders, shall be punished for it, and shall be bound and obliged personally, in their own effects, to repair all such damages and losses.

Art. XVI. All ships and merchandizes of what nature soever, which shall be taken out of the hands of pirates on the high seas, shall be conducted into some port of the two States, and shall be committed to the care of the officers of the said port, in order that they may be entirely restored to the right owner, as soon as such property shall be fully and clearly proved.

Art. XVII. The ships of war of his most Christian Majesty, and those of the United States, as well as privateers fitted out by their subjects, shall be at full liberty to conduct where they please such prizes as they shall take from the enemy, without being amenable to the jurisdiction of their admirals or admiralty, or any other power; and the said vessels, or prizes, entering into the harbours or ports of his most Christian Majesty, or those of the said United States, shall be neither stopped nor seized, nor shall the officers of such places enquire into the validity of the said prizes, but shall be permitted to depart freely and at full liberty, to such places as directed in the commissions, which the captains of the said ships shall be obliged to produce. And, on the contrary, they shall neither give security nor retreat, in their ports or harbours, to any prizes made on the subjects of his Majesty, or the said United States; and, if such shall be found to enter their ports, through storms or dangers of the sea, they shall be obliged to depart as soon as possible.

Art. XVIII. Should a ship, belonging to either of the two States, or their subjects, run aground, be wrecked, or suffer other damages, upon the coasts belonging to one of the two parties, they shall give

all friendly aid and aſſiſtance to ſuch as are in danger, and take every method to ſecure their ſafe paſſage, and return to their own country.

Art. XIX. When the ſubjects and inhabitants of one of the two parties with their ſhips, whether men of war, privateers, or merchantmen, ſhall be forced by foul weather, by the purſuits of pirates or enemies, or by any other urgent neceſſity, to ſeek ſhelter and refuge, to run into and enter ſome river, bay, road, or port, belonging to one of the two parties, they ſhall be received and treated with humanity and kindneſs, and ſhall enjoy all the friendſhip, protection, and aſſiſtance, and ſhall be permitted to procure refreſhments, proviſions, and every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, for the repairing of their ſhips, and to enable them to purſue their voyage, paying a reaſonable price for every thing; and they ſhall not be detained in any manner, nor prevented quitting the ſaid ports or roads, but ſhall be permitted to depart at pleaſure, without any obſtacle or impediment.

Art. XX. In order the better to promote the commerce of the two parties, it is agreed, that in caſe a war ſhould commence between the two ſaid nations, ſix months ſhall be allowed, after the declaration of war, to the merchants living in their towns and cities, to collect and tranſport their merchandize; and, if any part of them ſhall be ſtolen or damaged, during the time above preſcribed, by either of the two parties, their people or ſubjects ſhall be obliged to make full and perfect ſatisfaction for the ſame.

Art. XXI. No ſubject of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall take a commiſſion, or letters of marque, to arm any ſhip or veſſel, to act as a privateer againſt the ſaid United States, or any one of them, or againſt their ſubjects, people or inhabitants, or againſt their property, or that of the inhabitants of any of them, from any Prince whatever, with whom the ſaid United States ſhall be at war. In like manner, no citizen, ſubject, or inhabitant of the ſaid United States, or any of them, ſhall demand or accept any commiſſion, or letters of marque, to arm any ſhips or veſſels, to act againſt the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or any of them, or their property, from any Prince or State whatever, with whom his ſaid Majeſty may be at war; and if any of the two nations ſhall take ſuch commiſſions, or letters of marque, they ſhall be puniſhed as pirates.

Art. XXII. No foreign privateer, not belonging to ſome ſubject of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, or to a citizen of the ſaid United States, which ſhall have a commiſſion from any Prince or power at war with one of the two nations, ſhall be permitted to arm their ſhips in the ports of one of the two parties, nor to ſell their prizes, nor to clear their ſhips, in any manner whatever, of their merchandizes, or any part of their cargo; they ſhall not even be permitted to purchaſe any other proviſions, than ſuch as are neceſſary to carry them to the neareſt port of the Prince or State, of whom they hold their commiſſion.

Art. XXIII. All and each of the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King,

as well as the citizens, people, and inhabitants, of the ſaid United States, ſhall be permitted to work their veſſels, in full liberty and ſecurity, without any exception being made thereto, on account of the proprietors of merchandizes on board the ſaid veſſels, coming from any port whatever, and deſtined for ſome place belonging to a power actually an enemy, or which may become ſuch, of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty or the United States. It ſhall be equally permitted to the ſubjects and inhabitants above-mentioned, to navigate their ſhips and merchandizes, and to frequent, with the ſame liberty and ſecurity, the places, ports, and havens, of the powers, enemies to the two contracting parties, or one of them, without oppoſition or moleſtation, and to trade with them, not only directly from ports of the enemy to any neutral port, but alſo from one port of the enemy to another of the ſame, whether under the juriſdiction of one or more; and it is ſtipulated by the preſent treaty, that all free veſſels ſhall equally enjoy the liberty of trade, and that every thing ſhall be judged free which is found on board the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of one of the contracting parties, even though the cargo, or part of it, ſhould belong to the enemies of one of them; excepting alway, however, all contraband goods. It is equally agreed, that the ſame liberty ſhall extend to perſons on board ſuch free ſhips, even though they ſhall be enemies to one of the two contracting parties, and ſhall not be taken from the ſaid ſhips, unleſs in arms, and actually in the enemy's ſervice.

Art. XXIV. This free navigation and commerce is extended to all ſorts of merchandizes, excepting only ſuch as ſhall be deemed contraband or prohibited, and under ſuch denomination are comprehended arms, cannons, bombs, with their fuſees and other apurtenances, bullets, powder, matches, piques, ſwords, lances, darts, halberds, mortars, petards, grenades, ſaltpetre, fuſils, balls, bucklers, caſques, cuiraſſes, coats of mail, and other arms of that kind, proper for the defence of ſoldiers; gun-locks, ſhoulder-belts, horſes and their trappings, and all other inſtruments of war whatever. The following merchandizes are not to be conſidered as contraband or prohibited, viz. all ſorts of cloths, and other woollen ſtuffs, linen, ſilk, cotton, or other ſuch matters; all ſorts of clothes, with the materials of which they are uſually made; gold and ſilver either in ſpecie or otherwiſe, pewter, iron, latten, copper, braſs, coals, and even wheat and barley, and all other ſorts of grain and roots; tobacco and all ſorts of ſpices, ſalted and dried proviſions, dried fiſh, cheeſe and butter, beer, oil, wine, ſugar, and all kinds of ſalt, and, in general, all kinds of proviſion neceſſary for the nouriſhment of man, and for the ſupport of life; alſo all ſorts of cotton, hemp, linen, pitch, tar, cords, cables, ſails, canvas for ſails, anchors, parts of anchors, maſts, planks, timber and wood of all kinds, and all other things proper for the building and repairing of ſhips, and other matters whatſoever, which are not in the form of warlike inſtruments for ſea or land, ſhall not be reputed contraband,

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much leſs ſuch as are already prepared for other uſes. All the articles above-mentioned are to be compriſed among the free articles of merchandize, as well as all the other merchandizes and effects, which are not compriſed and particularly named in the liſt of contraband merchandizes; ſo that they may be tranſported and conducted, in the freeſt manner, by the ſubjects of the two contracting parties, into any of the enemy's ports; excepting, however, that ſuch places are not actually beſieged, blocked up or inveſted.

Art. XXV. In order to remove and prevent diſſentions and quarrels on either ſide, it is agreed, that in caſe one of the two parties ſhall find themſelves engaged in a war, the ſhips and veſſels belonging to the ſubjects or people of the other ally, ſhall be provided with marine paſſports, which ſhall expreſs the name, property, and burden of the ſhip, as well as the name and place of abode of the maſter and commander of the ſaid ſhip, in order that it may from thence appear that the ſame ſhip really and truly belongs to the ſubjects of one of the two contracting parties. Theſe paſſports are to be annually renewed, in caſe the ſhip returns home in the ſpace of one year. It is alſo agreed, that the above-mentioned ſhips, in caſe they ſhall be laden, are to be provided not only with paſſports, but alſo with certificates, containing the particulars of the cargo, the place from whence the ſhip came, and a declaration of what contraband goods are on board; which certificate is to be made in the accuſtomed form, by the officers of the place from whence the ſhip ſailed; and if it be judged neceſſary or prudent, to expreſs in the ſaid paſſports the perſons to whom the merchandize belongs, it muſt be freely complied with.

Art. XXVI. In caſe any ſhips of the ſubjects and inhabitants of one of the two contracting parties ſhould approach the coaſt of the other, without any intention to enter the port, or, after having entered it, without any intention to unload their cargo, or break bulk, they ſhall conduct themſelves, in that reſpect, according to the general rules preſcribed, or to be preſcribed, relative to that matter.

Art. XXVII. When any veſſel, belonging to the ſaid ſubjects, people, and inhabitants, of one of the two parties, ſhall meet, while ſailing along the coaſt or on the open ſea, a ſhip of war or privateer, belonging to the other, the ſaid ſhip of war or privateer, in order to avoid diſorder, ſhall bring ſuch veſſel too, and ſend her boat with two or three on board her, to whom the maſter or commander of the merchantman ſhall produce his paſſport, and prove the property of the veſſel; and as ſoon as ſuch paſſport ſhall be produced, the maſter ſhall be at liberty to purſue his voyage, without being moleſted, or in any other manner driven or forced to alter his intended courſe.

Art. XXVIII. It is agreed, that when the merchandizes ſhall be put on board ſhips or veſſels of one of the two contracting parties, they ſhall not be ſubject to be examined again, all ſuch examination and ſearch being to be made before loading, and the prohibited goods being to be ſtopped and ſeized on ſhore, before they could be embarked,

barked, unleſs there are ſtrong ſuſpicions or proofs of fraudulent practices. So that no ſubject of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or of the United States, can be ſtopped or moleſted for that cauſe by any kind of embargo; but ſuch ſubjects of the State, who ſhall preſume to vend or ſell ſuch merchandizes as are prohibited, ſhall be duly puniſhed for ſuch infraction of the treaty.

Art. XXIX. The two contracting parties mutually grant each other the right of maintaining, in their reſpective ports, Conſuls, Vice-Conſuls, Agents, and Commiſſaries, whoſe buſineſs ſhall be regulated by a particular convention.

Art. XXX. In order further to forward and facilitate the commerce between the ſubjects of the United States and France, the Moſt Chriſtian King will allow them in Europe one or more free ports, to which they may bring and ſell all the commodities and merchandizes of the Thirteen United States. His Majeſty will alſo grant to the ſubjects of the ſaid States, the free ports, which have been, and are open, in the French Iſlands of America; all which free ports the ſaid ſubjects of the United States ſhall enjoy, conformably to the regulations which determine that matter.

Art. XXXI. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified by both parties, and the ratifications exchanged, within the ſpace of ſix months, or ſooner if may be. In witneſs of which, the reſpective Plenipotentiaries have ſigned the above articles, both in the French and Engliſh language, nevertheleſs declaring, that the preſent treaty was originally digeſted and ſettled in the French language, to which they have affixed their hands and ſeals.

Given at Paris the ſixth day of the month of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.

C. A. GERARD.
B. FRANKLIN.
SILAS DEANE.
ARTHUR LEE.

By the Congreſs of the United States of America.

MANIFESTO.

THESE United States having been driven to hoſtilities by the oppreſſive and tyrannous meaſures of Great Brittain; having been compelled to commit the eſſential rights of man to the deciſion of arms; and having been at length forced to ſhake off a yoke which had grown too burthenſome to bear, they declared themſelves free and independent.

Confiding in the juſtice of their cauſe, confiding in Him who diſpoſes of human events, although weak and unprovided, they ſet the power of their enemies at defiance.

In this confidence they have continued, through the various fortune of three bloody campaigns, unawed by the powers, unſubdued by the barbarity of their foes. Their virtuous citizens have borne, without repining, the loſs of many things which made life deſirable. Their brave troops have patiently endured the hardſhips and dangers of a ſituation, fruitful in both beyond example.

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The Congreſs conſidering themſelves bound to love their enemies, as children of that Being who is equally the Father of all, and deſirous, ſince they could not prevent, at leaſt to alleviate the calamities of war, have ſtudied to ſpare thoſe who were in arms againſt them, and to lighten the chains of captivity.

The conduct of thoſe ſerving under the King of Great Britain hath, with ſome few exceptions, been diametrically oppoſite. They have laid waſte the open country, burned the defenceleſs villages, and butchered the citizens of America. Their priſons have been the ſlaughter-houſes of her ſoldiers, their ſhips of her ſeamen, and the ſevereſt injuries have been aggravated by the groſſeſt inſults.

Foiled in their vain attempt to ſubjugate the unconquerable ſpirit of freedom, they have meanly aſſailed the Repreſentatives of America with bribes, with deceit, and the ſervility of adulation. They have made a mock of humanity, by the wanton deſtruction of men: they have made a mock of religion, by impious appeals to God, whilſt in the violation of his ſacred commands: they have made a mock even of reaſon itſelf, by endeavouring to prove, that the liberty and happineſs of America could ſafely be entruſted to thoſe who have *ſold their own*, unawed by the ſenſe of virtue, or of ſhame.

Treated with the contempt which ſuch conduct deſerved, they have applied to individuals; they have ſolicited them to break the bonds of allegiance, and imbrue their ſouls with the blackeſt of crimes: but fearing that none could be found through theſe United States, equal to the wickedneſs of their purpoſe, to influence weak minds, they have threatened more wide devaſtation.

While the ſhadow of hope remained, that our enemies could be taught by our example to reſpect thoſe laws which are held ſacred among civilized nations, and to comply with the dictates of a religion which they pretend in common with us to believe and revere, they have been left to the influence of that religion, and that example. But ſince their incorrigible diſpoſitions cannot be touched by kindneſs and compaſſion, it becomes our duty by other means to vindicate the rights of humanity.

We, therefore, the Congreſs of the United States of America, DO SOLEMNLY DECLARE AND PROCLAIM, That if our enemies preſume to execute their threats, or perſiſt in their preſent career of barbarity, we will take ſuch exemplary vengeance as ſhall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who ſearcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions. And in his holy preſence we declare, That as we are not moved by any light and haſty ſuggeſtions of anger or revenge, ſo through every poſſible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination.

Done in Congreſs, by unanimous conſent, the thirtieth day of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred, and ſeventy-eight.

Atteſt,

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

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CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Account of Michel Schuppach, *the Mountain Doctor. From* Coxe's *Sketches of the Natural, Civil and Political State of* Swifferland.

Langenau, Sept. 18, 1776.

YOU have heard, perhaps, of Michel Schuppach, the famous Swifs doctor; of whofe intuitive fagacity in difcovering the feat of diforders, and applying fuitable remedies to them, many wonderful ftories are recounted by travellers, and which generally, I fuppofe, have encreafed in the marvellous, like Virgil's Progrefs of Fame, in proportion as they receded from the fcene of action. I am now lodged in the houfe of this celebrated Æfculapius: it is fituated above the village of Langenau, on the fide of a fteep mountain; and from that circumftance he is generally known by the appellation of *the phyfician of the mountain.*

Upon our arrival here we found the doctor in his apartment, furrounded by a number of peafants, who were confulting him upon their refpective complaints; each having brought with him a fmall bottle, containing fome of his water: for, it is by infpecting the urine that this medical fage pretends to judge of the ftate of the patient. His figure is extremely corpulent; he has a penetrating eye; and one of the beft-humoured countenances I ever faw. He fets himfelf oppofite to the perfon who confults him, one moment examining the water, and the next the patient; and continues regarding alternately the one and the other for fome time, always whiftling during the intervals. He then opens the ftate of the cafe, acquaints the conſultant with the nature of his complaints, and has often the good fortune to hit upon the true caufe. In a word, his knack of difcovering diforders by urine, has gained fuch implicit faith in his fkill, that one might as well doubt of the Pope's infallibility before a zealous catholic, as of the doctor's in the prefence of his patients. He has certainly performed feveral great cures; and the rumour of them hath brought him patients from all quarters of Europe. There are at this time in his houfe, and in the village, feveral Engliſh and French people, together with many Swifs, who are come hither for his advice.

The doctor was formerly, it feems, a village furgeon, has a flight tincture of anatomy, and is eſteemed a proficient in botany and chemiſtry; but his reputa-

tion as a phyſician has now been eſtabliſhed ſome years. He is ſaid to have but little acquaintance with the theory of phyſic; the greateſt part of his knowledge being derived from his extenſive practice, notwithſtanding he never ſtirs a quarter of a mile from his own houſe; for he would not take the trouble of going to Berne, even to attend the King of France.

It is more than probable, that much of this extraordinary man's ſucceſs in his practice, is owing to the great faith of his patients, to the benefit they receive from change of climate, to the ſalubrious air of this mountain, and to the amuſement ariſing from that conſtant ſucceſſion of different company which aſſemble in this place, in order to apply to him for aſſiſtance. But whatever may have been the cauſes of his celebrity, it has come to him, as all accounts agree, unſought for by himſelf. He has certainly many excellent qualities: humane and charitable to the higheſt degree; he not only furniſhes the indigent peaſants who conſult him, with medicines gratis, but generally makes them a preſent in money beſides; and he always appropriates a certain portion of his gains to the poor of his pariſh. His wife, as alſo his grand-daughters who live with him, are dreſſed like the peaſant women of the country; and he has ſhewn his good ſenſe in giving the latter no better than a plain education: the eldeſt he beſtowed in marriage, when ſhe was but fifteen, upon one of his aſſiſtants, and gave with her 1300l. no inconſiderable portion for this country. He procured a match for her ſo early, he ſaid, to prevent her being ſpoiled by the young gentlemen telling her ſhe was pretty, and inſpiring her with the ambition of marrying above her rank.

If domeſtic harmony, and the moſt perfect ſimplicity of manners, have any pretenſions to pleaſe, you would be highly delighted with this rural family. The wife is a notable, active woman, and not only ſuperintends all the houſhold affairs with remarkable cleverneſs, but even performs great part of the buſineſs with her own hands: ſhe aſſiſts her huſband likewiſe in making up his medicines; and as he talks no other language than the Swiſs-German, ſhe ſerves occaſionally as his interpreter. And, as a proof of his confidence in her adminiſtration of his affairs, ſhe acts alſo as his treaſurer, and receives all his fees; which, in the courſe of a year, amount to a conſiderable ſum: for, although he never demands more than the price of his medicines, yet no gentleman conſults him without giving him an additional gratuity. Many preſents have likewiſe been made to herſelf, from perſons who have reaped benefit by her huſband's preſcriptions: ſeveral of theſe conſiſt of valuable trinkets, with which on days of ceremony ſhe decks herſelf forth to the beſt advantage, in the ſimple dreſs of the country.

The family ſit down to table regularly at twelve o'clock; there are always ſome ſtrangers of the party, conſiſting not only of a certain number of perſons who are under the doctor's care, but of travellers like ourſelves, who are led hither by motives of mere curioſity.

fity. When the weather is fine, and their gueſts more numerous than uſual, dinner is ſerved out of doors in an open ſhed, that looks upon one ſide of the mountain and the adjacent country, with a diſtant view of the glaciers beyond the lake of Thun. Yeſterday ſome peaſants, whom the doctor had invited, formed part of our company; after dinner, he gave ſome money to thoſe that ſat near him, and ordered one of his granddaughters to diſtribute his bounty to the others. The benevolence of the old man, his gaiety and good-humour, the chearfulneſs of his family, the gratitude of the poor peaſants, the beauty of the proſpect, and the fineneſs of the weather, formed all together the moſt agreeable and delightful ſcenes I ever beheld; and I do not remember in my whole life to have partaken of any meal with a more ſenſible and heart-felt ſatisfaction.

This ſingular man is very often employed in giving his advice from eight in the morning till ſix in the evening, with no other intermiſſion than during the time he is at table. His drugs are of the beſt kind; for he collects the ſimples, as well as diſtills them, himſelf. His houſe, like thoſe of the peaſants, is conſtructed of wood; and, though always full of people, is remarkably neat and clean. In ſhort, every thing about him has the appearance of the pleaſing ſimplicity of former ages.

I had almoſt forgotten to tell you, that I conſulted him this morning myſelf; and aſſuredly I have reaſon to be highly ſatisfied with his preſcription: for, he told me I was in ſuch good health, that the only advice he had to give me, was, "to eat and drink well, to dance, be merry, and take moderate exerciſe."

It is now Langenau fair, and the village is crowded with the neighbouring peaſants. Great numbers of the men have long beards, and many of them cover their heads with a woman's ſtraw hat, extremely broad, which gives them a very groteſque appearance: their dreſs is chiefly a coarſe brown cloth jacket without ſleeves; with large puffed breeches of ticking. The women wear their hair plaited behind in treſſes, with the riband hanging down below the waiſt; a flat plain ſtraw hat, which is very becoming; a red or brown cloth jacket without ſleeves; a black or blue petticoat bordered with red, and ſcarcely reaching below the knees; red ſtockings with black clocks, and no heels to their ſhoes; their ſhifts faſtened cloſe round the throat by a black collar with red ornaments; the better ſort have chains of ſilver between the ſhoulders, brought round under each arm, and faſtened beneath the boſom, the ends hanging down with ſome ſilver ornaments.

I am ſo charmed with the ſituation of this village, the chearfulneſs and ſingularity of this ruſtic and agreeable family, and the uncommon character of the humane doctor, that I could with pleaſure continue here ſome days more: but I am preſſed for time, and have a long journey before me.

I am, &c.

Account of the Conſtitution and Government of Geneva. *From the ſame.*

THE town of Geneva lies upon the narroweſt part of the extremity of the lake, where the Rhone iſſues out in two large and rapid ſtreams, which ſoon afterwards unite. That river divides the town into two unequal parts; receives the muddy Arve in its courſe; and flows through part of France into the Mediterranean. *Here* its waters are of a moſt beautiful tranſparent green, like thoſe of the Rhine when it flows from the lake of Conſtance. The adjacent country is uncommonly picturesque; and I could not ſufficiently admire the magnificent views it exhibits: the ſeveral objects which compoſed this enchanting proſpect, were, the town; the lake; the numerous hills and mountains, particularly the Saleve and the Mole, riſing ſuddenly from the plain in a wonderful variety of fantaſtic forms, backed by the glaciers of Savoy, with their frozen tops gliſtening in the ſun; and the majeſtic Mont Blanc lifting up its head far above the reſt.

The town, which lies partly in the plain upon the borders of the lake, and partly upon a gentle aſcent, is irregularly built; the houſes are high, and moſt of thoſe which ſtand in the trading part of the city, have arcades of wood, which are carried up to their tops. Theſe arcades, which are ſupported by pillars, obſtruct the ſtreets, and give them a gloomy appearance; but they are uſeful to the inhabitants in protecting them from the ſun and the rain. Geneva is by far the moſt populous town in Swiſſerland: for, Zuric, which comes next to it in reſpect of population, contains ſcarcely thirteen thouſand ſouls; whereas the inhabitants of this place amount to twenty-four thouſand. This ſuperiority is undoubtedly owing to the greater induſtry and activity of the inhabitants; to its more extenſive commerce; to the facility of purchaſing the burgherſhip, and to the privileges which government allows to all foreigners who ſettle here. The members of this city are diſtinguiſhed into citizens and burgheſſes, inhabitants and natives. The citizens and burgheſſes are alone admitted to a ſhare in the government: the *inhabitants* are ſtrangers who are allowed to ſettle in the town with certain privileges; and the *natives* are the ſons of thoſe inhabitants, who poſſeſs certain additional advantages. The two laſt claſſes form a large majority of the people.

The liberal policy of this government, in receiving ſtrangers and conferring the burgherſhip, is the more remarkable, as it is contrary to the ſpirit of moſt of the other ſtates of Swiſſerland. It is here, indeed, more neceſſary; the territory of this republic being ſo exceedingly ſmall, that its very exiſtence depends upon the number and induſtry of the people: for, excluſive of the inhabitants of the town, there are ſcarcely ſixteen thouſand ſouls in the whole diſtrict of the Genevois.

To a man of letters, Geneva is particularly intereſting; as every branch of ſcience is here cultivated in the moſt advantageous manner: learning is diveſted of pedantry,

dantry, and philoſophy united with a knowledge of the world. The pleaſures of ſociety are here mixed with the purſuits of literature; and elegance and urbanity give a zeſt to the profoundeſt diſquiſitions. Nor are letters confined in this city merely to thoſe who engage in them as a profeſſion, or to thoſe whoſe fortune and leiſure enable them to follow where genius leads, and enter into a ſtudious life by voluntary choice; even the lower claſs of people are exceedingly well informed; and there is no city in Europe where learning is ſo univerſally diffuſed among the inhabitants. I have had great ſatisfaction in converſing with ſeveral of the ſhop-keepers upon topics both of literature and politics; and was aſtoniſhed to find, in this claſs of men, ſo uncommon a ſhare of knowledge. But the wonder ceaſes, when we are told, that they have all of them received an excellent education at the public academy, where the children of the inhabitants are taught, under the inſpection of the magiſtrates, and at the expence of government.

There is one circumſtance in this ſeminary, which particularly contributes to the exciting of the induſtry and emulation of the ſtudents: prizes are annually diſtributed to thoſe, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in each claſs. Theſe rewards conſiſt of ſmall medals, and they are conferred with ſuch ſolemnity as cannot fail of producing great effect. A yearly meeting is held at the cathedral, of all the magiſtrates, profeſſors, and principal inhabitants of the town; when the firſt ſyndic himſelf diſtributes, in the moſt public manner, the ſeveral honorary retributions to thoſe who have deſerved them. I met this morning one of the ſcholars, and, ſeeing his medal, aſked him what it meant? "Je la porte," replied the little man, ſcarce eight years old, "parce que j'ai fait mon de-"voir." I wanted no ſtronger proof to convince me of the beneficial influence, upon young minds, of theſe encouraging and judicious diſtinctions, than appeared from the ſprightly ſpecimen before me.

The inhabitants enjoy the advantage alſo of having free acceſs to the public library; and by this privilege, they not only retain but improve that general tincture of learning which they imbibe in their early youth: when I viſited this library, it happened to be crowded with ſtudents, who were returning the books they had borrowed, and demanding others. As I paſſed only an hour in this room, I am ill qualified to give you a juſt idea of its contents: I requeſted, however, the librarian to point out to me what was moſt worthy of particular notice. Accordingly, among other books and manuſcripts, he ſhewed me ſeveral folio volumes containing letters and other writings of Calvin, which have never been publiſhed.

Although Zuingle, Æcolampadius, and Haller, had reformed the greateſt part of Swiſſerland, ſome years before Calvin made his appearance at Geneva; yet the latter, as Voltaire juſtly obſerves, has given his name to the ſectaries of the reformed religion, in the ſame manner as the new continent took its appellation from

Americus Veſpaſius, although the original diſcovery was made by Columbus. Neither was Calvin, indeed, the firſt reformer even of Geneva; but, as he gave additional ſtrength and ſolidity to the new eſtabliſhment, and laid the foundation of that eccleſiaſtical form of government, which has ever ſince been invariably obſerved; he totally eclipſed the fame of his friend William Farel, who ſcattered the firſt ſeeds of reformation, which the other brought to maturity. In truth, ſo great was the aſcendancy which this extraordinary man, although a ſtranger in Geneva, acquired over the citizens, that he poſſeſſed no inconſiderable influence even in civil matters; and bore a large ſhare in ſettling the political conſtitution of the republic. But his care and attention was not wholly confined to eccleſiaſtical and political concerns; he promoted, to the utmoſt of his power, the cultivation of the liberal arts and ſciences, and the ſtudy of elegant literature. To this end, as well as for the encouraging of theological erudition, he prevailed upon the government of Geneva to eſtabliſh a public academy. In this new ſeminary, himſelf, together with his colleagues, eminent for their ſuperior knowledge, read lectures, with ſuch uncommon reputation and ſucceſs, that the youth from all quarters flocked to receive the benefit of them: and it has ſent forth, from its boſom, men of the greateſt diſtinction for their learning and abilities.

There is ſuch a ſtriking ſplendor in the brighter parts of this diſintereſted and celebrated reformer's character, that renders one, at the firſt glance, almoſt inſenſible of thoſe dark ſpots in it, which have ſo juſtly ſullied its glory. But when one reflects a moment on the aſperity, the arrogance, the preſumptuous opiniatrety, of his temper and conduct, and, above all, on his cruel perſecution of his former friend, the unhappy Servetus; one laments, with abhorrence, the mortifying inſtance this famous man exhibited, that the nobleſt qualities ſometimes mix with the baſeſt, in the compoſition of human nature. With regard, however, to his intolerant principles; it muſt be acknowledged, that the ſame uncharitable ſpirit prevailed alſo among ſome others of the moſt celebrated reformers; who ſeemed to think, by a ſtrange inconſiſtency, and unaccountable blindneſs not only to the genius, but to the cleareſt precepts of the goſpel, that perſecution for conſcience ſake was unchriſtian in every eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, except their own. This abſurd and dangerous opinion, gave great advantage to their adverſaries of the papal hierarchy: for, it is obvious to the meaneſt underſtanding, that, if perſecution is juſtifiable in any particular church, it muſt be ſo univerſally.

The republic of Geneva is, however, at preſent, the moſt tolerating of all the reformed ſtates of Swiſſerland; being the only government in this country, which permits the Lutheran religion to be publicly exerciſed. In this reſpect the clergy, no leſs wiſely, than ſuitably to the ſpirit, as well as the letter, of the Chriſtian revelation, have renounced the principles of their great patriarch, Calvin: for, although they ſtill hold

hold that able reformer in high veneration; yet they know how to diſtinguiſh his virtues from his defects, and to admire the one without being blindly partial to the other.

The town of Geneva and its territory, were formerly united to the German empire, under the ſucceſſors of Charlemain: but as the power of the Emperors, feeble even in Germany, was ſtill weaker in the frontier provinces; the Biſhops of Geneva, like ſeveral other great vaſſals of the empire, gradually acquired very conſiderable authority over the city and its domains; which the Emperors had no other means of counterbalancing, than by increaſing the liberties of the people. During theſe times of confuſion, conſtant diſputes ſubſiſted between the Biſhops and the Counts of the Genevois; for, the latter, although at their firſt inſtitution merely officers of the emperor, and conſidered as vaſſals of the biſhops; yet they claimed and aſſerted a right to the excluſive adminiſtration of juſtice. The citizens took advantage of theſe quarrels; and, by ſiding occaſionally with each party, obtained an extenſion of their privileges from both.

But the Houſe of Savoy having purchaſed the county of the Genevois, and ſucceeded to all the prerogatives of the counts, with additional power; the biſhops and the people firmly united together, in order to oppoſe the encroachments of the former, which were no leſs prejudicial to the authority of the one, than to the liberties of the others. During this period, the reſpective pretenſions of the counts, the biſhops, and the citizens, were ſo various, as to form a government equally ſingular and complicated. This harmony, however, between the biſhops and citizens, was at length broken by the artful management of the Counts of Savoy, who had the addreſs to procure the epiſcopal ſee for their brothers, and even for their illegitimate children. By theſe methods, their power in the city became ſo enlarged, that, towards the commencement of the ſixteenth century, Charles III, Duke of Savoy, (although the form of the government was entirely republican) obtained an almoſt abſolute authority over the citizens: and he exerciſed it in the moſt unjuſt and arbitrary manner. Hence aroſe perpetual ſtruggles between the duke and the citizens; the latter continually oppoſing, either by open violence, or ſecret meaſures, his tyrannical uſurpation: thus two parties were formed; the zealots for liberty were called *eidgenoſſen*, or confederates; while the partiſans of the duke were branded with the appellation of *mammelucs*, or ſlaves.

The treaty of alliance which the town entered into with Berne and Fribourg, in 1526, may be conſidered as the true æra of its liberty and independence: for, not long after, the duke was deſpoiled of his authority; the biſhop driven from the city; a republican form of government firmly eſtabliſhed; and the reformation introduced. From this time, Charles and his ſucceſſors waged inceſſant war againſt the town: but his hoſtilities were rendered ineffectual,

by the intrepid bravery of the citizens, and the aſſiſtance of the canton of Berne.

In 1584 Geneva entered into a treaty of perpetual alliance with Zuric and Berne, (Fribourg having renounced their alliance when the town embraced the reformation) by which treaty, it is allied with the Swiſs cantons.

The laſt attempt of the Houſe of Savoy againſt Geneva, was in 1602; when Charles Emanuel treacherouſly attacked the town during a profound peace. Two hundred of his ſoldiers ſcaled the walls in the night, when the inhabitants were repoſed in unſuſpecting ſecurity; but being timely diſcovered, they were repulſed by the deſperate valour of a few citizens, who glorioufly ſacrificed their lives in defence of the liberties of their country. In memory of this event, an inſcription is fixed upon the town-houſe; and ſome of the ſcaling-ladders, which the enemy made uſe of to enter the town, are preſerved in the arſenal. This perfidy occaſioned a war, which was terminated the year following by a ſolemn treaty; ſince which, uninterrupted peace has been maintained between the Houſe of Savoy and Geneva: but it was not till 1754, that the King of Sardinia acknowledged, by a formal act, the independence of this republic.

No ſooner was peace concluded with the Houſe of Savoy, than the flames of internal diſcord, ſo apt to kindle in popular governments, and which had been ſmothered by their common danger from a foreign enemy, began to appear. Accordingly, during the greateſt part of the laſt century, to the preſent period, the hiſtory of Geneva contains little more than a narrative of contentions between the ariſtocratical and the popular party. Theſe mutual ſtruggles have occaſionally been exerted with ſo much violence and animoſity, as to have threatened, for a moment, a total revolution in the ſtate; but happily, however, they have always been compromiſed without producing any fatal effects.

About the beginning of the preſent century, the power of the council of two hundred was become almoſt abſolute. In order to reſtrain their authority, the popular party, in 1707, procured a law, by which it was enacted, that every five years a general council of all the citizens and burghers ſhould be holden, to deliberate upon the affairs of the republic. Agreeably to this law, a general aſſembly was convened in 1712; and the very firſt act exerted by the people in this their collective capacity, was the total abolition of the above-mentioned ordinance. An event of ſo ſingular a nature can hardly be accounted for upon the general principle of popular fickleneſs and inconſiſtency: accordingly Rouſſeau, in his *Lettres ecrites de la Montagne*, imputes it to the artifices of the magiſtrates; and to the equivocal terms marked upon the billets then in uſe. For, the queſtion propoſed to the people being, "Whether the opinion of the "councils, for aboliſhing the "periodical general aſſemblies, "ſhould paſs into a law?" the words employed on the billets delivered for that purpoſe, were, *approbation*, *rejection*; ſo that whichever ſide was taken, it came to the

the ſame point. If the billet of *approbation* were choſen; the opinion of the councils which rejected the periodical aſſembly, was approved; if that of *rejection*; then the periodical aſſembly was rejected of courſe. Accordingly, ſeveral of the citizens afterwards complained that they had been deceived, as they never meant to reject the general aſſembly, but only the opinion of the councils.

In conſequence of this extraordinary repeal, the power of the ariſtocracy continued increaſing till within theſe few years; when the citizens, by a ſingular conjunction of favourable circumſtances, joined to an uncommon ſpirit of union and perſeverance, have procured ſeveral changes to be made in the conſtitution of Geneva; by which the authority of the magiſtrates has been limited, and the privileges of the people have been enlarged. Happy! if they know where to ſtop; leſt, continuing to extend the bounds of their own prerogatives, they ſhake the foundations of civil government, by too much reſtraining the power of the magiſtrates.

The preſent conſtitution of Geneva, may be conſidered as a mean between that of the other ariſtocratical and popular cantons of Swiſſerland: more democratical than any of the former, inaſmuch as the ſovereign and legiſlative authority entirely reſides in the general aſſembly of the citizens and burghers; and more ariſtocratical than the latter, becauſe the powers veſted in the great and little councils are very conſiderable.

The members of the ſenate, or little council of twenty-five, enjoy, in their corporate capacity, ſeveral prerogatives almoſt as great as thoſe which are poſſeſſed by that of the moſt ariſtocratical ſtates. They nominate half the members of the great council; the principal magiſtrates are taken from their body; they convoke the great council and the general aſſembly of the citizens and burghers; they previouſly deliberate upon every queſtion which is to be brought into the great council, and from thence into the general aſſembly: in other words, in them is lodged the power of propoſing; conſequently, as every act muſt originate from them, no law can paſs without their approbation. In this ſenate is veſted alſo the chief executive power; the adminiſtration of the finances; and, to a certain degree, juriſdiction in civil and criminal cauſes. They nominate, likewiſe, to moſt of the ſmaller poſts of government; and enjoy the ſole privilege of conferring burgherſhip. They compoſe, moreover, in conjunction with thirty-five members of their own chooſing, the ſecret council; which never aſſembles but by their convoking, and only upon extraordinary occaſions.

Theſe conſiderable prerogatives, however, are counterbalanced as well by the privileges of the great council, as by the franchiſes of the general aſſembly. The prerogatives of the former conſiſt in chooſing the members of the ſenate from their own body; in receiving appeals in all cauſes above a certain value; in pardoning criminals; in diſpoſing of the moſt important charges of government, thoſe excepted which are conferred by the general aſſembly; and in approving or rejecting whatever

is propoſed by the ſenate to be laid before the people.

The ſovereign council, or general aſſembly of the people, is compoſed of the citizens and burghers of the town: their number, in general, amounts to about 1,500; but it is ſeldom that more than 1,200 convene; the remainder being either ſettled in foreign countries, or are uſually abſent. I ought to have explained to you ſooner, the diſtinction between *citizens* and *burghers*: the latter, are either the ſons of citizens or burghers *, born out of Geneva, or have obtained the burgherſhip by purchaſe; the former, are the ſons of citizens or burghers, born within the town of Geneva. The burghers may be choſen into the council of two hundred, but the citizens can alone enter into the ſenate, and poſſeſs the charges appropriated to that body.

The general aſſembly meets twice a year; chooſes the principal magiſtrates; aſſents to or rejects the laws and regulations propoſed by the councils; impoſes taxes; contracts alliances; declares war or peace; and nominates one half of the members of the great council. All queſtions that come before them are decided by the majority of voices; and each member delivers his vote without having the liberty of debating. The reſtriction is certainly reaſonable; for, in a popular aſſembly, like this of Geneva, compoſed of citizens, the meaneſt of whom is well verſed in the conſtitution of the commonwealth, and where the people in general have a ſtrong propenſity to enter into political diſcuſſions; if every voter were permitted to ſupport and enforce his opinion by argument, there would be no end of debate, and the whole time would be conſumed in petulant declamation.

But the principal check to the power of the little council, ariſes from the method of electing the ſyndics, and from the right of *repreſentation*. With reſpect to the former, the four ſyndics, or chiefs of the republic, are choſen annually out of the little council, by the general aſſembly; and there muſt be an interval of three years before the ſame members can be again elected. The uſual mode of election is as follows:—The little council nominate eight of their members for candidates, who muſt be approved by the great council; and out of theſe eight, the general aſſembly chooſe the four ſyndics. They have it in their power, however, not only to reject theſe eight propoſed candidates, but alſo all the other members of the ſenate ſucceſſively: and in that caſe, four members are taken from the great council, and propoſed to the general aſſembly. If theſe are appointed ſyndics, they immediately become members of the ſenate; and an equal number of that body are at the ſame time degraded, and retire into the great council. No inſtance, however, has yet occurred of the general aſſembly having exerted this power

* The children of thoſe who are employed in foreign countries, in the ſervice of the ſtate, although born out of Geneva, are entitled to all the privileges of citizens.

of

of expelling four members from the ſenate *.

With reſpect to the other reſtraint I mentioned upon the power of the little council, viz. the right of *repreſentation*: every citizen or burgher, either ſingly or in a body, has the privilege of applying to the ſenate in order to procure ſome new regulation, or of remonſtrating againſt any act of the magiſtracy. Theſe repreſentations have proved one of the principal means, perhaps, of ſecuring the liberties of the people from the reſpective encroachments of the two councils; as they have frequently prevented the magiſtrates from ſtretching their authority to the ſame arbitrary extent that has been practiſed in ſome of the other commonwealths of Swiſſerland. The magiſtrates are obliged to give an explicit anſwer to theſe repreſentations; for, if the firſt is not conſidered as ſatisfactory, a ſecond remonſtrance is preſented. According to the nature and importance of the complaint, the repreſentation is made by a greater or leſs number of citizens; and it has ſometimes happened that each remonſtrance has been accompanied by ſeveral hundred, in different bodies.

The ſalaries of the ſeveral magiſtrates are ſo inconſiderable, as not to offer any temptation on the ſide of pecuniary emolument: a ſenſe of honour, a ſpirit of ambition, the deſire of ſerving their country, together with that perſonal credit which is derived from exerciſing any office in the adminiſtration, are the principal motives which actuate the candidates to ſolicit a ſhare in the magiſtracy. Accordingly, the public poſts are generally filled with men of the firſt abilities, and of the moſt reſpectable characters. The revenues of government, at the higheſt calculation, ſcarcely amount to 30,000 pounds a year; a ſum, however, which, by a well-regulated œconomy, is more than ſufficient to defray the current expences: ſo that this republic is enabled to provide for the ſecurity of its ſubjects, from an income, which ſome individuals, both in England and France, ſquander in vain pomp and vicious diſſipation.

It is very remarkable that, in a republic ſo free as this of Geneva, and where the true principles of liberty are ſo well and ſo generally underſtood, there ſhould be no preciſe code of penal laws: for, although the form of the proceſs is ſettled with great preciſion, yet the trial of the criminal is private, and the puniſhment left to the arbitrary deciſion of the magiſtrate. Nor are the franchiſes of the people aſcertained with that accuracy one might well have expected. Indeed, under Ademar Fabri, biſhop of Geneva in the fourteenth century, a certain number of political regulations, both civil and criminal, together with ſeveral particular cuſtoms and liberties, were drawn up in form; and the biſhop took an oath to obſerve them. Theſe ſtatutes, if they may be ſo called, were alſo confirmed by Amadeus VIII, duke of Savoy. In all caſes of controverſy, the

* Since the above was written, I have been informed, that the citizens and burghers expelled four members from the ſenate, at the election of magiſtrates for the year 1777.

people

people appeal to this code; but it is not only compiled in a very inaccurate and confuſed manner, but the magiſtrates refuſe to be governed by it, becauſe it was publiſhed before the independence of the republic was confirmed. With reſpect to the ſeveral laws which have ſince been enacted in the general aſſembly; ſome few of them indeed are printed, and in the hands of the public, but the reſt remain in the archives of the ſenate: for, there being no particular ſecretary belonging to the general aſſembly; all the laws which they paſs are taken down by the ſecretary to the ſenate; ſo that the latter are the ſole depoſitaries of thoſe edicts which ought to be laid open to the inſpection of the whole community. The people have repeatedly demanded a preciſe code of municipal and penal laws, ſo expreſs and determinate, that nothing may be left to the arbitrary deciſion of the magiſtrate; but the ſenate has always found means of evading this very reaſonable and juſt requiſition.

Their code of civil law is the moſt perfect part of this conſtitution: all matters concerning commerce are well regulated by it; and private property ſecurely guarded. It is unneceſſary to trouble you with a particular detail of the ſumptuary laws; they are much the ſame as thoſe in moſt of the other ſtates of Swiſſerland, where reſtrictions of that kind are enforced. But there is one law, relating to bankrupts, too ſingularly ſevere not to be mentioned. If a member of either council becomes a bankrupt, he is immediately degraded; and from that moment is rendered incapable of holding any poſt under government, until he ſhall have diſcharged all the juſt demands of his creditors: even his children are ſubjected to the ſame diſgrace; and no citizen can exerciſe any public employment whatſoever, while the debts of his father remain unpaid.

In this city, as in all the other principal towns in Swiſſerland, a public granary is eſtabliſhed. Magazines of this kind are uſeful in all ſtates, but are more particularly neceſſary in ſo populous a place as Geneva; which, if the neighbouring powers were to prohibit the exportation of corn into the territory of the republic, might be expoſed to all the horrors of a general famine. The benefit of this inſtitution has been frequently experienced in times of ſcarcity: and all authors who have publiſhed obſervations upon the government of Geneva, have agreed in mentioning it with the praiſes it deſerves. But they have overlooked one great defect in its regulation, and which is not imputable to the management of thoſe public granaries which are eſtabliſhed in Berne and Zuric. The *chamber of corn*, as it is here called, is a committee from the great council of two hundred, empowered to ſupply the granary with that commodity, at the expence of government. This corn is dried by means of machines well contrived for that purpoſe; retailed out to the inn-keepers and bakers; a conſiderable profit accrues to government: and there is always, in caſe of neceſſity, a ſufficient quantity in reſerve to ſupport the inhabitants during a year and a half. Thus far, all is right: but then the burden of this inſtitution falls upon the poor. For, as the direc-

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tors buy the corn at the cheapeſt rate; retail that part of it which has been kept the longeſt; and vend it at an higher price than it is ſold in the neighbouring territories; the bakers muſt conſequently ſell their bread dearer, and not of ſo good a quality, as that which may be purchaſed on the frontiers of Savoy. But the importation of bread is ſtrictly prohibited: thoſe families, therefore, who can afford it, lay in a proviſion of corn for their own uſe; while the poorer ſort ſuffer, by being obliged to purchaſe, at an advanced price, their daily proviſion from the bakers. Perhaps, however, the government is not ſufficiently rich to put their granary upon the ſame footing with thoſe of Berne and Zuric, by ſacrificing the profit ariſing from the chamber of corn.

The town is ſtrongly fortified on the ſide of Savoy; and a garriſon of about nine hundred men conſtantly maintained: but theſe fortifications, and this garriſon, are only ſufficient to guard them from any ſudden attack; they could not defend them long againſt a regular ſiege. The great ſecurity of the republic conſiſts in its alliance with the Swiſs cantons, by means of Zuric and Berne: and, as it is the intereſt both of the king of France and the king of Sardinia to keep well with the Swiſs, and to preſerve the independence of Geneva; it derives its greateſt ſecurity from what, in ſome caſes, would be its greateſt danger; namely, that its territory borders upon the dominions of ſuch powerful neighbours.

This republic is the only commonwealth in Swiſſerland, that has no regular companies in any foreign ſervice; wiſely prohibiting the enliſting of mercenaries in every part of its territory.

Reflexions upon the general State of the thirteen Swiſs *Cantons. From the ſame.*

HAVING, in the courſe of my former letters, communicated to you ſuch obſervations as I was able to make during my tour through Swiſſerland, concerning the laws, government, ſtate of literature, &c. of each canton in particular; I will now requeſt from you the ſame candid indulgence I have ſo repeatedly experienced, whilſt I lay before you a few concluding remarks, in relation to the ſtate of Swiſſerland in general.

There is no part of Europe which contains, within the ſame extent of region, ſo many independent commonwealths, and ſuch a variety of different governments, as are collected together in this remarkable and delightful country; and yet, with ſuch wiſdom was the Helvetic union compoſed, and ſo little have the Swiſs, of late years, been actuated with the ſpirit of conqueſt, that ſince the firm and complete eſtabliſhment of their general confederacy, they have ſcarcely ever had occaſion to employ their arms againſt a foreign enemy; and have had no hoſtile commotions among themſelves that were not very ſoon happily terminated. Perhaps there is not a ſimilar inſtance in antient or modern hiſtory, of a warlike people, divided into little independent republics, cloſely bordering upon each other, and of courſe having occaſionally interfering intereſts, having

ing continued, during ſo long a period, in an almoſt uninterrupted ſtate of tranquillity. And thus, while the ſeveral neighbouring kingdoms have ſuffered, by turns, all the horrors of internal war, this favoured nation hath enjoyed the felicity deſcribed by Lucretius, and looked down with ſecurity upon the various tempeſts that have ſhaken the world around them.

But the happineſs of a long peace, has neither broken the ſpirit, nor enervated the arm of this people. The youth are diligently trained to all the martial exerciſes, ſuch as running, wreſtling, and ſhooting both with the croſs-bow and the muſket; a conſiderable number of well-diſciplined Swiſs troops are always employed in foreign ſervices; and the whole people are enrolled, and regularly exerciſed in their reſpective militia. By theſe means they are capable, in caſe it ſhould be neceſſary, of collecting a very reſpectable body of forces, which could not fail of proving formidable to any enemy who ſhould invade their country, or attack their liberties. Thus, while moſt of the other ſtates upon the continent are tending more and more towards a military government, Swiſſerland alone has no ſtanding armies; and yet, from the nature of its ſituation, from its particular alliances, and from the policy of its internal government, is more ſecure from invaſion than any other European power, and full as able to withſtand the greateſt force that can be brought againſt it.

But the felicity of Swiſſerland does not conſiſt merely in being peculiarly exempted from the burdens and miſeries of war; there is no country in which happineſs and content more univerſally prevail among the people. For, whether the government be ariſtocratical, democratical, or mixed; abſolute or limited; a general ſpirit of liberty pervades and actuates the ſeveral conſtitutions, ſo that even the oligarchical ſtates (which, of all others, are uſually the moſt tyrannical) are here peculiarly mild; and the property of the ſubject is ſecurely guarded againſt every kind of violation.

But there is one general defect in their criminal juriſprudence, which prevails throughout this country. For, although the Caroline code, as it is ſtyled, or the code of the Emperor Charles the Vth, forms in each of the republics the principal baſis of their penal laws, with particular modifications and additions in different diſtricts; yet much too great a latitude is allowed to the reſpective judges, who are leſs governed in their determinations by this code, or any other written law, than by the common principles of juſtice. How far long experience may have juſtified the prudence of truſting them with this extraordinary privilege, I cannot ſay; but diſcretionary powers of this kind, are undoubtedly liable to the moſt alarming abuſe, and can never, without the greateſt hazard, be committed to the hands of the magiſtrate.

I cannot forbear reflecting, upon this occaſion, on the ſuperior wiſdom, in the preſent inſtance, as well as in many others, of our own moſt invaluable conſtitution; and indeed, it is impoſſible for an Engliſhman

liſhman to obſerve, in his travels, the governments of other countries, without becoming a warmer and more affectionate admirer of his own. In England, the life and liberty of the ſubject does not depend upon the arbitrary deciſion of his judge, but is ſecured by expreſs laws, from which no magiſtrate can depart with impunity. This guarded preciſion, it is true, may occaſionally, perhaps, be attended with ſome inconveniences; but they are overbalanced by advantages of ſo much greater weight as to be ſcarcely perceptible in the ſcales of juſtice. I do not mean, however, to throw any imputation upon the officers of criminal juriſdiction in Swiſſerland: as far as I could obſerve, they adminiſter diſtributive juſtice with an impartial and equitable hand.

I remarked, with peculiar ſatisfaction, the excellent ſtate of the priſons throughout this country, and the humane precautions which the ſeveral legiſlatures have taken with reſpect to felons: a circumſtance which could not fail of ſtriking me the more forcibly, as the contrary is but too viſible in England. In Swiſſerland, the criminals are confined in wholeſome and ſeparate wards; and inſtead of languiſhing long in priſon, to the great injury of their health, or total waſte of their little remnant of money; they are almoſt immediately brought to trial. In England, a criminal, or one ſuſpected to be ſuch, may be confined ſix months before his fate ſhall be determined: and if he happen to be proved innocent, and ſhould be in low circumſtances; the loſs of his time, together with the expences of the gaol-fees, may probably occaſion his utter ruin; while his morals are in no leſs danger, by being compelled to aſſociate with a ſet of abandoned wretches, loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame, and encouraging each other in their common profligacy. How much is it to be lamented, that, while our code of criminal juriſprudence is in general formed upon principles, which diſtinguiſh us with honour among the nations of Europe; that our courts of juſtice are thrown open to the view of all the world; and that we enjoy the ineſtimable and almoſt peculiar privilege of being tried by our equals; how much (I cannot forbear repeating) is it to be lamented, that the ſame equitable and humane ſpirit ſhould be found wanting in ſo important an article of our penal laws *.

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* For a more particular account of the priſons in Swiſſerland, the reader is referred to a treatiſe concerning "*The ſtate of the priſons in England and Wales, and an account of ſome foreign priſons, by John Howard, Eſq;* 1777." In this treatiſe (which merits the attention of every friend to humanity) the worthy author has produced many melancholy proofs of the ſad ſtate of the Engliſh priſons, and how very inferior they are to thoſe abroad in every circumſtance relating to the health and good government of the unhappy perſons confined in them. And it cannot but afford him the moſt ſenſible ſatisfaction to find, that his benevolent and perſevering labours have already been productive of ſome very advantageous regulations, particularly concerning the fees of priſoners who ſhall be acquitted, and the prevention of the gaol diſtemper. As Mr. H. ſtill continues his laudable reſearches through all the moſt conſiderable priſons upon

One cannot but be aſtoniſhed, as well as concerned, to find, that in a country where the true principles of civil government are ſo well underſtood and ſo generally adopted as in Swiſſerland, that the trial by torture is not yet aboliſhed: for, in ſome particular caſes, the ſuſpected criminal is ſtill put to the rack. The inefficacy, no leſs than the inhumanity, of endeavouring to extort the truth by the ſeveral horrid inſtruments which too ingenious cruelty has deviſed for that purpoſe, has been ſo often expoſed by the ableſt writers, that it would be equally impertinent and ſuperfluous to trouble you with any reflections of mine upon the ſubject: and indeed, the whole ſtrength of the ſeveral arguments that have been urged upon this occaſion, is compriſed in the very juſt and pointed obſervation of the admirable Bruyere, that *la queſtion eſt une invention marveilleuſe & tout-à-fait ſûre, pour perdre un innocent qui a la complexion foible, & ſauvre un coupable qui eſt né robuſte* *. I cannot, however, but add, in juſtice to the Swiſs, that zealous advocates have not been wanting among them for the total abolition of torture: but arguments of reaſon, and ſentiments of humanity, have been found, even in this civilized and enlightened country, to avail little againſt inveterate cuſtom and long-confirmed prejudices †.

Learning is leſs generally diffuſed among the catholic than the proteſtant ſtates: but in both, a man of letters will find abundant opportunities of gratifying his reſearches and improving his know-

upon the continent, and intends ſubmitting the reſult of them to the conſideration of Parliament; it may juſtly be hoped, that he will be rewarded with the happineſs of having become the means of effectually fixing the attention of the Britiſh Senate upon an object ſo highly deſerving the care of every wiſe and humane legiſlature.

* Caracteres, Vol. ii. p. 203.

† Criminal juſtice is here, as in the greateſt part of Europe, adminiſtered agreeably to the rules of the civil law. According to the maxims of that code, the criminal's confeſſion is abſolutely requiſite, in order to his ſuffering capital puniſhment; and conſequently, all thoſe nations who have not eſtabliſhed a new code of criminal juriſprudence, retain the uſe of torture.

The preſent king of Pruſſia, it is well known, ſet the example in Germany, of aboliſhing this inhuman practice; but few, perhaps, are appriſed, that the firſt hint of this reformation was ſuggeſted to him by reading the Hiſtory of England. For, one of the principal arguments in ſupport of this method of extorting confeſſion, being that it affords the beſt means of diſcovering plots againſt government; the ſagacious monarch remarked, that the Britiſh annals fully confuted the fallacy of that reaſoning. Few kingdoms, he obſerved, had abounded more in conſpiracies and rebellions than England; and yet, that the leaders and abettors of them had been more ſucceſsfully traced and diſcovered, without the uſe of torture, than in any country where it was practiſed. "From thence," added this wiſe politician, ſpeaking upon the ſubject, "I "ſaw the abſurdity of torture, and aboliſhed it accordingly."

The above anecdote, which I had from very reſpectable authority, bears the moſt honourable teſtimony to the efficacy as well as the mildneſs of our penal laws, and to the ſuperior excellency of the proceſs obſerved in our courts of criminal juſtice.

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ledge. To the natural philoſopher, Swiſſerland will afford an inexhauſtible ſource of entertainment and information, as well from the great variety of phyſical curioſities ſo plentifully ſpread over the country, as from the conſiderable number of perſons eminently ſkilled in that branch of ſcience. Indeed in every town, and almoſt in every village, the curious traveller will meet with collections worthy of his attention.

With reſpect to agriculture; there is, perhaps, no country in the world where the advantageous effects of unwearied and perſevering induſtry are more remarkably conſpicuous. In travelling over the mountainous parts of Swiſſerland, I was ſtruck with admiration and aſtoniſhment, to obſerve rocks, that were formerly barren, now planted with vines, or abounding in rich paſture; and to mark the traces of the plough along the ſides of precipices ſo ſteep, that it muſt be with great difficulty that a horſe could even mount them. In a word, the inhabitants ſeem to have ſurmounted every obſtruction which ſoil, ſituation, and climate, had thrown in their way, and to have ſpread fertility over various ſpots of the country which nature ſeemed to have conſigned to everlaſting barrenneſs. In fine, a general ſimplicity of manners, an open and unaffected frankneſs, together with an invincible ſpirit of freedom, may juſtly be mentioned in the number of thoſe peculiar qualities which dignify the public character of this people, and diſtinguiſh them with honour among the nations of Europe.

A Sketch of an Hiſtorical Panegyric on the Marſhal of Berwick, *by the Preſident* Monteſquieu. *From Memoirs of the Duke of* Berwick.

HE was born on the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1670; was ſon of James, Duke of York, ſince King of England, and of Miſs Arabella Churchill. Such indeed was the the fate of this houſe of Churchill, that it gave birth to two men, who were deſtined, at the ſame time, each of them to ſhake, and to ſupport, the two greateſt monarchies of Europe.

At ſeven years of age he was ſent into France to complete his ſtudies, and follow his exerciſes. The Duke of York having ſucceeded to the crown on the 6th day of February, 1685, ſent him the following year into Hungary, and he was preſent at the ſiege of Buda.

He paſſed the winter in England, where the King created him Duke of Berwick. In the ſpring he returned into Hungary, where the Emperor gave him the rank of Colonel to command Taaff's regiment of Cuiraſſiers. He ſerved the campaign of 1687, in which the Duke of Lorrain obtained the victory at Mohatz; and on his return to Vienna, the Emperor promoted him to the rank of Major-General.

Thus the Duke of Berwick was firſt trained to arms, under the great Duke of Lorrain; and his life, ever ſince, has been in a manner entirely devoted to this profeſſion.

He returned into England; when the King gave him the government of Portſmouth, and of the county of Southampton. He had

had already a regiment of infantry. The regiment of horſe-guards, belonging to the Earl of Oxford, was afterwards given him: ſo that at ſeventeen years of age, he was in a ſituation highly flattering to a man of an elevated mind; for he ſaw the track of glory open before him, and was in a way of being able to perform great actions.

In 1688 the Revolution took place in England; and amidſt the number of misfortunes that ſurrounded the King on a ſudden, the Duke of Berwick was charged with affairs of the higheſt conſequence. The King having fixed upon him for aſſembling the army, one of the treacheries committed by his miniſters was to delay the ſending of the orders for this purpoſe, that opportunity might be given to ſome other perſon to lead off the troops to the Prince of Orange. He accidentally met with four regiments that were intended to be conveyed to the Prince of Orange, and brought them back to his poſt. He exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to ſave Portſmouth, which was blocked up by ſea and land, and had no other proviſions than what were daily ſupplied by the enemy, till the King ordered him to deliver up that fortreſs. His Majeſty having taken the reſolution to make his eſcape into France, the Duke was one of the five perſons whom he entruſted with his deſign, and who followed him. The King, immediately on his landing, ſent him to Verſailles to requeſt an aſylum. He was then but juſt eighteen years old.

Almoſt all Ireland having preſerved its fidelity to King James, that prince went there in the month of March, 1689; and an unfortunate war enſued, in which bravery was always conſpicuous, and conduct alway deficient. Of this war in Ireland it may be ſaid, that in London it was conſidered as the buſineſs of the day, and the capital concern of Great Britain; and in France, it was looked upon as a war carried on from motives of particular attachment and decorum. The Engliſh, who choſe to avert a civil war from themſelves, cruſhed the kingdom of Ireland. It ſeemed even as if the French officers who were ſent there, were impreſſed with the ſame ideas as thoſe who ſent them: they had but three objects in view, to get there, to fight, and to return. Time has ſhewn that the notions of the Engliſh upon theſe matters were more juſt than ours.

The Duke of Berwick diſtinguiſhed himſelf on ſome particular occaſions, and was made a Lieutenant-General.

Lord Tyrconnel, on his departure for France in the year 1690, left the general command of the kingdom to the Duke of Berwick. He was then but twenty years of age, and it appeared from his conduct, that heaven had beſtowed prudence upon him at a more early period of life than upon any other man of his time. The loſs of the battle of the Boyne had diſcouraged the Iriſh troops: King William had indeed raiſed the ſiege of Limerick, and was returned into England; but this did not much improve the ſtate of affairs. Lord Churchill* landed on a ſudden in Ireland with eight thouſand men.

* Afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

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It was neceſſary at the ſame time to check the rapidity of his progreſs, to re-eſtabliſh the army, to diſſipate factions, and to conciliate the minds of the Iriſh. All this was effected by the Duke of Berwick.

In 1691, the Duke of Tyrconnel having returned into Ireland, the Duke of Berwick went back into France, and attended Lewis XIV. as volunteer, to the ſiege of Mons. He ſerved in the ſame capacity under Marſhal Luxembourg, in the campaign of 1692, and was preſent at the battle of Steinkirk. The following year he was made Lieutenant-General in France, and acquired much honour at the battle of Neerwinden, where he was taken priſoner. The reports that were circulated upon this occaſion, muſt certainly have originated from perſons who had the higheſt idea of his ſteadineſs and courage. He continued to ſerve in Flanders under Marſhal Luxembourg, and afterwards under Marſhal Villeroy.

In 1696, he was ſent privately into England, to hold a conference with ſome Engliſh noblemen, who had reſolved to reſtore the King. He was charged with a very ſtrange kind of commiſſion, which was to induce theſe noblemen to act againſt common ſenſe. He did not ſucceed; and haſtened his return upon receiving information that there was a plot carrying on againſt the perſon of King William, becauſe he did not chuſe to be involved in this conſpiracy. I remember having heard him ſay, that a man had diſcovered him by a kind of family likeneſs, and particularly by the length of his fingers; that luckily this man happened to be a Jacobite, and ſaid to him, *God bleſs you in all your undertakings*. This relieved him from his embarraſſment.

The Duke of Berwick loſt his firſt wife in the month of June, 1698. He had married her in 1695. She was daughter of the Earl of Clanricard. He had a ſon by her, who was born on the 21ſt of October, 1696.

In 1699 he made a tour into Italy, and at his return married Mademoiſelle de Bulkeley, daughter of Madame de Bulkeley, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen of England, and of M. de Bulkeley, brother of Lord Bulkeley.

After the death of Charles II. King of Spain, King James ſent the Duke of Berwick to Rome, to congratulate the Pope on his election, and to offer him his ſervices to command the army that France preſſed him to raiſe, for the purpoſe of maintaining a neutrality in Italy; and the Court of St. Germains offered to ſend ſome Iriſh troops, to be under his command. The Pope thought the affair rather too ſerious for him, and the Duke of Berwick returned.

In 1701 he loſt the King his father, and in 1702 he ſerved in Flanders under the Duke of Burgundy and Marſhal Boufflers; in 1703, on his return from the campaign, he was naturalized a ſubject of France, with the conſent of the Court of St. Germains.

In 1704, the King ſent him into Spain at the head of eighteen battalions and nineteen ſquadrons; and upon his arrival the King of Spain appointed him Captain-General of his forces, and made him put his hat on in his preſence.

The Court of Spain was disturbed by intrigues. The government was very ill conducted, because every one wished to guide the reins of it. Every thing degenerated into cabals, and it was one of the principal objects of his commission, to get at the bottom of them. All parties endeavoured to gain him over, but he would not side with either of them; and applying himself only to the success of public affairs, he considered the interest of individuals merely as they were; he paid no attention to Madame d'Orsini, to Orry, to the Abbé d'Etrées, to the inclinations of the Queen, or to the bias of the King: the welfare of the monarchy engrossed all his thoughts.

The Duke of Berwick received orders to endeavour to obtain the dismission of Madame d'Orsini. The King wrote to him in the following terms: "Tell my grandson, that he owes me this mark "of complaisance. Urge all the "motives you can imagine to persuade him, but do not tell him "that I shall abandon him, for "he would never believe you." The King of Spain consented to the dismission.

This year, 1704, the Duke of Berwick saved the kingdom of Spain; he hindered the Portuguese army from going to Madrid. His army was two-thirds weaker than that of the enemy; he was constantly receiving orders from court, one after another, to retire and to risk nothing. The Duke of Berwick, who saw that Spain was lost if he obeyed, would not discontinue to expose himself to risks, and disputed every inch of ground. The Portuguese army retired, and the Duke of Berwick did the same. At the end of the campaign he received orders to return into France. This was the effect of court intrigue; and he felt what so many had experienced before, that to please at court is the greatest service a man can do; without which, all our works, to make use of the language of divines, are nothing more than dead works.

In 1705 the Duke of Berwick was sent to command in Languedoc; and the same year he laid siege to Nice, and took it.

In 1706 he was made Marshal of France, and sent into Spain to take the command of the army against Portugal. The King of Spain had raised the siege of Barcelona, and had been obliged to return by France, and to re-enter the kingdom of Spain through Navarre.

I have observed, that before he quitted Spain, the first time of his serving there, he had saved the kingdom; and upon this occasion he saved it a second time. I shall take but a cursory view of the circumstances which it is the business of history to record. I shall only say, that all was lost at the beginning of the campaign, and all recovered at the end of it. In Madame de Maintenon's Letters to the Princess Orsini, we may see what was the opinion of the two courts at that time. They wished, but they had no hopes remaining. The Marshal of Berwick wanted the Queen to join his army, but she was prevented by the advice of some timid persons. They endeavoured to persuade her to retire to Pampeluna; the Marshal of Berwick made it appear, that if this step were taken, every thing was lost,

loſt, becauſe the Caſtilians would then think themſelves forſaken: the Queen therefore retired to Burgos with her counſellors, and the King joined the ſmall army. The Portugueſe went to Madrid; and the Marſhal, by conduct merely, without riſking a ſingle action, obliged the enemy entirely to quit Caſtile, and wedged in their army between the kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon. He conducted them thither by one march after another, as a ſhepherd leads his flock. It may be ſaid, that this campaign was more glorious to him than any of the other he made, becauſe the advantages obtained by it, not having depended on an action, furniſhed the opportunity for a continual diſplay of his talents. He took more than ten thouſand priſoners, and by this campaign paved the way for the ſecond, rendered ſtill more illuſtrious by the battle of Almanza, the reduction of the kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon, and the capture of Lerida.

It was in this year, 1707, that the King of Spain beſtowed upon the Marſhal of Berwick the towns of Liria and Xerica, with the rank of Grandee of the firſt claſs; which procured him a ſtill greater eſtabliſhment for his ſon by his firſt wife, in his alliance with Dona Catherina of Portugal, heireſs of the houſe of Veraguas. The Marſhal gave him up all his poſſeſſions in Spain.

At the ſame time Lewis XIV. gave him the government of the Limoſin, entirely of his own accord, without being aſked for it by the Duke.

I muſt take this opportunity of ſpeaking of the Duke of Orleans, and I ſhall do it with the greater ſatisfaction, as what I ſhall ſay of him, can but redound to his honour as well as the Marſhal's.

The Duke of Orleans came to command the army. His evil deſtiny made him think he ſhould have time to paſs by Madrid. The Marſhal of Berwick diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to acquaint him that he ſhould ſoon be under a neceſſity of giving battle: the Duke of Orleans ſet out, and notwithſtanding the utmoſt expedition, did not arrive in time. There were not wanting courtiers who endeavoured to inſinuate to the Prince, that the Marſhal of Berwick had been well pleaſed to give battle without him, in order that he might deprive the Prince of the glory of it. But the Duke of Orleans was ſatisfied that he had it in his power to do him juſtice, which he very well knew how to do; and only complained of his ill fortune.

The Duke of Orleans, who could not bear the idea of returning without having done any thing, propoſed the ſiege of Lerida. The Marſhal of Berwick, who was far from agreeing with the Duke in this point, explained his reaſons for it in a ſtrong manner; and even propoſed to refer the matter to court. The ſiege of Lerida was reſolved upon. From that moment the Marſhal ſaw no farther obſtacles: he knew, that though prudence be the firſt of all virtues before an enterprize is begun, it is only a ſecondary one after it is undertaken. Perhaps had he been the propoſer of this ſiege, he would have been leſs apprehenſive of the

raiſing of it. The Duke of Orleans finiſhed the campaign with glory; and this circumſtance, which would infallibly have bred a quarrel between two men of an ordinary turn of mind, ſerved only to unite theſe two more firmly together; and I remember to have heard the Marſhal ſay, that he traced the origin of the favour ſhewed him by the Duke of Orleans from the campaign of 1707.

In 1708, the Marſhal of Berwick, who was at firſt deſigned to be at the head of the army in Dauphiny, was ſent upon the Rhine to command under the Elector of Bavaria. He had defeated a project of M. de Chamillart, whoſe chief incapacity conſiſted in not knowing his own. Prince Eugene having quitted Germany to go into Flanders, the Marſhal of Berwick followed him. After the loſs of the battle of Oudenarde, the enemy laid ſiege to Liſle; and then the Marſhal of Berwick joined his army to that of M. de Vendoſme. Without an infinite number of very extraordinary events, it was impoſſible for us to have loſt Liſle. The Duke de Vendoſme was incenſed againſt the Marſhal of Berwick for having made ſome difficulty of ſerving under him. From that period, the Duke de Vendoſme rejected every propoſal that came from the Marſhal of Berwick; and his ſoul, in other reſpects ſo great, was no longer animated by any motive, but a warm reſentment for the kind of affront which he imagined he received.

The Duke of Burgundy and the King, conſtantly divided between contradictory propoſals, knew not how to act otherwiſe, than to acquieſce in M. de Vendoſme's opinion.

It muſt have happened that the King ſhould ſend to the army, in order to conciliate the Generals, a miniſter who was incapable of diſtinguiſhing: it muſt have happened, that that malady of human nature, of not being able to bear what is good, when it is done by perſons whom we do not like, ſhould have taken poſſeſſion, during this whole campaign, of the heart and underſtanding of M. de Vendoſme: it muſt have happened, that a Lieutenant-General ſhould have credit enough at court, to commit two blunders, one upon the back of the other, and which will be remembered in all ages, his defeat and his capitulation: it muſt have happened, that the ſiege of Bruſſels ſhould have been rejected at firſt, and afterwards undertaken; that it ſhould be determined to cover, at the ſame time, both the Scheld and the Canal, that is, to cover nothing. In a word, the cauſe in agitation between theſe two great men ſtill exiſts; the letters written by the King, by the Duke of Burgundy, by the Duke de Vendoſme, by the Duke of Berwick, and by M. de Chamillart, are alſo ſtill preſerved. By theſe it will appear which of the two wanted coolneſs, and perhaps I might even venture to ſay, reaſon. God forbid that I ſhould attempt to call in queſtion the eminent qualities of the Duke de Vendoſme! If the Marſhal of Berwick were to return upon earth, he would be ſorry for it. But I ſhall ſay, on this occaſion, what Homer ſaid of Glaucus. Jupiter deprived Glaucus of his wiſdom, and

and he exchanged a golden ſhield for a brazen one. This golden ſhield M. de Vendoſme had always borne till this campaign, and he afterwards recovered it.

In 1709 the Marſhal of Berwick was ſent to cover the frontiers of Provence and Dauphiny; and though M. de Chamillart, who left every thing unprovided, had been removed, he found neither money, nor ammunition, nor proviſions; but managed ſo well, that he ſupplied himſelf with all he wanted. I remember having heard him ſay, that in his diſtreſs he ſeized upon a ſupply of money that was going from Lyons to the royal treaſury; and he uſed to ſay to M. D'Angervilliers, who was his Intendant at that time, that in legal ſtrictneſs they both of them deſerved to have been tried. M. Deſmarais exclaimed: and he anſwered, that it was neceſſary to provide ſubſiſtence for an army, which was to ſave the kingdom.

The Marſhal of Berwick formed ſuch a plan of defence, that it was impoſſible to penetrate into France on any ſide, becauſe the Duke of Savoy was obliged to proceed by the arch of a circle, while he kept along the chord. I remember when I was in Piedmont, that the officers who had ſerved at that period, always gave this as a reaſon for their not having been able to penetrate into France; they made the panegyric of the Marſhal of Berwick without my knowing any thing of the matter.

For this plan of defence the Marſhal of Berwick wanted only a ſmall number of forces, and was enabled to ſend the King twenty battalions; which, in thoſe times, was a conſiderable reinforcement.

It would be very abſurd in me to judge of his military talents; in other words, to judge of what I cannot underſtand. Nevertheleſs, might I be allowed to venture, I ſhould ſay, that as every great man, beſides his general capacity, has alſo ſome particular talent in which he excels, and which conſtitutes his diſtinguiſhing quality; ſo the Marſhal of Berwick's particular talent conſiſted in making a defenſive war, in reſtoring affairs that were deſperate, and in being thorough maſter of every reſource that can ſuggeſt itſelf in misfortune. He muſt undoubtably have been very ſenſible of his powers in this reſpect. I have often heard him ſay, that the thing he had moſt coveted, during the whole courſe of his life, was to have had a good fortreſs to defend.

In 1713 the peace was ſigned at Utrecht: on the firſt of September, 1715, the King died: The Duke of Orleans was Regent, and the Marſhal of Berwick was ſent to command in Guyenne. Let me be allowed to ſay, that this was a great happineſs for me, ſince it was there I became acquainted with him.

The intrigues of Cardinal Alberoni gave riſe to the war which the Marſhal Duke of Berwick conducted on the frontiers of Spain. The Miniſtry being changed upon the death of the Duke of Orleans, he was removed from the command of Guyenne. He divided his time between the Court, Paris, and his country-houſe of Fitz-James. This will give me an

opportunity of ſpeaking of him as a private man, and of giving his character, as conciſely as poſſible.

He ſcarce obtained any favours which were not offered to him: when his own intereſt was concerned, it was always neceſſary to puſh him on.—His reſerved and rather dry look, which was ſometimes even inclined to ſeverity, made him appear at times as if he were not in his proper element, in our country, if it were poſſible that great ſouls and perſonal merit could be confined to any one nation.

He knew not how to ſay thoſe things that are uſually called pretty things. He was more eſpecially free from thoſe numberleſs errors into which perſons, who are overfond of themſelves, are continually falling.—He was determined, for the moſt part, by his own judgment; and if, on the one hand, he had not too high an opinion, on the other, he had no diſtruſt of himſelf; he conſidered and knew himſelf with as much penetration, as he viewed all other objects.—No man ever knew better how to avoid exceſſes, or, if I may venture to uſe the expreſſion, to keep clear of the ſnares of virtue: for example, he was fond of the clergy; he readily enough accommodated himſelf to the modeſty of their ſtation; but he could not bear to be governed by them; eſpecialy if they tranſgreſſed in the leaſt article the limits of their duty: he required more of them than they would have required of him.—It was impoſſible to behold him, and not be in love with virtue, ſo evident was tranquility and happineſs in his ſoul, particularly when he was compared with others who were agitated by various paſſions.—In the works of Plutarch, I have ſeen at a diſtance what great men were: in him I beheld in a nearer view what they are. I was only acquainted with him in private life: I never ſaw the hero, but the man from whom the hero iſſued.—He loved his friends: it was his cuſtom to do ſervices, and not to ſpeak of them: thus the benefit was diſpenſed by an inviſible hand.—He had a great fund of religion. No man ever followed more ſtrictly thoſe laws of the goſpel, which are more troubleſome to men of the world: in a word, no man ever practiſed religion ſo much, and talked of it ſo little.—He never ſpoke ill of any one; and at the ſame time never beſtowed any praiſe upon thoſe whom he did not think deſerving of it.—He held in averſion thoſe controverſies, which, under pretence of the glory of God, are nothing more than perſonal diſputes. He had learned from the misfortunes of the King his father, that we expoſe ourſelves to commit great errors, when we have too much faith even in perſons of the moſt reſpectable character.—When he was appointed Commandant in Guyenne, we were alarmed at the report of his gravity; but ſoon after his arrival he was beloved by every body, and there is no place where his great qualities have been more admired.

No man ever gave a brighter example of the contempt we ought to have for money.—There was a ſimplicity in all his expences, which ought to have made him very eaſy in his circumſtances; for he indulged

indulged himſelf in no frivolous expence; nevertheleſs he was always in arrears; becauſe, notwithſtanding his natural œconomy, his expences were great. In the governments he was appointed to, every Engliſh or Iriſh family that was poor, and that had any ſort of connection with any one of his houſe, had a kind of right to be introduced to him; and it is remarkable, that a man who knew how to maintain ſo much order in his army, and ſhewed ſo much judgment in all his projects, ſhould loſe all theſe advantageous talents, when his own private intereſt was concerned.

He was not one of thoſe perſons, who are ſometimes complaining of the authors of any misfortune, and at other times flattering them; when he had a cauſe of complaint againſt any man, he went directly to him, and told him his ſentiments freely, after which he ſaid no more.

Never was the ſtate in which we know France was in at the death of Marſhal Turenne, more exactly repreſented than at the death of the Duke of Berwick. I remember the inſtant when the news was brought: the conſternation was general. They had both of them left deſigns interrupted; both of them left an army in danger; both loſt their lives in a manner that affects us more than an ordinary death: both of them were poſſeſſed of that modeſt merit, which is ſo well calculated to call forth our tendereſt affections, and to excite our regret.

He left an affectionate wife, who paſſed the remainder of her life in ſorrow for his loſs; and he left children, whoſe virtue ſpeaks their father's panegyric better than I can.

The Marſhal of Berwick has written his own Memoirs; and upon this occaſion I may repeat what I have before ſaid in the Spirit of Laws, of the narrative of Hanno. *The narrative of Hanno is a beautiful relic of antiquity: the ſame man who has executed, has written. There is no kind of oſtentation in his accounts: great commanders pen their actions with ſimplicity, becauſe they take more pride in what they have done, than in what they have ſaid.*

The conduct of great men is more liable to a rigorous examination than that of other perſons: every one takes a delight in arraigning them before his petty tribunal. Did not the Roman ſoldiers indulge themſelves in the moſt bitter mockeries while they followed the car of victory? They imagined that they were triumphing over the triumphers themſelves; but it is a matter of great praiſe for the Marſhal of Berwick, that the two objections which have been made to him, have been occaſioned only by his attachment to his duty.

The objection, of not having been concerned in the Scotch expedition of 1715, is founded only upon conſidering the Marſhal as a man who had no country of his own, and upon the difficulty of perſuading ourſelves to look upon him as a ſubject of France. Having become a Frenchman, with the conſent of his firſt ſovereign, he obeyed the orders of Lewis XIV, and afterwards thoſe of the Regent of France. It became neceſſary for him to ſilence the dictates of his heart, and to be guid-

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ed by enlarged principles: he saw that he was no longer at his own disposal: that he must no longer regulate his conduct by that rule which was most suitable to his wishes, but by the one which his situation required: he was aware that he should be censured, but he was above every unjust decision. He was never determined by popular favour, nor swayed by the opinions of those who think only superficially.

The ancients, who have treated of our duties, do not place any great difficulty in knowing them, but in chusing between two duties which is preferably to be pursued. He, like fate, followed the stronger duty. These are matters we should never treat of, unless we are obliged; because nothing in the world commands our respect so much as an unfortunate monarch. Let us examine the question; it consists in determining, whether the Prince, had he even been restored, would have had a right to recall him? The strongest argument that can be urged on this side the question, is, that our country never abandons us: but even this was not the case; for he was proscribed by his country, when he got himself naturalized. Grotius, Puffendorf, and all those writers who have influenced the opinions of Europe, decided the question, and declared to him that he was a Frenchman, and subject to the laws of France. The basis of the political system adopted by France, at that time, was peace. How contradictory would it have been, if a Peer of the realm, a Marshal, a Governor of a province, had disobeyed the prohibition to quit the kingdom, that is, had been in actual disobedience, in order to appear to the eyes of the English alone as having not disobeyed! In fact, the Marshal of Berwick was in a very peculiar situation even from his very dignities; and it was scarce possible to discriminate between his presence in Scotland, and a declaration of war with England. France did not think it consistent with her interest that this war should take place, because it would bring on a war which would extend itself throughout Europe. It was not therefore for him, to take upon himself the immense weight that such a step would draw upon him. It may indeed be said, that had he consulted his ambition merely, he could not have a stronger one, than the restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne. We know how much he loved his children. What a delightful prospect for him, could he have foreseen a third establishment in England!

Had he been even consulted upon the enterprize, in the circumstances of the times, he would not have advised it: he thought that all those kinds of undertakings were of the same nature as others, which ought to be regulated by prudence; and that in such an instance as this, the failure of an enterprize is attended with two kinds of ill success; the present misfortune, and a greater difficulty of renewing the undertaking with any prospect of success in future.

Of

Of the Metaphyſical Poets. From Johnſon's *Life of* Cowley.

COWLEY, like other poets who have written with narrow views, and inſtead of tracing intellectual pleaſure to its natural ſources in the mind of man, paid their court to temporary prejudices, has been at one time too much praiſed, and too much neglected at another.

Wit, like other things ſubject by their nature to the choice of man, has its changes and faſhions, and at different times takes different forms. About the beginning of the ſeventeenth century appeared a race of writers that may be termed the metaphyſical poets; of whom, in a criticiſm on the works of Cowley, the laſt of the race, it is not improper to give ſome account.

The metaphyſical poets were men of learning, and to ſhew their learning was their whole endeavour; but, unluckily reſolving to ſhew it in rhyme, inſtead of writing poetry, they only wrote verſes, and very often ſuch verſes as ſtood the trial of the finger better than of the ear; for the modulation was ſo imperfect, that they were only found to be verſes by counting the ſyllables.

If the father of criticiſm has rightly denominated poetry τέχνη μιμητικὴ, *an imitative art*, theſe writers will, without great wrong, loſe their right to the name of poets; for they cannot be ſaid to have imitated any thing; they neither copied nature nor life; neither painted the forms of matter, nor repreſented the operations of intellect.

Thoſe however who deny them to be poets, allow them to be wits. Dryden confeſſes of himſelf and his contemporaries, that they fall below Donne in wit, but maintains that they ſurpaſs him in poetry.

If Wit be well deſcribed by Pope, as being "that which has "been often thought, but was "never before ſo well expreſſed," they certainly never attained, nor ever ſought it; for they endeavoured to be ſingular in their thoughts, and were careleſs of their diction. But Pope's account of wit is undoubtedly erroneous: he depreſſes it below its natural dignity, and reduces it from ſtrength of thought to happineſs of language.

If by a more noble and more adequate conception that be conſidered as wit, which is at once natural and new, that which, though not obvious, is, upon its firſt production, acknowledged to be juſt; if it be that, which he that never found it, wonders how he miſſed; to wit of this kind the metaphyſical poets have ſeldom riſen. Their thoughts are often new, but ſeldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they juſt; and the reader, far from wondering that he miſſed them, wonders more frequently by what perverſeneſs of induſtry they were ever found.

But Wit, abſtracted from its effects upon the hearer, may be more rigorouſly and philoſophically conſidered as a kind of *concordia diſcors*; a combination of diſſimilar images, or diſcovery of occult reſemblances in things apparently unlike. Of wit, thus defined,

defined, they have more than enough. The moſt heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together; nature and art are ranſacked for illuſtrations, compariſons, and alluſions; their learning inſtructs, and their ſubtilty ſurpriſes; but the reader commonly thinks his improvement dearly bought, and though he ſometimes admires is ſeldom pleaſed.

From this account of their compoſitions it will be readily inferred, that they were not ſucceſsful in repreſenting or moving the affections. As they were wholly employed on ſomething unexpected and ſurpriſing, they had no regard to that uniformity of ſentiment which enables us to conceive and to excite the pains and the pleaſure of other minds: they never enquired what, on any occaſion, they ſhould have ſaid or done; but wrote rather as beholders than partakers of human nature; as Beings looking upon good and evil, impaſſive and at leiſure; as Epicurean deities making remarks on the actions of men, and the viciſſitudes of life, without intereſt and without emotion. Their courtſhip was void of fondneſs, and their lamentation of ſorrow. Their wiſh was only to ſay what they hoped had been never ſaid before.

Nor was the ſublime more within their reach than the pathetick; for they never attempted that comprehenſion and expanſe of thought which at once fills the whole mind, and of which the firſt effect is ſudden aſtoniſhment, and the ſecond rational admiration. Sublimity is produced by aggregation, and littleneſs by diſperſion. Great thoughts are always general, and conſiſt in poſitions not limited by exceptions, and in deſcriptions not deſcending to minuteneſs. It is with great propriety that Subtlety, which in its original import means exility of particles, is taken in its metaphorical meaning for nicety of diſtinction. Thoſe writers who lay on the watch for novelty could have little hope of greatneſs; for great things cannot have eſcaped former obſervation. Their attempts were always analytick; they broke every image into fragments; and could no more repreſent, by their ſlender conceits and laboured particularities, the proſpects of nature, or the ſcenes of life, than he, who diſſects a ſun-beam with a priſm, can exhibit the wide effulgence of a ſummer noon.

What they wanted however of the ſublime, they endeavoured to ſupply by hyperbole; their amplification had no limits; they left not only reaſon but fancy behind them; and produced combinations of confuſed magnificence, that not only could not be credited, but could not be imagined.

Yet great labour, directed by great abilities, is never wholly loſt: if they frequently threw away their wit upon falſe conceits, they likewiſe ſometimes ſtruck out unexpected truth: if their conceits were far-fetched, they were often worth the carriage. To write on their plan, it was at leaſt neceſſary to read and think. No man could be born a metaphyſical poet, nor aſſume

assume the dignity of a writer, by descriptions copied from descriptions, by imitations borrowed from imitations, by traditional imagery, and hereditary similies, by readiness of rhyme, and volubility of syllables.

In perusing the works of this race of authors, the mind is exercised either by recollection or inquiry; either something already learned is to be retrieved, or something new is to be examined. If their greatness seldom elevates, their acuteness often surprises; if the imagination is not always gratified, at least the powers of reflection and comparison are employed; and in the mass of materials which ingenious absurdity has thrown together, genuine wit and useful knowledge may be sometimes found, buried perhaps in grossness of expression, but useful to those who know their value; and such as, when they are expanded to perspicuity, and polished to elegance, may give lustre to works which have more propriety, though less copiousness of sentiment.

This kind of writing, which was, I believe, borrowed from Marino and his followers, had been recommended by the example of Donne, a man of very extensive and various knowledge, and by Jonson, whose manner resembled that of Donne more in the ruggedness of his lines than in the cast of his sentiments.

When their reputation was high, they had undoubtedly more imitators, than time has left behind. Their immediate successors, of whom any remembrance can be said to remain, were Suckling, Waller, Denham, Cowley, Cleveland, and Milton. Denham and Waller sought another way to fame, by improving the harmony of our numbers. Milton tried the metaphysick stile only in his lines upon Hobson the Carrier. Cowley adopted it, and excelled his predecessors, having as much sentiment, and more musick. Suckling neither improved versification, nor abounded in conceits. The fashionable stile remained chiefly with Cowley; Suckling could not reach it, and Milton disdained it.

Strictures on Paradise Lost, and Paradise Regained; from the Life of Milton. *By the same.*

BY the general consent of criticks, the first praise of genius is due to the writer of an epick poem, as it requires an assemblage of all the powers which are singly sufficient for other compositions. Poetry is the art of uniting pleasure with truth, by calling imagination to the help of reason. Epick poetry undertakes to teach the most important truths by the most pleasing precepts, and therefore relates some great event in the most affecting manner. History must supply the writer with the rudiments of narration, which he must improve and exalt by a nobler art, animate by dramatick energy, and diversify by retrospection and anticipation; morality must teach him the exact bounds, and different shades, of vice and virtue: from policy, and the practice of life,

life, he has to learn the diſcriminations of character, and the tendency of the paſſions, either ſingle or combined; and phyſiology muſt ſupply him with illuſtrations and image. To put theſe materials to poetical uſe, is required an imagination capable of painting nature, and realizing fiction. Nor is he yet a poet till he has attained the whole extenſion of his language, diſtinguiſhed all the delicacies of phraſe, and all the colours of words, and learned to adjuſt their different ſounds to all the varieties of metrical modulation.

Boſſu is of opinion that the poet's firſt work is to find a *moral*, which his fable is afterwards to illuſtrate and eſtabliſh. This ſeems to have been the proceſs only of Milton; the moral of other poems is incidental and conſequent; in Milton's only it is eſſential and intrinſick. His purpoſe was the moſt uſeful and the moſt arduous; *to vindicate the ways of God to man*; to ſhew the reaſonableneſs of religion, and the neceſſity of obedience to the Divine Law.

To convey this moral there muſt be a *fable*, a narration artfully conſtructed, ſo as to excite curioſity, and ſurpriſe expectation. In this part of his work, Milton muſt be confeſſed to have equalled every other poet. He has involved in his account of the Fall of Man the events which preceded, and thoſe that were to follow it: he has interwoven the whole ſyſtem of theology with ſuch propriety, that every part appears to be neceſſary; and ſcarcely any recital is wiſhed ſhorter for the ſake of quickening the progreſs of the main action.

The ſubject of an epick poem is naturally an event of great importance. That of Milton is not the deſtruction of a city, the conduct of a colony, or the foundation of an empire. His ſubject is the fate of worlds, the revolutions of heaven and of earth; rebellion againſt the Supreme King, raiſed by the higheſt order of created beings; the overthrow of their hoſt, and the puniſhment of their crime; the creation of a new race of reaſonable creatures; their original happineſs and innocence, their forfeiture of immortality, and their reſtoration to hope and peace.

Great events can be haſtened or retarded only by perſons of elevated dignity. Before the greatneſs diſplayed in Milton's poem, all other greatneſs ſhrinks away. The weakeſt of his agents are the higheſt and nobleſt of human beings, the original parents of mankind; with whoſe actions the elements conſented; on whoſe rectitude, or deviation of will, depended the ſtate of terreſtrial nature, and the condition of all the future inhabitants of the globe.

Of the other agents in the poem, the chief are ſuch as it is irreverence to name on ſlight occaſions. The reſt were lower powers;

> —of which the leaſt could wield
> Thoſe elements, and arm him with the force
> Of all their regions.

—powers, which only the controul of Omnipotence reſtrains from laying creation waſte, and filling the vaſt expanſe of ſpace with ruin and confuſion. To diſplay the motives and actions of beings thus ſuperior, ſo far as human reaſon

can examine them, or human imagination represent them, is the task which this mighty poet has undertaken and performed.

In the examination of epick poems, much speculation is commonly employed upon the *characters*. The characters in the *Paradise Loſt*, which admit of examination, are those of angels and of man; of angels good and evil; of man in his innocent and sinful state.

Among the angels, the virtue of Raphael is mild and placid, of easy condescension and free communication; that of Michael is regal and lofty, and, as may seem, attentive to the dignity of his own nature. Abdiel and Gabriel appear occasionally, and act as every incident requires; the solitary fidelity of Abdiel is very amiably painted.

Of the evil angels the characters are more diversified. To Satan, as Addison observes, such sentiments are given as suit *the most exalted and most depraved being*. Milton has been censured, by Clark, for the impiety which sometimes breaks from Satan's mouth. For there are thoughts, as he justly remarks, which no observation of character can justify, because no good man would willingly permit them to pass, however transiently, through his own mind. To make Satan speak as a rebel, without any such expressions as might taint the reader's imagination, was indeed one of the great difficulties in Milton's undertaking, and I cannot but think that he has extricated himself with great happiness. There is in Satan's speeches little that can give pain to a pious ear. The language of rebellion cannot be the same with that of obedience. The malignity of Satan foams in haughtiness and obstinacy; but his expressions are commonly general, and no otherwise offensive than as they are wicked.

The other chiefs of the celestial rebellion are very judiciously discriminated in the first and second books; and the ferocious character of Moloch appears, both in the battle and the council, with exact consistency.

To Adam and to Eve are given, during their innocence, such sentiments as innocence can generate and utter. Their love is pure benevolence and mutual veneration; their repasts are without luxury, and their diligence without toil. Their addresses to their Maker have little more than the voice of admiration and gratitude. Fruition left them nothing to ask, and Innocence left them nothing to fear.

But with guilt enter distrust and discord, mutual accusation, and stubborn self-defence; they regard each other with alienated minds, and dread their Creator as the avenger of their transgression. At last they seek shelter in his mercy, soften to repentance, and melt in supplication. Both before and after the fall, the superiority of Adam is diligently sustained.

Of the *probable* and the *marvellous*, two parts of a vulgar epick poem, which immerge the critick in deep consideration, the *Paradise Loſt* requires little to be said. It contains the history of a miracle, of Creation and Redemption; it

it displays the power and the mercy of the Supreme Being; the probable therefore is marvellous, and the marvellous is probable. The substance of the narrative is truth; and as truth allows no choice, it is, like necessity, superior to rule. To the accidental or adventitious parts, as to every thing human, some slight exceptions may be made. But the main fabrick is immovably supported.

It is justly remarked by Addison, that this poem has, by the nature of its subject, the advantage above all others, that it is universally and perpetually interesting. All mankind will, through all ages, bear the same relation to Adam and to Eve, and must partake of that good and evil which extend to themselves.

Of the *machinery*, so called from Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, by which is meant the occasional interposition of supernatural power, another fertile topick of critical remarks, here is no room to speak, because every thing is done under the immediate and visible direction of heaven; but the rule is so far observed, that no part of the action could have been accomplished by any other means.

Of *episodes*, I think there are only two, contained in Raphael's relation of the war in heaven, and Michael's prophetick account of the changes to happen in this world. Both are closely connected with the great action; one was necessary to Adam as a warning, the other as a consolation.

To the compleatness or *integrity* of the design nothing can be objected; it has distinctly and clearly what Aristotle requires, a beginning, a middle, and an end. There is perhaps no poem, of the same length, from which so little can be taken without apparent mutilation. Here are no funeral games, nor is there any long description of a shield. The short digressions at the beginning of the third, seventh, and ninth books, might doubtless be spared; but superfluities so beautiful, who would take away? or who does not wish that the author of the *Iliad* had gratified succeeding ages with a little knowledge of himself? Perhaps no passages are more frequently or more attentively read than those extrinsick paragraphs; and, since the end of poetry is pleasure, that cannot be unpoetical with which all are pleased.

The questions, whether the action of the poem be strictly *one*, whether the poem can be properly termed *heroick*, and who is the hero, are raised by such readers as draw their principles of judgement rather from books than from reason. Milton, though he intituled *Paradise Lost* only a *poem*, yet calls it himself *heroick song*. Dryden, petulantly and indecently, denies the heroism of Adam, because he was overcome; but there is no reason why the hero should not be unfortunate, except established practice, since success and virtue do not go necessarily together. Cato is the hero of Lucan; but Lucan's authority will not be suffered by Quintilian to decide. However, if success be necessary, Adam's deceiver was at last crushed; Adam was restored to

to his Maker's favour, and therefore may ſecurely reſume his human rank.

After the ſcheme and fabrick of the poem, muſt be conſidered its component parts, the ſentiments and the diction.

The *ſentiments*, as expreſſive of manners, or appropriated to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably juſt.

Splendid paſſages, containing leſſons of morality, or precepts of prudence, occur ſeldom. Such is the original formation of this poem, that, as it admits no human manners till the fall, it can give little aſſiſtance to human conduct. Its end is to raiſe the thoughts above ſublunary cares or pleaſures. Yet the praiſe of that fortitude, with which Abdiel maintained his ſingularity of virtue againſt the ſcorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times; and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curioſity after the planetary motions, with the anſwer returned by Adam, may be confidently oppoſed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

The thoughts which are occaſionally called forth in the progreſs, are ſuch as could only be produced by an imagination in the higheſt degree fervid and active, to which materials were ſupplied by inceſſant ſtudy and unlimited curioſity. The heat of Milton's mind might be ſaid to ſublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the ſpirit of ſcience, unmingled with its groſſer parts.

He had conſidered creation in its whole extent, and his deſcriptions are therefore learned. He had accuſtomed his imagination to unreſtrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extenſive. The characteriſtick quality of his poem is ſublimity. He ſometimes deſcends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occaſionally inveſt himſelf with grace; but his natural port is gigantick loftineſs*. He can pleaſe when pleaſure is required; but it is his peculiar power to aſtoniſh.

He ſeems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that nature had beſtowed upon him more bountifully than upon others; the power of diſplaying the vaſt, illuminating the ſplendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful: he therefore choſe a ſubject on which too much could not be ſaid, on which he might tire his fancy without the cenſure of extravagance.

The appearances of nature, and the occurrences of life, did not ſatiate his appetite of greatneſs. To paint things as they are, requires a minute attention, and employs the memory rather than the fancy. Milton's delight was to ſport in the wide regions of poſſibility; reality was a ſcene too narrow for his mind. He ſent his faculties out upon diſcovery, into worlds where only imagination can travel, and delighted to form new modes of exiſtence, and furniſh ſentiment and action to ſuperior beings, to trace the counſels of hell, or accompany the choirs of heaven.

But he could not be always in other worlds: he muſt ſometimes reviſit

* Algarotti terms it *giganteſca ſublimità Miltoniana.*

reviſit earth, and tell of things viſible and known. When he cannot raiſe wonder by the ſublimity of his mind, he gives delight by its fertility.

Whatever be his ſubject, he never fails to fill the imagination. But his images and deſcriptions of the ſcenes or operations of nature do not ſeem to be always copied from original form, nor to have the freſhneſs, raciness, and energy of immediate obſervation. He ſaw nature, as Dryden expreſſes it, *through the ſpectacles of books*; and on moſt occaſions calls learning to his aſſiſtance. The garden of Eden brings to his mind the vale of *Enna*, where Proſerpine was gathering flowers. Satan makes his way through fighting elements, like *Argo* between the *Cyanean* rocks, or *Ulyſſes* between the two *Sicilian* whirlpools, when he ſhunned *Charybdis* on the *larboard*. The mythological alluſions have been juſtly cenſured, as not being always uſed with notice of their vanity; but they contribute variety to the narration, and produce an alternate exerciſe of the memory and the fancy.

His ſimilies are leſs numerous, and more various, than thoſe of his predeceſſors. But he does not confine himſelf within the limits of rigorous compariſon: his great excellence is amplitude, and he expands the adventitious image beyond the dimenſions which the occaſion required. Thus, comparing the ſhield of Satan to the orb of the Moon, he crowds the imagination with the diſcovery of the teleſcope, and all the wonders which the teleſcope diſcovers.

Of his moral ſentiments it is hardly praiſe to affirm that they excel thoſe of all other poets; for this ſuperiority he was indebted to his acquaintance with the ſacred writings. The ancient epick poets, wanting the light of Revelation, were very unſkilful teachers of virtue: their principal characters may be great, but they are not amiable. The reader may riſe from their works with a greater degree of active or paſſive fortitude, and ſometimes of prudence; but he will be able to carry away few precepts of juſtice, and none of mercy.

From the Italian writers it appears, that the advantages of even Chriſtian knowledge may be poſſeſſed in vain. Arioſto's pravity is generally known; and though the *deliverance of Jeruſalem* may be conſidered as a ſacred ſubject, the poet has been very ſparing of moral inſtruction.

In Milton every line breathes ſanctity of thought, and purity of manners, except when the train of the narration requires the introduction of the rebellious ſpirits; and even they are compelled to acknowledge their ſubjection to God, in ſuch a manner as excites reverence and confirms piety.

Of human beings there are but two; but thoſe two are the parents of mankind, venerable before their fall for dignity and innocence, and amiable after it for repentance and ſubmiſſion. In their firſt ſtate their affection is tender without weakneſs, and their piety ſublime without preſumption. When they have ſinned, they ſhew how diſcord begins in natural frailty, and how it ought to ceaſe in mutual for-

forbearance; how confidence of the divine favour is forfeited by ſin, and how hope of pardon may be obtained by penitence and prayer. A ſtate of innocence we can only conceive, if indeed, in our preſent miſery, it be poſſible to conceive it; but the ſentiments and worſhip proper to a fallen and offending being, we have all to learn, as we have all to practiſe.

The poet, whatever be done, is always great. Our progenitors, in their firſt ſtate, converſed with angels; even when folly and ſin had degraded them, they had not in their humiliation *the port of mean ſuitors*; and they riſe again to reverential regard, when we find that their prayers were heard.

As human paſſions did not enter the world before the fall, there is in the *Paradiſe Loſt* little opportunity for the pathetick; but what little there is has not been loſt. That paſſion which is peculiar to rational nature, the anguiſh ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of tranſgreſſion, and the horrors attending the ſenſe of the Divine diſpleaſure, are very juſtly deſcribed and forcibly impreſſed. But the paſſions are moved only on one occaſion; ſublimity is the general and prevailing quality in this poem; ſublimity variouſly modified, ſometimes deſcriptive, ſometimes argumentative.

The defects and faults of *Paradiſe Loſt*, for faults and defects every work of man muſt have, it is the buſineſs of impartial criticiſm to diſcover. As, in diſplaying the excellence of Milton, I have not made long quotations, becauſe of ſelecting beauties there had been no end, I ſhall in the ſame general manner mention that which ſeems to deſerve cenſure; for what Engliſhman can take delight in tranſcribing paſſages, which, if they leſſen the reputation of Milton, diminiſh in ſome degree the honour of our country?

The generality of my ſcheme does not admit the frequent notice of verbal inaccuracies; which Bentley, perhaps better ſkilled in grammar than in poetry, has often found, though he ſometimes made them, and which he imputed to the obtruſions of a reviſer whom the author's blindneſs obliged him to employ. A ſuppoſition raſh and groundleſs, if he thought it true; and vile and pernicious, if, as is ſaid, he in private allowed it to be falſe.

The plan of *Paradiſe Loſt* has this inconvenience, that it compriſes neither human actions nor human manners. The man and woman who act and ſuffer, are in a ſtate which no other man or woman can ever know. The reader finds no tranſaction in which he can be engaged; beholds no condition in which he can by any effort of imagination place himſelf; he has, therefore, little natural curioſity or ſympathy.

We all, indeed, feel the effects of Adam's diſobedience; we all ſin like Adam, and like him muſt all bewail our offences; we have reſtleſs and inſidious enemies in the fallen angels, and in the bleſſed ſpirits we have guardians and friends; in the redemption of mankind we hope to be included; and in the deſcription of heaven and hell we are ſurely intereſted, as we are all to reſide hereafter either in the regions of horror or of bliſs.

But theſe truths are too important to be new; they have been taught to our infancy; they have mingled with our ſolitary thoughts and familiar converſation, and are habitually interwoven with the whole texture of life. Being therefore not new, they raiſe no unacuſtomed emotion in the mind; what we knew before we cannot learn; what is not unexpected cannot ſurpriſe.

Of the ideas ſuggeſted by theſe awful ſcenes, from ſome we recede with reverence, except when ſtated hours require their aſſociation; and from others we ſhrink with horror, or admit them only as ſalutary inflictions, as counterpoiſes to our intereſts and paſſions. Such images rather obſtruct the career of fancy than excite it.

Pleaſure and terror are indeed the genuine ſources of poetry; but poetical pleaſure muſt be ſuch as human imagination can at leaſt conceive, and poetical terror ſuch as human ſtrength and fortitude may combat. The good and evil of eternity are too ponderous for the wings of wit; the mind ſinks under them in paſſive helpleſſneſs, content with calm belief and humble adoration.

Known truths, however, may take a different appearance, and be conveyed to the mind by a new train of intermediate images. This Milton has undertaken, and performed with pregnancy and vigour of mind peculiar to himſelf. Whoever conſiders the few radical poſitions which the Scriptures afforded him, will wonder by what energetick operation he expanded them to ſuch extent, and ramified them to ſo much variety, reſtrained as he was by religious reverence from licentiouſneſs of fiction.

Here is a full diſplay of the united force of ſtudy and genius; of a great accumulation of materials, with judgment to digeſt, and fancy to combine them: Milton was able to ſelect from nature, or from ſtory, from ancient fable, or from modern ſcience, whatever could illuſtrate or adorn his thoughts. An accumulation of knowledge impregnated his mind, fermented by ſtudy, and ſublimed by imagination.

It has been therefore ſaid, without an indecent hyperbole, by one of his encomiaſts, that in reading *Paradiſe Loſt* we read a book of univerſal knowledge.

But original deficience cannot be ſupplied. The want of human intereſt is always felt. *Paradiſe Loſt* is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down, and forgets to take up again. Its peruſal is a duty rather than a pleaſure. We read Milton for inſtruction, retire harraſſed and overburdened, and look elſewhere for recreation; we deſert our maſter, and ſeek for companions.

Another inconvenience of Milton's deſign is, that it requires the deſcription of what cannot be deſcribed, the agency of ſpirits. He ſaw that immateriality ſupplied no images, and that he could not ſhow angels acting but by inſtruments of action; he therefore inveſted them with form and matter. This, being neceſſary, was therefore defenſible; and he ſhould have ſecured the conſiſtency of his ſyſtem, by keeping immateriality out of ſight, and enticing his reader to drop it from his thoughts.

But he has unhappily perplexed his poetry with his philoſophy. His infernal and celeſtial powers are ſometimes pure ſpirit, and ſometimes animated body. When Satan walks with his lance upon the *burning marle*, he has a body; when in his paſſage between hell and the new world, he is in danger of ſinking in the vacuity, and is ſupported by a guſt of riſing vapours, he has a body; when he animates the toad, he ſeems to be mere ſpirit, that can penetrate matter at pleaſure; when he *ſtarts up in his own ſhape*, he has at leaſt a determined form; and when he is brought before Gabriel, he has *a ſpear and ſhield*, which he had the power of hiding in the toad, though the arms of the contending angels are evidently material.

The vulgar inhabitants of Pandæmonium being *incorporeal ſpirits*, are *at large, though without number*, in a limited ſpace; yet in the battle, when they were overwhelmed by mountains, their armour hurt them, *cruſhed in upon their ſubſtance, now grown groſs by ſinning*. This likewiſe happened to the uncorrupted angels, who were overthrown *the ſooner for their arms*, for *unarmed they might eaſily as ſpirits have evaded by contraction, or remove*. Even as ſpirits they are hardly ſpiritual; for *contraction* and *remove* are images of matter; but if they could have eſcaped without their armour, they might have eſcaped from it, and left only the empty cover to be battered. Uriel, when he rides on a ſun-beam, is material: Satan is material when he is afraid of the proweſs of Adam.

The confuſion of ſpirit and matter which pervades the whole narration of the war of heaven fills it with incongruity; and the book, in which it is related, is, I believe, the favourite of children, and gradually neglected as knowledge is increaſed.

After the operation of immaterial agents, which cannot be explained, may be conſidered that of allegorical perſons, which have no real exiſtence. To exalt cauſes into agents, to inveſt abſtract ideas with form, and animate them with activity, has always been the right of poetry. But ſuch airy beings are, for the moſt part, ſuffered only to do their natural office; and retire. Thus Fame tells a tale, and Victory hovers over a general, or perches on a ſtandard; but Fame and Victory can do no more. To give them any real employment, or aſcribe to them any material agency, is to make them allegorical no longer, but to ſhock the mind by aſcribing effects to non-entity. In the *Prometheus* of Æſchylus, we ſee *Violence* and *Strength*, and in the *Alceſtis* of Euripides, we ſee *Death* brought upon the ſtage, all as active perſons of the drama; but no precedents can juſtify abſurdity.

Milton's allegory of Sin and Death is undoubtedly faulty. Sin is indeed the mother of Death, and may be allowed to be the portreſs of hell; but when they ſtop the journey of Satan, a journey deſcribed as real, and when Death offers him battle, the allegory is broken. That Sin and Death ſhould have ſhewn the way to hell might have been allowed; but they cannot facilitate the paſſage by building a bridge, becauſe the difficulty of Satan's paſſage is deſcribed as real and ſenſible, and

the bridge ought to be only figurative. The hell assigned to the rebellious spirits is described as not less local than the residence of man. It is placed in some distant part of space, separated from the regions of harmony and order by a chaotick waste and an unoccupied vacuity; but *Sin* and *Death* worked up a *mole* of *aggregated soil*, cemented with *asphaltus*; a work too bulky for ideal architects.

This unskilful allegory appears to me one of the greatest faults of the poem; and to this there was no temptation, but the author's opinion of its beauty.

To the conduct of the narrative some objections may be made. Satan is with great expectation brought before Gabriel in Paradise, and is suffered to go away unmolested. The creation of man is represented as the consequence of the vacuity left in heaven by the expulsion of the rebels, yet Satan mentions it as a report *rife in heaven* before his departure.

To find sentiments for the state of innocence, was very difficult; and something of anticipation perhaps is now and then discovered. Adam's discourse of dreams seems not to be the speculation of a new-created being. I know not whether his answer to the angel's reproof for curiosity does not want something of propriety: it is the speech of a man acquainted with many other men. Some philosophical notions, especially when the philosophy is false, might have been better omitted. The angel, in a comparison, speaks of *timorous deer*, before deer were yet timorous, and before Adam could understand the comparison.

Dryden remarks, that Milton has some flats among his elevations. This is only to say that all the parts are not equal. In every work one part must be for the sake of others; a palace must have passages; a poem must have transitions. It is no more to be required that wit should always be blazing, than that the sun should always stand at noon. In a great work there is a vicissitude of luminous and opake parts, as there is in the world a succession of day and night. Milton, when he has expatiated in the sky, may be allowed sometimes to revisit earth; for what other author ever soared so high, or sustained his flight so long?

Milton, being well versed in the Italian poets, appears to have borrowed often from them; and, as every man learns something from his companions, his desire of imitating Ariosto's levity has disgraced his work with the *Paradise of Fools*; a fiction not in itself ill-imagined, but too ludicrous for its place.

His play on words, in which he delights too often; his equivocations, which Bentley endeavours to defend by the example of the ancients; his unnecessary and ungraceful use of terms of art, it is not necessary to mention, because they are easily marked and generally censured, and at last bear so little proportion to the whole, that they scarcely deserve the attention of a critick.

Such are the faults of that wonderful performance, *Paradise Lost*; which he who can put in balance with its beauties must be considered not as nice but as dull, as less

to be cenſured for want of candour than pitied for want of ſenſibility.

Of *Paradiſe Regained*, the general judgement ſeems now to be right, that it is in many parts elegant, and every-where inſtructive. It was not to be ſuppoſed that the writer of *Paradiſe Loſt* could ever write without great effuſions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wiſdom. The baſis of *Paradiſe Regained* is narrow; a dialogue without action can never pleaſe like an union of the narrative and dramatick powers. Had this poem been written not by Milton, but by ſome imitator, it would have claimed and received univerſal praiſe.

Of the Cuſtoms and Characters of Women in the Eaſt. From Richardſon *on the Languages, &c. of Eaſtern Nations.*

TRAVELLERS, in general, do not appear to have conceived a juſt idea of the ſituation of Women in many Eaſtern countries. They are, for the moſt part, conſidered by them as of ſmall conſequence in the ſtate: they are repreſented as mere ſlaves to the paſſions of the ſtronger ſex: and, becauſe the great men keep many beautiful Circaſſians locked up from public view, a proper diſtinction does not ſeem always to have been made between them and free-born women. But an attention to the languages and cuſtoms of Aſia, will give us reaſon to believe, that ſuch indiſcriminate obſervations are partial, ſuperficial, and inconcluſive. I have already thrown out ſome ideas on this ſubject: and ſhall here offer a few more facts, which appear to ſtrengthen my opinion.

In Arabia, very early, we find the women in high conſideration; and poſſeſſing privileges hardly inferior to thoſe which they enjoy in the moſt enlightened countries of Europe. They had a right, by the laws, to the enjoyment of independent property, by inheritance, by gift, by marriage-ſettlement, or by any other mode of acquiſition. The wife had a regular dower, which ſhe was to enjoy in full right after the demiſe of her huſband: and ſhe had alſo a kind of pin-money, or paraphernalia, which ſhe might diſpoſe of in her life-time, or bequeath at her death, without his knowledge or conſent.

To this conſideration and weight, which property, by the laws and cuſtoms of the Arabians, gave to the female ſex, it may even perhaps be no extravagant ſtretch of thought, to trace the ſucceſs, if not the origin, of a religion, which, from the extenſiveneſs of its operations, may be conſidered as one of the greateſt events in the hiſtory of mankind. Poverty, as Cardinal de Retz juſtly obſerves, is the grave of many a great deſign. And ſo low in circumſtances was Mohammed, in the early part of life, that had it not been for the weight and power which he derived from his marriage with a rich widow, his enthuſiaſm might, perhaps, have juſt exiſted and expired with himſelf. His father Abdallah was a younger ſon of Abdollmotalleb, chief of the Koreiſh tribe; but, dying young, he left Mohammed and his mother, for all their eſtate, only five camels and an Ethiopian ſlave.

When he arrived at man's eſtate, his fortune was, of conſequence, ſo humble, that he was recommended by his uncle as factor to the widow Khadijah; who carried on an extenſive trade with Syria and other countries. This lady was of a noble family, and of the ſame tribe. She had been twice married; ſhe had been largely left by both huſbands: and had improved the whole by commerce. Her young factor was eſteemed the handſomeſt man of his age: his genius was quick: and his addreſs inſinuating. She made him her third huſband; and, with her hand, ſhe gave him the diſpoſal of her fortune. Being a man of birth, this raiſed him at once, from a menial ſtation, to a level with the firſt nobles of Arabia; and gave him conſequence, independence, and leiſure, ſufficient to prepare the plans for his future greatneſs. It was fifteen years after this marriage before he publicly aſſumed the prophetic character: and he then met with ſuch vigorous oppoſition, particularly from the leading men of his own tribe, that, nearly cruſhed as he often was, he muſt probably have been quite overwhelmed; had not his riches, by increaſing his power, his importance, and his proſelytes, furniſhed him with reſources to overcome difficulties; which might otherwiſe have baffled all the vigour of his genius.

The Prophet, at his death, left many widows: four of whom, whilſt they lived, had conſiderable weight in the councils of the Arabs. But the influence of Ayeſha, whom they dignified with the title of *Mother of the Faithful*, was almoſt unbounded. Ali, as ſon-in-law and couſin-german to Mohammed, was generally conſidered as his ſucceſſor: but he had incurred the diſpleaſure of Ayeſha, whom he had once, with many others, accuſed of incontinence: and ſhe never forgave him. Her father Abubeker owed his elevation to the Khalifat chiefly to her addreſs. Upon his deceaſe, ſhe ſupported Omar. She was chief conſpirator againſt Othman, the ſucceſſor of Omar. And when Ali, at length, ſucceeded to the Khalifat, ſhe headed a formidable rebellion againſt him. She took Baſrah; and gave him battle near that place. This famous action is called *Yumu' l'jamal*, the *day of the camel*, from a large white one, upon which ſhe was mounted. She rode through the ranks; and, to animate her troops, ſhe drove into the thickeſt of the battle. Seventy hands, it is ſaid, were ſtruck off, in attempting to ſeize her bridle. And, when the legs of her camel were at length cut off, the carriage in which ſhe ſat reſembled a porcupine, from the number of javelins and arrows with which it was transfixed. The ſuperior generalſhip of Ali prevailed; her army, though more numerous, was routed; and ſhe fell into the hands of the Khalif. When brought before him, he ſaid, "What doſt thou think of the "work of God to thee?" She anſwered, "Thou haſt conquer-"ed, O Ali! be merciful." The generous Ali did ſhow her mercy. He ſent her to Medina, attended by ſeventy women in men's apparel; where ſhe was ordered to confine herſelf to her houſe, and to meddle no more in ſtate affairs. On the death of Ali, however, ſhe recovered her influence; and, many

many years afterwards, when Moawiyah wiſhed to make the Khalifat hereditary in his family, he thought it neceſſary to ſecure her intereſt, by a preſent of bracelets valued at 150,000 dinars, near 70,000 l.

The Arabian women of rank ſeem indeed to have taken a very active concern both in civil and military affairs. At the battle of Ohod, where Mohammed was defeated by the Pagan Meccans, the reſerve, we find, was led on by Henda, the wife of Abu Sofian, a man of the firſt rank. She was accompanied by fifteen other women of diſtinction; who, with muſic and exhortations, animated the troops. By their ſpirit and reproaches they were repeatedly rallied, when retiring before Mohammed: and by them, in a great meaſure, was the fortune of the day decided.

One of the moſt conſiderable of the prophet's oppoſers, was a lady called Forka; who ſeems to have anſwered exactly the deſcription of a feudal peereſs in the middle ages of Europe. She was poſſeſſed of territory, of a caſtle, and of great riches and conſideration. Her troops had checked the inroads of the Prophet's marauding parties; and Zeid, one of his chief generals, was ſent to reduce her to obedience. The defence of her caſtle was obſtinate: but it was at length taken by ſtorm: and the lady, with part of her garriſon, were killed. Amongſt other captives was Forka's young daughter and heireſs; who, with all her wealth, became the prize of the conqueror.

Many other examples might be given; but it may be ſufficient, for the preſent ſubject, to obſerve in general, that the dignified behaviour, which diſtinguiſhed the Arabian women, long before and after Mohammed, points clearly to a conſciouſneſs of their own importance: to which an habitual ſlavery and ſubjection could never poſſibly have given birth.

Numberleſs inſtances of the conſequence of women might be brought alſo from Perſia, Tartary, and other Eaſtern countries. But I muſt again beg the reader to remember, that the limits of theſe ſketches will not permit me to enter into details; or to preſent to his attention any thing but mere outlines. It is certain, among other privileges, that they poſſeſſed the right of ſucceſſion to the throne; and often acted as regents during the minority of their ſons. Touran dokht and Azurmi dokht, the daughters of Khofrou Parvis, were ſucceſſively the reigning queens of Perſia, a few years before the Mohammedan conqueſt.—About the beginning of the tenth century, queen Seidet was regent, during the non-age of her ſon, and governed with much wiſdom. When he took the reins of government, he appointed the famous phyſician Avicenna to be his vizir. But, public affairs being managed with much imprudence, the queen mother, finding herſelf treated with indignity, retired from court; and, raiſing an army, defeated her ſon: whom, nevertheleſs, ſhe reſtored to the throne; and aſſiſted, from that time, with her councils. The kingdom flouriſhed whilſt ſhe lived: but on her death, the powerful Sultan Mahmoud of Ghezna, who had ever treated her with much reſpect, attacked her diſſipated ſon, and annexed Perſia to his empire.

According

According to Abulgazi Khan, by the ancient laws of the Moguls, a prince could not reign till he was thirty years of age: on which occaſions, the queen mother acted always as regent. He gives an inſtance, in this place, of a princeſs, named Alanca, (from whom Jengiz Khan derived deſcent) who governed her people, for many years, during the minority of her ſon. Turkhan Khatun, a Tartar lady, mother of Mohammed, Sultan of Kharezmé, was a princeſs of uncommon abilities, and had ſuch an aſcendancy over her ſon, that ſhe, in a great meaſure, governed the kingdom; which, before the invaſion of Jengiz Khan, was conſidered as the moſt powerful in the Eaſt: and the court the moſt magnificent and polite. Yet ladies of the firſt diſtinction thought it not inconſiſtent with the delicacy of their ſex to take the field againſt the Moguls. They made alſo many ſallies during the ſiege of the capital; which held out, near twelve months, againſt a prodigious army commanded by three of Jengiz Khan's ſons. And, when it was taken at laſt by aſſault, the inhabitants, male and female, retired, fighting, from houſe to houſe, and from ſtreet to ſtreet; till, according to the loweſt computation, above a hundred thouſand were killed. The ſpirit, indeed, of the Kharezmian women, has induced ſome writers to conſider them as the deſcendants of the ancient Amazons.

The Vizir Nezam gives many inſtances of the political influence of the Women in Eaſtern courts; and is at infinite pains to adviſe his ſon to pay to them the higheſt attention. He divides the court into four claſſes, at the head of which he places the Women: and obſerves, that much of his ſucceſs will depend upon the manner in which he conducts himſelf towards them. The firſt claſs that claims your notice, ſays he, are the principal Women: the next, the King's Sons: after them, the great Omras: and, laſt of all, the inferior Miniſters. — Altun Taſh, continues the Vizir, was the firſt Omra of the Divan, in the reign of Sultan Mahmoud of Ghezna. When the government of Kharezmé being vacant, he ſolicited the appointment. As he was eſteemed the chief pillar of the throne, the court was ſurprized, that he ſhould have accepted it. And a friend begging of him to know, what could induce him to reſign the power he had over ſo vaſt an empire, to take the charge of a corner: Altum Taſh replied, "By the "God who created heaven and "earth, the ſecret which I ſhall "now diſcloſe to you I have not "revealed to any living ſoul. It "was the enmity of Jemila Kan-"dahari, and that only, which "made me give up the power I "had over this great empire. "For, many years have the affairs "thereof been under my manage-"ment: and, in that time, what-"ever I tied ſhe unlooſed; and "whatever I unlooſed ſhe tied. "What ſhe reſolved upon I was "incapable of oppoſing; and "whatever ſhe oppoſed it was in "vain for me to attempt. Vexed "with being continually foiled, "and unable to apply a remedy, "the world appeared dark in my "eyes; and I voluntarily threw "myſelf into this retirement, "where I truſt in God I ſhall be "ſafe

" ſafe from the effects of her re-
" ſentment." We muſt not ſuppoſe, that this female influence was thus powerful in the court of a weak or a diſſipated prince: for Mahmoud was one of the greateſt monarchs that ever reigned: almoſt the whole of his great empire he had conquered himſelf; and it was governed intirely under his own inſpection. Jemila Kandahari appears to have been the firſt lady of the bed-chamber to Mahmoud's Sultana: and her reſentment againſt Altun Taſh, was owing to his oppoſition to the Vizir Ahmen Haſſan, whom ſhe patronized. Gallantry, at the ſame time, does not appear to have had any concern in her operations: for Nezam obſerves, that, though her favourite Ahmed correſponded with her often, they did not ſee one another perhaps once in twelve months.

Marriage ſettlements and portions given with daughters, or ſiſters, appear to be of great antiquity in Arabia: for, long before Mohammed, they had refined ſo much upon them, that it became common, where two men were obliged to give great fortunes with their female relations, to evade payment, by making a double marriage; one eſpouſing the daughter or ſiſter of the other; and giving his daughter or ſiſter in return. This practice, which they called *Shigar*, probably with the view of encouraging alliances among different tribes, or preventing too much wealth from accumulating in particular families, Mohammed declared to be illegal in the Alcoran.—The ſeparate property, or paraphernalia, which the wife enjoyed, ſeems to have been the produce of ſuch preſents as the bride received from her friends, or from her future huſband, before marriage. Thoſe of the bridegroom, which were called *Nukl*, had no fixed medium; being proportioned to his affection, to his fortune, and often to his oſtentation.: for it was cuſtomary to ſend thoſe preſents, a day or two before the nuptials, with great pomp, from his houſe to the dwelling of the bride. And although the whole might have been carried, perhaps with eaſe, by one or two camels, horſes, or ſervants, they would frequently make a proceſſion of ten, twenty, thirty, or more: every one bearing ſomething, ſet off with ornaments, in a gay ſhewy manner.

Their marriage ceremonies, in the Eaſt, ſeem indeed to have been, in all times, attended with much feſtivity and public parade. All the friends of both families aſſembled: and, where the fortune or the vanity of the bridegroom, or father of the bride, were conſiderable, they were in general very expenſive. The nuptials of perſons of high rank, were aſtoniſhingly ſplendid. The marriage of the Khalif Almamoun with the daughter of Haſſan Sahal, governor of Babylonian Irak, was attended with almoſt incredible expence. Slaves of both ſexes, with other rich preſents, were ſent by the governor to every grandee. He defrayed the expence of the whole court and of the Khaliff's guards, during that prince's reſidence at Fommalſaleh, where Haſſan Sahal generally lived. The roads from thence to Baghdad, for near a hundred miles, were covered with mats of gold and ſilver ſtuff: and the bride's head-dreſs was adorned with

with a thouſand pearls; each, (if there is no miſtake or exaggeration) of the ſize of a pigeon's egg or of a large nut: which the Khalif immediately ſettled on her, as part of her dower.

Even upon ordinary occaſions it was uſual to throw amongſt the populace, as the proceſſion moved along, money, ſweetmeats, flowers, and other articles; which the people catched in cloths, made for ſuch occaſions, ſtretched in a particular manner upon frames. With regard to the money, however, there appears often to have been a mixture of œconomy, or rather of deception; which probably aroſe from the neceſſity of complying with a cuſtom, that might be ill ſuited to the fortunes of ſome, and to the avarice of others: for we find, that it was not uncommon to collect bad money, called *kelb*, at a low price, to throw away at nuptial proceſſions.

The bride, on the day of marriage, was conducted with great ceremony by her friends to her huſband's houſe; and immediately on her arrival, ſhe made him a variety of preſents; eſpecially of houſhold furniture, with a ſpear, and a tent. There ſeems to be a curious ſimilitude, in ſome of thoſe ceremonies, to cuſtoms which prevailed amongſt the old Germans, before they left their foreſts; as well as among the Gothic nations, after they were eſtabliſhed in their conqueſts. Tacitus obſerves, that the German bridegrooms and brides made each other reciprocal preſents; and particularly of arms and cattle. The gifts made to the Eaſtern bride appear likewiſe to have been upon the ſame principles with the *Morgengabe*, or *Morning gift*, which it was common for the European huſband, in the early and middle ages, to preſent to his wife the morning after marriage. And, whilſt the dower, in both, ſeems to have reverted, upon the death of the widow, to the kindred of the huſband, the preſents were left entirely at her own diſpoſal.

A man, without the interpoſition of the law, might divorce his wife, provided he paid to her whatever dower had been ſettled by the marriage contract: unleſs he could prove, to the ſatisfaction of her aſſembled friends, that her conduct had given ſufficient cauſe for the ſeparation: in which caſe, her fortune and ſettlements were forfeited. The wife had alſo the ſame power of divorce, if ſhe diſliked her huſband: but then ſhe relinquiſhed her ſettlements, and returned all the preſents ſhe had received from him before or after marriage. A man might re-marry his divorced wife, even unto the third time; beyond which it was unlawful. The form of repudiation was very conciſe: the huſband ſaying only, "Get thee "gone, I care not for thee." Yet ſimple as it was, they conſidered it as ſo binding, that if a couple lived afterwards together, without the ceremony of a re-marriage, it was reckoned infamous, and viewed in the ſame light as adultery.

Temporary marriages are common in many parts of the Eaſt. The Arabians call them *Almutah*. The Alcoran ſpeaks rather equivocally with regard to them; which has opened a field for much difference of opinion among the Mohammedan lawyers. About the beginning of the ninth century they

they were interdicted by the Khalif Almamoun: but they were never entirely discontinued; and are now very common. They are contracted by a written indenture, witnessed by the Cadhi; and a certain sum is settled upon the woman, to be paid to her on the expiration of the term; when the engagement may either be renewed or finally dissolved. The offsping of such connexions cannot inherit.

A singular matrimonial custom, we may here remark, somewhat resembling the above, prevailed of old in many parts of Europe. Men of rank, who had lost their wives, but had children, to avoid burthening their estates, might marry low-born women; who, bringing no fortune, were intitled to no dower. These contracts (according to Baron von Lowhen) are still prevalent in Germany; where they are stiled *Left-handed marriages:* it being a part of the ceremony for the bridegroom to give his left hand to the bride. The children of such marriages are not capable of inheriting; and bear neither the name nor arms of the father.

We find in Scripture, that when a man died, leaving no issue by his wife, it was sometimes incumbent upon his next unmarried brother to espouse the widow. A custom similar to this, is not only found among the Arabians, but another still more strange. For where a father left one or more widows, the sons often married them, provided they were not their own mothers. This usage was suppressed by Mohammed: and it appears, even before his time, to have been marked with a degree of detestation: the word *Makt*, which denotes this species of marriage, signifying also *hatred* and *enmity*. Marrying a brother's widow, if childless, is still customary in some parts of Tartary; particularly in Circassia. And Abulgazi Khan mentions several princes who had married their step-mothers. He seems indeed to consider it as a thing of course: and particularly tells us, that Octai Khan married one of the widows of his father Jengiz Khan. But what has most surprized me, is to find so odd a custom prevailing even in Scotland, so late as the eleventh century: it being mentioned by Lord Hailes in his Annals; who supposes, that it might have originated from avarice, in order to relieve the heir from the payment of a jointure.

An institution, we are informed, was introduced or revived among the Moguls and Tartars by Jengiz Khan, which appears to have been founded on the principles of sound political wisdom: two families, though all their children were dead, being permitted to form a matrimonial alliance, by marrying the deceased son of one to the deceased daughter of the other. These nuptials had often most salutary consequences; hostile tribes having been united by this imaginary tie, when all other means of pacification had failed. And they seem even to have viewed it with more superstitious veneration than if the parties had been alive: considering any breach of treaty, after this ideal contract, as drawing upon themselves the vengeance of the departed spirits. The ancient Persians, from a notion that married people were peculiarly happy in a future state, used often

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to hire perſons, to be eſpouſed to ſuch of their relations as had died in celibacy.

It may not be quite foreign to the preſent ſubject, to make a few remarks upon ſome peculiarities in the dreſs of Eaſtern women; as even from thence ſome freſh lights may be thrown upon the female character. In all countries where dreſs has arrived at any degree of refinement, whatever is conſidered as a beauty will generally be imitated by art, where nature has denied her bounty. To this general propenſity we may trace the origin of face-painting, patches, the bolſtering of the petticoats, falſe hair, and the feathered ornaments of the head: all which we diſcover very early in the Eaſt. From the deſcription of Jezebel, and from various other paſſages in the Old Teſtament, we find, that face-painting was then faſhionable among women of rank: and from theſe words of Jeremiah, (ch. iv. 30.) "Though thou rendeſt thy "face with painting, in vain ſhalt "thou make thyſelf fair;" we plainly diſcover, that the Jewiſh women had then carried it to the vicious exceſs, of even rending and diſfiguring their faces, by repeated and intemperate uſe.

The words in Arabic and Perſian, which expreſs painting in all its ſtages, are very numerous. They paint their cheeks and alſo their nails with red; the reſt of the face, the neck, and the arms, with white; and their eyes, in a particular manner, with black, to give them a fine luſtre. Eye-painting, we find, was common in Ezekiel's time, (ch. xxiii. 40.) "Thou didſt waſh thyſelf, paint-"edſt thine eyes, and deckedſt "thyſelf with ornaments." The particular colours which the Women of Paleſtine affected, are not mentioned: but, among the Perſians and Arabians, we find not only red, black, and white, but even ſaffron and other yellow waſhes for the face. Their hair they comb with great care; and they highly perfume it with odoriferous unguents or pomatums. Tire-women are much employed: and there are even females, whoſe only buſineſs is to clean, thin, and ſharpen the teeth.

Among other faſhions, which may poſſibly have been borrowed from Aſia, are ornamental patches. Black moles on the face have been long conſidered as a ſingular beauty in the Eaſt. We have only to look into the Arabian and Perſian poets for innumerable inſtances of the enthuſiaſm with which they admired this fancied elegance. That the ladies would, of conſequence, uſe every art to imitate a beauty ſo highly prized, is extremely natural: and hence, perhaps, aroſe the faſhion of ſubſtituting imprinted marks, or patches of black ſilk, to counterfeit nature. Upon the ſame principles we may account for the number of words in the Arabic and Perſian languages which ſignify bolſtering or quilting of the petticoats, to give an appearance of that fine ſwell below the waiſt, which thoſe people eſteem as one of the greateſt elegancies of the female ſhape. Falſe hair is alſo frequently alluded to; and feathers appear to have been more generally worn, than they were even lately by the ladies of England.

I have now in my poſſeſſion a valuable eaſtern manuſcript, the property

property of General Carnac, Governor of Bombay; which he purchaſed when Commander in Chief of the Eaſt India Company's forces in Bengal, for 1000 rupees (125l.) It contains extracts from the fineſt authors, eſpecially Perſians: ſome of which are ornamented in the Eaſtern manner, with drawings of the heroes and heroines of their poems. Some of the faces have conſiderable merit: and the dreſs of the Princeſſes, when unveiled, has, in many reſpects, a reſemblance to ſome of the faſhions of Europe. They are often drawn without any head-dreſs: the hair dark; and the ringlets waving down over their neck and ſhoulders. They have frequently round their heads a kind of diadem, ſet with precious ſtones; from which riſe one or more tufts of feathers: the quills of which are ſet in ſockets of gold and gems. Sometimes they have a ſhort ſtubbed appearance; and ſometimes they are long, and flow gracefully backwards. They wear ſometimes noſe-jewels, which thoſe who have not been accuſtomed to them can never think a beauty. They have alſo ear-rings, not only in the lob, but in the upper part of the ear. Their necklaces conſiſt of many rows of jewels, the loweſt of which hang down over the boſom. Their dreſs, in general, when the upper garment is laid aſide, is fitted exactly to the ſhape; and ſeems nearly to reſemble what, I believe, is called a Jeſuit; buttoning down the breaſt, covering the neck pretty high, and the arms down to the wriſts. There is ſometimes a large ſquare jewel on the fore part of the arm, a little below the ſhoulder. Their girdles arr very broad, generally made of fine leather; and covered entirely over with embroidery and gems. Their robes are long and flowing behind: and their ancles are often encircled with a ring of gold, ornamented with jewels. Upon their head they wear ſometimes a low-crowned cap, terminating in a point, round which they wreathe ſeveral folds of fine linen or ſilk; to the top of which, when they go abroad, they faſten, with a gold bodkin, a veil which covers the face and a great part of the body. There are few of the female faces which have not one or two black moles or artificial marks; which the Perſians name *Khal*, and the Arabians *Ulteb*.—Women of inferior rank, who cannot purchaſe jewels, make their necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments, of ſmall ſhells, or beads of different coloured glaſs.

It may be obſerved, before we finiſh this article of dreſs, that face and eye-painting are alſo in uſe among the men; who pay the ſame attention to their beards, which the women pay to their hair. They perfume them highly, and often tinge them; ſometimes of a fine red, ſometimes with ſaffron, and with various other dyes. Red was the favourite colour of Mohammed, Abubeker, or Omar: and their example was greatly followed.

Biographical Anecdotes of the late Mr. Garrick.

DAVID Garrick, Eſquire, was born at Hereford, about the month of February, 1716. His grandfather was a merchant of

of French extraction, as it is ſaid, who left his native country on the revocation of the edict of Nantz in in the year 1685. This gentleman had two ſons and two daughters: one of the former became a wine-merchant at Liſbon; and the other, whoſe name was Peter, the father of the late Mr. Garrick, followed the military profeſſion, and had at the time of his death been advanced to a majority in the army. He married an Iriſh lady, and happened to be quartered at the Angel-Inn in Hereford, where his ſon David (who was baptized * the 28th of February, 1716) was born. Mr. Garrick, the father, afterwards ſettled at Litchfield, and reſided there ſeveral years. A ſhort time before his death he determined to ſell his commiſſion, and for that purpoſe entered into a treaty with a gentleman who had agreed to give him 1100*l.* for it; but, unfortunately, before the ſale was compleated he died, and left a numerous family in a great meaſure unprovided for.

His ſon David received the firſt part of his education at the free ſchool of Litchfield; and very early found a friend in Gilbert Walmſley, Eſq; † regiſter of the eccleſiaſtical court there; a gentleman then unmarried and well advanced in years, whoſe partiality ſeemed to authoriſe ſome favourable expectations of a permanent proviſion; all which however were deſtroyed by Mr. Walmſley's unexpectedly taking a wife. He, however, recommended his young friend to Mr. Colſon, maſter of the academy at Rocheſter, in order to compleat his education; and accordingly, in the month of March, 1736, Mr. Garrick left Litchfield, in company with Dr. Samuel Johnſon, who at the ſame time quitted his profeſſion of a ſchoolmaſter, and came to London, where he has ſince become one of the firſt ornaments of literature.

On the death of his father Mr. Garrick went over to Liſbon, and was received by his uncle with great kindneſs; and here perhaps he might have remained, but, that ſtrictneſs of morals which a fond relation wiſhed to ſee in his nephew not being obſerved at that place, to prevent his being corrupted, it was thought proper to ſend him back to England; his uncle ſtill preſerving a great regard for him, which he ſhewed at his death by leaving him a legacy of 1000*l.*

* The following is an extract from the regiſter book of the pariſh of All Saints in the city of Hereford: "David Garrick, the ſon of Peter and Arabella Garrick, was baptized the 28th of February, 1716."

† This gentleman was alſo the friend of Dr. Samuel Johnſon; who has given the world an account of his character in the preface to the Poems of Mr. Edmund Smith. It concludes in the following manner: "at this man's table, I "enjoyed many chearful and inſtructive hours, with companions ſuch as are "not often found; with one who has lengthened, and one who has gladdened "life; with Dr. James, whoſe ſkill in phyſick will be long remembered; and "with David Garrick, whom I hoped to have gratified with this character of "our common friend: but what are the hopes of man! I am diſappointed by "that ſtroke of death *which has eclipſed the gaiety of nations, and impoveriſhed* "*the publick ſtock of harmleſs pleaſures.*"

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It appears from Mr. Walmsley's letters, that Mr. Garrick was intended for the profession of the law; and accordingly, on the 9th day of March, 1736, immediately on his arrival in London, he was entered of the society of Lincoln's-Inn; but it is certain he never paid any attention to the study of that science; and indeed it is within the memory of many yet living, that his employment for a short time, in the interval between his return from Lisbon and his appearance on the stage, was of a nature very different from what he was first destined to, and what he afterwards pursued with so much reputation and success. We are credibly informed that he followed the business of a wine-merchant somewhere in or near Durham-Yard, being induced thereto, it may be presumed, by the encouragement and support of his uncle.

To whatever cause it was owing, we are not informed; but his success in business was not sufficient to engage his continuance in it; and this want of success might perhaps arise from his attention to a more pleasing pursuit. He had at school performed the part of Serjeant Kite with applause; and he was now prompted to employ the talents which he possessed for his immediate support. He therefore went down to Ipswich, under the name of Lyddel, and performed in a strolling company there. The part in which he first appeared was that of Aboan in Oroonoko; and the approbation he met with in this country excursion encouraged him to pursue his plan in London. He, therefore, after being (as it is reported) rejected by the manager of Covent Garden, to whom he had offered his service, engaged with Mr. Gifford, at the theatre in Goodman's Fields, in the year 1740. The character he then attempted was that of Richard the Third; and he performed it in a manner which fixed his reputation on that basis upon which it stood, as the first actor of the times, during the rest of his life. Two circumstances were observed on his first night's performance; one, that, on his entrance on the stage, he was under so much embarrassment, that for some time he was unable to speak: the other, that, having exerted himself with much vehemence in the first two acts, he became so hoarse as to be almost incapable of finishing the character. This difficulty was obviated by a person behind the scenes recommending him to take the juice of a seville orange, which he fortunately had in his pocket, and which, enabled him to go through the remainder of the character with that degree of excellence which he always afterwards shewed in the performance of it, and which produced the applause which ever after uniformly attended him in it. The person to whom he owed the seasonable relief was the late Mr. Dryden Leach, printer, who used often to tell the story to his friends.

It was during this first year of his theatrical life that he produced the farce of *The Lying Valet*; a performance which has given pleasure to numberless spectators, even after the principal character ceased to be performed by its author. At the end of the season he went over to Ireland, and in that king-

dom added both to his fortune and his fame. The next year (1742 to 1743) he performed at Drury Lane, and the year after (1743 to 1744) at the ſame theatre. At the beginning of this ſeaſon he was involved in a diſpute with Mr. Macklin, who had joined with him in oppoſing the oppreſſions of the managers. That gentleman complained that he was deſerted in the agreement made with the managers, and publiſhed a ſtate of his caſe, in a pamphlet, intitûled, "Mr. Macklin's Reply "to Mr. Garrick's Anſwer. To "which are prefixed, all the Pa"pers which have publicly ap"peared in regard to this im"portant diſpute." The next year (1744 to 1745) he continued at Drury Lane; but the ſucceeding ſeaſon (1745 to 1746) he went again to Dublin, and engaged with Mr. Sheridan as joint ſharer and adventurer in the theatre there. In May 1746, he returned to London, and performed in ſix plays at the end of that month at Covent Garden, by which, we are told, he added 300*l.* to a great ſum acquired in Ireland. He performed but one year more as an hired actor (1746 to 1747) which was at Covent Garden theatre, where he produced *Miſs in her Teens.*

The miſmanagement of the patentees of Drury Lane Theatre after the deaths of Booth and Wilks, and the retirement of Cibber from the ſtage, had ruined every perſon concerned in it. At this period the ſucceſſors of Mr. Fleetwood became involved in ſo many difficulties, that it was no longer poſſible for them to continue the conduct of a buſineſs to which they were ſtrangers, and which therefore they ought never to have engaged in. In 1745 that gentleman had left the theatre to his creditors to manage, after making the beſt terms he was able for himſelf. They conducted the buſineſs of it for two ſeaſons, when, unable to continue the management any longer, the property of the patent, houſe, and ſcenes, was hawked about to ſeveral perſons: but ſo apprehenſive was every one become of the hazard of intermeddling with the theatre, that no purchaſer was for ſome time to be found. At this juncture the late Mr. Lacy ſtepped forward, and boldly ventured to engage for the purchaſe. Having the reputation of a man of integrity, he ſoon found friends among the monied men to ſupport him in his undertaking; the ſucceſs of it, he prudently concluded, muſt depend in ſome meaſure on the abilities of the perſon with whom he ſhould connect himſelf in the ſcheme. Mr. Garrick's reputation, both as a man and an actor, naturally led him to wiſh for his junction. A treaty was ſoon begun, and an agreement between them afterwards took place. Application was made for a new patent; which was obtained, and both their names inſerted in it. The ſeaſon which began in 1747 was the firſt of their management, and was opened with an admirable Prologue, written by Dr. Johnſon, and ſpoken by Mr. Garrick. From this time Drury Lane Theatre, which had been ſo fatal to many adventurers, became the ſource of wealth and independence to both partners, who jointly exerted their ſeveral abilities in the

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management of the undertaking, with a degree of harmony which did credit to their understandings, and with a share of success which in some measure must be ascribed to that good correspondence which subsisted between them.

After he had been a manager two years, and the dissipation of youth had subsided, the charms of a lady, who then lived with the Countess of Burlington as a companion, made a conquest of him. It is unnecessary to add that this lady is at present his widow. She is, we are informed, by birth a German. Her parents lived at Vienna; and she appeared on the stage there as a dancer. About the year 1744 she came to England, and performed at one of the theatres one or two seasons. She was then called Madame Eva Maria Violetti. The union between them took place on the 22d day of June, 1749; and we add, with great pleasure, that no marriage ever was attended with more happiness to both parties than this for near thirty years, during which time, it is on good authority asserted, they scarce passed a day separate from each other.

The theatrical season which commenced in the year 1750, was rendered remarkable by the spirit of rivalship which prevailed at both houses. At the beginning of Mr. Garrick's management he had engaged Barry, Macklin, Pritchard, Woffington, Cibber, and Clive; and, with these excellent performers, it may be imagined the profits of the house were very considerable. Soon after, Mr. Barry, who was under articles, refused to continue any longer at Drury Lane, and, when sued for the breach of his contract, escaped from the penalty by means no way redounding to his honour. Macklin and Mrs. Cibber likewise went over to Covent Garden; as did Mrs. Woffington, who is said to have entertained expectations of being united in marriage with Mr. Garrick. With these deserters, aided by the Veteran Quin, Mr. Rich opened Covent Garden Theatre. Mr. Garrick, not intimidated by the strength of the opposition, took the field on the 5th of Sept. with an occasional Prologue spoken by himself; which was answered by another delivered by Mr. Barry; and this again replied to by a very humourous Epilogue, admirably repeated by Mrs. Clive. Those were only preludes to the trial of strength which was soon to follow. The play of Romeo and Juliet had lain dormant many years. This was now revived at both houses: at Drury Lane, with alterations by Mr. Garrick, who performed the principal character; Mr. Woodward playing Mercutio; and Mrs. Bellamy, Juliet; against them at Covent Garden, were Mr. Barry and Mrs. Cibber in the principal characters, and Mr. Macklin in Mercutio. Both houses began on the first of October; and continued to perform it for 12 successive nights; when Covent Garden gave up the contention; and its rival kept the field one night more, with the credit of holding out longer than its opponent, though it is supposed neither side reaped much advantage from the spirit of perseverance which had governed them both in this contest.

In the year 1754, on the 6th day of March, died Mr. Pelham,

who had conducted the buſineſs of government for ſome years before with candour, ability, and integrity. He was ſincerely lamented by both prince and people; and on this occaſion Mr. Garrick diſplayed his poetical talents, in an ode which we are told ran through four editions in a few weeks. It is a performance which does credit to him, both as a man and a poet, and is preſerved in the fourth volume of Dodſley's Collection of Poems.

The ſnarlers againſt Mr. Garrick's management of the theatre had a long time complained that he conducted himſelf with too ſtrict an attention to œconomy in the ornamental and decorative parts of theatrical exhibitions. They were perpetually throwing out inſinuations, that the manager, relying on his own powers, was determined to regulate the entertainments of the ſtage with an eye only to his own advantage, and without any regard to the ſatisfaction of the public.—Theſe murmurs had continued ſome time, when at laſt Mr. Garrick determined to meet the wiſhes of his friends, and to ſilence the diſcontents of his enemies. For this purpoſe he applied to Mr. Denoyer, ſen. to recommend ſome perſon of genius to ſuperintend and contrive a ſplendid ſpectacle to be exhibited at Drury Lane. The perſon fixed upon for that purpoſe was Mr. Noverre, a Swiſs; who immediately received orders to engage the beſt troop of dancers that could be procured. Theſe he ſelected from the foreign theatres; and they conſiſted of Swiſs, Italians, Germans, and ſome French. The entertainment in which they were employed was ſoon after contrived. It was called THE CHINESE FESTIVAL; and was, in the theatrical phraſe, got up with great magnificence, and at a very conſiderable expence. The expectations of the managers were however wholly diſappointed in the ſucceſs of the performance. Although but few of the French nation were employed in it, yet a report had induſtriouſly been ſpread, that not only French dancers had been ſent for over, but French dreſſes alſo, and even French carpenters and manufacturers. The nation was then on the eve of a war; and this afforded an opportunity for engaging the paſſions of thoſe who profeſſed themſelves Antigallicans. They accordingly formed aſſociations, to diſcourage the ſeveral performers, and ſuppreſs the obnoxious performance whenever it ſhould appear. At length, after having taken up more than eighteen months in preparing, it was brought before the publick, and received with all the virulence and oppoſition which might be expected from the violence and heat of the times. The firſt performance of it was on the 8th day of November 1755, and was honoured with the preſence of his late Majeſty; yet, notwithſtanding that circumſtance, it did not even then eſcape ill-treatment. On the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth nights the riots continued with increaſing ſtrength, though oppoſed each evening by ſeveral young men of faſhion, who had determined to ſupport the performance. On the ſixth evening the oppoſition acquired freſh vigour and increaſing numbers. They fruſtrated every

every attempt to proceed in the exhibition; and committed every excefs which a mob, fubject to no controul, is apt to indulge itfelf in. That evening was the laft repreſentation. After receiving aſſurance that the piece ſhould be acted no more, the heroes who had ſignalized themſelves in this important buſineſs proceeded to Mr. Garrick's houſe in Southampton-ſtreet, where they broke his windows, and did other damages. They then diſperſed, and the proprietors of the theatre were obliged to ſubmit to the loſs of more than four thouſand pounds.

It would be impoſſible to enumerate the ſeveral ſmall pieces of poetry which Mr. Garrick uſed to throw out from time to time, as his leiſure permitted, to compliment his friends, or to celebrate public events. In 1759, Dr. Hill wrote a pamphlet, intituled, "To David Garrick, Eſq; the Petition of *I*, in behalf of herſelf and her ſiſters." The purport of it was to charge Mr. Garrick with miſpronouncing ſome words including the letter I, as *furm* for firm, *vurtue* for virtue, and others. The pamphlet is now forgotten; but the following Epigram, which Mr. Garrick wrote on the occaſion, deſerves to be preſerved, as one of the beſt in the Engliſh language:

To Dr. Hill, *upon his petition of the letter* I *to* David Garrick, *Eſq;*

If 'tis true, as you ſay, that I've injur'd a letter,
I'll change my notes ſoon, and I hope for the better:
May the juſt right of letters, as well as of men,
Hereafter be fix'd by the tongue and the pen!
Moſt devoutly I wiſh that they both have their due,
And that *I* may be never miſtaken for *U*.

From this period no event of importance occurs in the annals of Mr. Garrick's life until the year 1761. The buſineſs of the theatre went on without interruption; and he continued to acquire both reputation and fortune. In that year, however, he found himſelf obliged to exert his poetical talents, in order to correct the impertinence of an inſignificant individual, a Mr. Fitzpatrick, who, without provocation, and in defiance of decency, carried on a weekly attack againſt him, in a paper called "The Craftſman." The original cauſe of the quarrel, we are informed, was grounded on ſome illiberal reflections which Mr. Fitzpatrick threw out againſt Mr. Garrick, and which the latter reſented with ſpirit and propriety, though a conſiderable time had elapſed before he was provoked to take public notice of him. As Mr. Fitzpatrick's writings are now entirely forgotten, the revenge which Mr. Garrick took of him muſt, from that circumſtance alone, be involved in ſome obſcurity. Thoſe, however, who are unacquainted with either perſons or facts will receive pleaſure in reading Mr. Garrick's admirable ſatire publiſhed on this occaſion, intituled THE FRIBBLERIAD, a Poem, which had the honour of being highly commended by Churchill, who has alſo given a very ſevere correction to the ſame perſon.

However unequal Mr. Fitzpatrick was to the taſk of contending with Mr. Garrick in a literary

warfare; yet the rancour which his defeat had engendered, pointed out a new mode of attack to diſtreſs his antagoniſt. It had been cuſtomary, on the repreſentation of a new performance, to refuſe admittance at any part of the evening, unleſs the whole price of the entertainment was paid. This had almoſt invariably been the rule; and it had hitherto been ſubmitted to, as a reaſonable demand from the managers, to compenſate for the extraordinary expence which new dreſſes and ſcenes occaſioned. To gratify his reſentment, Mr. Fitzpatrick ſeized on this circumſtance as a ground to diſturb the peace of the theatre, and to involve the managers in a conteſt with the public. For this purpoſe hand-bills were diſperſed about the coffee-houſes in the neighbourhood of Drury lane, recommending a peremptory demand to be made, and requiring an abſolute promiſe to be given, that no more than half the uſual price ſhould be taken on any evening of performance after the third act, unleſs at the repreſentation of a new pantomime. A kind of aſſociation was entered into by ſeveral young men, to obtain a redreſs of this grievance, as it was called; and Mr. Fitzpatrick put himſelf at the head of it. The evening on which the attack was made happened to be when *The two Gentlemen of Verona* was performed for the alterer's benefit. The performance accordingly was interrupted, after ſeveral attempts to proceed in it; and the proprietors of the houſe, thinking the requiſition an unjuſt one, and the manner of making it improper to be acceded to, refuſed to ſubmit to it: in conſequence whereof, no play was acted that night; and the audience received their money again at the doors, having firſt amuſed themſelves with doing all the miſchief they were able. By this trial, the malecontents had diſcovered their ſtrength, and determined to carry their point in humbling the pride of the manager. On the next performance, which was at the tragedy of *Elvira*, they collected their whole force, and again prevented the actors proceeding in the play. It was in vain that Mr. Garrick deſired to be heard in defence of the ancient cuſtoms of the theatre. The oppoſition inſiſted on a peremptory anſwer to their demand in the new regulation; which, after ſome time, the proprietors of the houſe were obliged to agree to; and once more peace was reſtored to the theatre after a conſiderable loſs had been ſuſtained, and obliged to be ſubmitted to.

This ſeaſon was the laſt in which Mr. Garrick could be ſaid to have acted in the regular courſe of his profeſſion. From this time he declined performing any new characters; and, finding his health declining, by the advice of his phyſician he determined to give himſelf ſome relaxation from care and fatigue. He therefore made the arrangements neceſſary for carrying on the public entertainments during his abſence; and on the 15th of September, 1763, the day on which the houſe opened, he left London, in order to make the tour of France and Italy. To ſupply his place, he engaged the late Mr. Powell, who had received his inſtructions the preceding ſummer, and whoſe ſucceſs was equal

to the abilities he poſſeſſed. To the honour of his employers, it may be added, that his abilities were not higher than the encouragement he received for the exertion of them. Although he was engaged for a term of years at a ſmall ſalary; yet he was, before the ſeaſon cloſed, generouſly allowed an appointment equal to the firſt performer in the houſe. We are credibly informed, the profits that year exceeded even thoſe in which Mr. Garrick performed in the height of his reputation.

The interval from this period, until the month of April, 1765, Mr. Garrick employed in travelling through the principal parts of Europe; and was, at every place where he reſided, and at moſt of the courts to which he was introduced, received in the moſt honourable and cordial manner; by the great, as well as by men of letters, each vying with the other in ſhewing reſpect to the greateſt dramatic character of the age. While he ſtayed at Paris, he amuſed himſelf with reading *Fontaine's Fables*; which pleaſed him ſo much, that he was induced to attempt an imitation of them. He accordingly wrote one, called *The Sick Monkey*; which he tranſmitted over to a friend, to be ready for publication immediately on his arrival. It accordingly made its appearance in two or three days after, with the following motto; "Thurſday afternoon David Garrick, Eſq; arrived at his houſe in Southampton-ſtreet, Covent Garden. Public Advertiſer, April 27, 1765." And he had the pleaſure of hearing the ſentiments of his friends upon it; many of whom miſtook it for a ſatire upon him, and accordingly expreſſed themſelves in very warm terms on the occaſion.

Immediately on his arrival he reſumed the management of the theatre, and introduced ſome improvements which had been ſuggeſted by his obſervations on the conduct of the foreign ſtages. From the liſt of his works, it will be ſeen that he had not been idle while abroad. He produced the next ſeaſon ſeveral new pieces, and in the beginning of 1766, the excellent comedy of *The Clandeſtine Marriage*, written in concert with Mr. Colman. He alſo, at the requeſt of his Majeſty, appeared again on the ſtage; and on that occaſion ſpoke a new prologue, replete with thoſe ſtrokes of humour which, in that ſpecies of compoſition, manifeſted his ſuperiority over all his contemporaries.

In that year died Mr. Quin and Mr. Cibber. Their deaths were very pathetically taken notice of in the prologue to *The Clandeſtine Marriage*; and for the former Mr. Garrick wrote an epitaph, which was placed over his tomb in the cathedral church of Bath. Mr. Quin was the only performer of any reputation when Mr. Garrick firſt appeared on the ſtage, and he had likewiſe been one of his earlieſt oppoſers. When he ſaw the ſucceſs which attended the performances of his rival, he obſerved, with his uſual ſpleen, that *Garrick was like a new religion. Whitfield was followed for a time, but they would all come to church again.* We mention his anecdote merely on

account of the reply which it induced Mr. Garrick to write, and which was as follows:

Pope Quin, who damns all churches but his own,
Complains "that *Hereſy* corrupts the "town;
"That *Whitfield Garrick* has miſled the "age,
"And taints the ſound religion of the "ſtage;
"Schiſm, he cries, has turn'd the nation's "brain,
"But eyes will open, and to *church* "again!"
Thou great infallible! forbear to roar,
Thy bulls and errors are rever'd no more;
When doctrines meet with general approbation,
It is not *Hereſy*, but *Reformation*.

For ſeveral years however before Mr. Quin's death great cordiality had ſubſiſted between him and Mr. Garrick, at whoſe houſe at Hampton he ſpent ſome time, a few months before his death, and there firſt diſcovered the ſymptoms of that diſorder which carried him to his grave.

The year 1769 was remarkable for the celebration of a jubilee at Stratford upon Avon, the 6th, 7th, and 8th of September, in honour of Shakeſpeare; a ceremony which very much engaged the public attention, although it was treated by ſome as a ſubject worthy only of ridicule, and by others as a compliment due to the great writer whoſe memory it was intended to honour. The circumſtance which gave riſe to it happened ſome time before, and was as follows: A clergyman, into whoſe poſſeſſion the houſe once belonging to our great poet had come, found that a mulberry tree, which grew in the garden, and which had been planted according to tradition by Shakeſpeare himſelf, overſhadowed too much of his manſion, and made it damp. To remedy this inconvenience, he cauſed it to be cut down, to the great mortification of his neighbours, who were ſo enraged at him, that they ſoon rendered the place, out of revenge, too diſagreeable for him to remain in it. He therefore was obliged to quit it; and the tree, being purchaſed by a carpenter, was retailed and cut out in various relicks of ſtand-diſhes, tea-cheſts, tobacco-ſtoppers, and other things; ſome of which were ſecured by the corporation of Stratford. The gentlemen belonging to this body ſoon after agreed to preſent Mr. Garrick with the freedom of their borough in a box made from the mulberry tree; and their Steward at the ſame time was ordered to acquaint him, that the corporation would be happy in receiving from his hands ſome ſtatue, buſt, or picture of Shakeſpeare, to be placed within their new town-hall; together with a picture of himſelf.

This circumſtance probably gave Mr. Garrick the firſt idea of performing a jubilee to the honour of Shakeſpeare; and, at the concluſion of the theatrical ſeaſon, he invited his audience to be preſent at it in the following terms:

"My eyes till then no ſights like this "will ſee,
"Unleſs we meet at Shakeſpeare's ju- "bilee.
"On AVON's *banks, where flowers eternal* "*blow*,
"Like its full ſtream our gratitude ſhall "flow!
"There let us revel, ſhew our fond re- "gard;
"On that lov'd ſpot, firſt breath'd our "matchleſs bard:

"To him all honour, gratitude is due,
"To him we owe our all—to him and
"you."

The manner in which this entertainment was to have been performed, the disappointments it sustained, and the several occurrences which took place at it, are all so recent in the memories of most of our readers, and were so accurately related at the time they happened, that we shall not recapitulate them here. It is sufficient to observe, that accident deprived those who were present of part of their entertainment; that all which was exhibited gave general satisfaction; and that Mr. Garrick, who was a great sum of money out of pocket by it, framed an entertainment, which was performed at Drury-Lane theatre 92 nights with great applause to very crowded audiences. The Ode which was spoken by him at Stratford was also repeated at the same theatre, but not with much success, being performed only seven times.

The management of a theatre is always attended with anxiety and vexation; the difficulty of satisfying the several candidates for theatrical fame is so great, that he who can preserve the friendship of those whose pieces he rejects, must be allowed to possess very extraordinary abilities. In the year 1772, it was Mr. Garrick's misfortune to be embroiled with a very irascible and troublesome person, who claimed the representation of one of his pieces at Drury Lane; and he enforced his demand in a manner that will always reflect disgrace on his memory. He published a poem to intimidate the manager, called *Love in the Suds*, containing insinuations of the basest kind, and which he afterwards denied having had any intention to convey. Mr. Garrick had recourse to the court of King's Bench, to punish the infamous libeller of his reputation; and, notwithstanding he had been a second time insulted by another publication conceived with equal malignity, he was weak enough to stop the prosecution he had commenced, on his adversary's signing an acknowledgement of his offence, which was printed in all the public papers. It cannot be denied but that the interests of society demanded that so gross an offender should meet with punishment, and that no concessions ought to have been allowed to deprecate that stroke which the law would have inflicted on so heinous a crime.

From this time no event of importance happened, until the resolution which Mr. Garrick had begun to form of quitting the stage was, to the concern of every one, carried into execution. It will be a matter of surprize, both to the present and future generations, to learn that this determination was accelerated by the caprices of one or two celebrated actresses, who had contrived to render his situation so uneasy to him, that he frequently used to declare, that he should have continued some time longer in his public capacity, had it not been for the plague these people occasioned. In the beginning of the year 1776, he entered into an agreement with some of the present patentees, for the sale of his interest in the theatre; but continued to act during the remainder of that season. The last night of his performance was, for the theatrical fund, on the 10th day of June in that year, when he represented the character of

of Don Felix in *The Wonder*. At the conclusion of the play he came forward, and addreſſed the audience in a ſhort ſpeech, wherein he ſaid, "it had been uſual for perſons in his ſituation to addreſs "the public in an Epilogue; "and that he had accordingly "turned his thoughts that way, "but found it as impoſſible "to write, as it would be to "ſpeak, a ſtudied compoſition; "the jingle of rhyme and the "language of fiction ill ſuiting "his then feelings: that the mo-"ment in which he then ſpoke "was indeed an awful one to "him: that he had received in-"numerable favours, from the "public, and took his leave on "the ſpot where thoſe favours "were conferred." He then ſaid, "that, whatever the events of "his future life might be, he "ſhould ever remember thoſe fa-"vours with the higheſt ſatisfac-"tion and deepeſt gratitude; and "though he admitted the ſupe-"rior ſkill and abilities of his "ſucceſſors, he defied them to "exert themſelves with more "induſtry, zeal, and attention, "than he had done." This ſpeech, which was delivered with all that emotion which the particular ſituation of the ſpeaker rendered very intereſting and affecting, was received with the loudeſt burſts of applauſe; and he left the ſtage with the acclamations of a numerous and polite audience, who were unable to forbear expreſſing the deepeſt concern for the loſs of their favourite performer.

Mr. Garrick now retired to the enjoyment of his friends, the moſt reſpectable in the kingdom, and of a large fortune, acquired in the courſe of more than thirty years: but the ſtone, which he had been afflicted with ſome time, had already made ſuch inroads on his conſtitution, that he was unable to communicate or receive from his friends that pleaſure which his company afforded, except at times, and in a very partial manner. It is ſuppoſed that he injured his health by the application of quack medicines, and often experienced the moſt violent torments from the ſeverity of his diſorder.

In Auguſt, 1777, Mr. Garrick, accompanied by his neighbour and friend, Mr. Hen. Hoare, of the Adelphi, made a viſit to Mr. Hoare, of Stourhead, in Wilts. Being particularly charmed with the Grotto, he ſaid he ſhould like it for his burying-place; upon which one of the company wiſhed him to write his own Epitaph; which, as ſoon as he returned to the houſe, he did, extempore.

Tom Fool, the tenant of this narrow ſpace,
(He *play'd no fooliſh part* to chuſe the place)
Hoping for mortal honours e'en in death,
Thus ſpoke his wiſhes with his laſteſt breath.
"That *Hal* *, *ſweet-blooded Hal*, might
"once a-year,
"Quit ſocial joys to drop a friendly tear;
"That *Earle* †, with magic ſounds that
"charm the breaſt,
"Should with a requium teach his ſoul to
"reſt;
"Full charg'd with humour, that the
"ſportive *Ruſt* ‡.
"Should fire three vollies o'er the *duſt* to
"*duſt*;
"That honeſt *Benſon* ‖ ever free and
"plain,
"For once ſhou'd ſigh, and wiſh him
"back again;

* Hen. Hoare, jun. † Benſon Earle, of Salisbury. ‡ John Ruſt, Eſq;
‖ John Benſon, Eſq;

"That

"That *Hoare** too might complete his
"glory's plan,
"Point to his grave and say—I lik'd the
"man."

At Christmas, 1778, he went to visit Lord Spencer at Althorp, in Northamptonshire, during the holidays. He there was taken ill; but recovered so far that he was removed to town, where growing worse, he died in a few days afterwards, at his house in the Adelphi, on the 20th day of January last, at the age of 63 years; leaving behind him the character of a friendly, humane, charitable, and (notwithstanding many idle reports we may add) liberal man; one who felt for distress, and relieved it; a chearful companion, a-pleasing writer, and the first actor of this or any other age.

List of Mr. Garrick's Writings.

THE Lying Valet, a Comedy, of two acts, 8vo, 1740. First acted at Goodman's Fields, and afterwards at Drury Lane.

Miss in her Teens, or the Medley of Lovers, a Farce in two acts, performed at Covent Garden, 8vo. 1747. The hint of this piece was taken from *La Parisiene* of D'Ancourt.

Lethe, a Dramatic Satire, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo. 1748. This admirable performance, which ranks with the first of its kind, was originally represented in a very imperfect state at Goodman's Fields, when the author was engaged there. The first sketch, as then performed, was printed in 12mo, 1745, under the title of LETHE, or ÆSOP IN THE SHADES.

Romeo and Juliet, a Tragedy, altered from Shakespeare, acted at Drury Lane, 12mo. 1750.

Every Man in his Humour, a Comedy, altered from Ben Jonson, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1751. This alteration consists chiefly of omissions and transpositions, with the addition of a whole scene in the 4th act. It was excellently acted. Those who remember the original performers do not expect to see a play ever so completely filled again in every character. Prologue by Mr. Whitehead.

The Fairies, an Opera, altered from Shakespeare, set to Music by Mr. Smith, 8vo, 1755. Prologue by Mr. Garrick.

The Tempest, an Opera, altered from Shakespeare, set to music by Mr. Smith, 8vo, 1756. The prologue to this piece is evidently by Mr. Garrick.

Florizel and Perdita, a Dramatic Pastoral, in three acts, performed at Drury Lane, 1756. This is taken from *The Winter's Tale*, and was originally acted under that title. It was not printed until 1758.

Catherine and Petrucio, a Farce, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1756. An alteration of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*. Performed on the same night as Florizel and Perdita.

Lilliput, a Dramatic Entertainment, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1757. This was acted by children. In 1777 it was revised by the author, and performed at the Hay-market.

The Male Coquet, or Seventeen Hundred and Fifty Seven, a Farce, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1757.

* Henry Hoare, of Stourhead.

This

This little piece was first acted at Mr. Woodward's benefit. It was planned, written, and acted, in less than a month.

The Gamesters, a Comedy, altered from Shirley, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1758.

Isabella, or the Fatal Marriage, a Play altered from Southern, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1758. An alteration of *The Fatal Marriage*, by omission of the comic scenes.

The Guardian, a Comedy, in two acts, performed at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1759. This was performed the first time for the benefit of Mr. Christopher Smart, a very agreeable but unhappy poet, then under confinement. It is taken in a great measure from the celebrated Pupille of Monf. Fagan.

The Enchanter, or Love and Magic, a Musical Drama, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1760.

Harlequin's Invasion, a Speaking Pantomime, acted at Drury Lane, 1761; not printed. We are told this was originally performed at Bartholomew Fair.

Cymbeline, a Tragedy, altered from Shakespeare, acted at Drury Lane, 12mo, 1761.

The Farmer's Return from London, an Interlude, performed at Drury Lane, 4to, 1762. This made its first appearance at Mrs. Pritchard's benefit.

The Clandestine Marriage, a Comedy, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1766. This was a joint production with Mr. Colman, was acted with great applause, and may be considered as one of the best comedies in the English language.

The Country Girl, a Comedy, altered from Wycherley, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1766.

Neck or Nothing, a Farce in two acts, performed at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1766. This farce is ascribed to Mr. Garrick, although it has also been given to Mr. King. It is an imitation of the *Crispin Rival de son Maitre* of Le Sage.

Cymon, a Dramatic Romance, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1767.

A Peep behind the Curtain, or The New Rehearsal, a Farce, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1767.

The Jubilee, a Dramatic Entertainment, acted at Drury Lane, 1769. This piece, which is not printed, was one of the most successful performances ever produced on the stage.

King Arthur, or the British Worthy, altered from Dryden, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1770.

Hamlet, altered from Shakespeare, acted at Drury Lane about 1771. Not printed.

The Irish Widow, a Comedy of two acts, performed at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1772. The intention of this piece seems to have been merely to introduce Mrs. Barry (now Mrs. Crawford) in a new light to the audience, and is very successfully executed. The characters of Whittle, Sir Patrick O'Neale, and Thomas, are extremely well sustained, and that of Keckly admirably.

The Chances, a Comedy, with alterations, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1773. This is the Duke of Buckingham's play with the same title. The alterations are chiefly omissions of indecent passages, which the refinement of the present times would not suffer.

Albumazar, a Comedy, with alterations, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1773. This excellent old comedy was revived with all the strength of the house, as it had been before in 1748; yet, notwithstanding,

ſtanding, was not ſo ſucceſsful as it deſerved to have been.

Alfred, a Tragedy, altered from Mallet, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1773.

A Chriſtmas Tale, in five parts, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1774. This hath ſince been reduced to two acts, and performed as an after-piece.

The Meeting of the Company, a Prelude, acted at Drury Lane, 1774. Not printed.

May Day, a Ballad Opera, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1775.

The Theatrical Candidates, a Prelude, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo, 1775. The laſt two pieces are printed together.

He alſo made ſome alterations in *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*, *Mahomet*, and many other pieces, which were performed during his management.

Beſides the ſeveral pieces mentioned in the foregoing Anecdotes, he was the author of many Prologues and Epilogues, too numerous to be here particularized. He alſo wrote ſome poems in Dodſley's Collection of Poems, Vol. III; Letters in the St. James's Chronicle, ſigned Oakley; and many little poems in Magazines and News-papers.

The Farce of *High Life Below Stairs*, which is frequently aſcribed to him, is omitted in the above liſt, as there are many reaſons to believe it to have been written by another perſon, the late Mr. Townly, Maſter of Merchant-Taylors ſchool.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of a Cure of the St. Vitus's Dance by Electricity. In a Letter from Anthony Fothergill, *M. D. F. R. S. at* Northampton, *to* William Henly. *F. R. S.*

[From the Philosophical Tranſactions.]

ANN AGUTTER, a girl of ten years of age, of a pale, emaciated habit, was admitted an out-patient at the Northampton-hoſpital on the 6th of June laſt. From her father's account it appeared (for ſhe was ſpeechleſs and with difficulty ſupported from falling by two aſſiſtants) that ſhe had for ſix weeks laboured under violent convulſive motions, which affected the whole frame, from which ſhe had very ſhort intermiſſions, except during ſleep; that the diſeaſe had not only impaired her memory and intellectual faculties, but of late had deprived her of the uſe of ſpeech.

Volatile and fetid medicines were now recommended, and the warm bath every other night; but with no better ſucceſs, except that the nights which had been reſtleſs became ſomewhat more compoſed. Bliſters and anti-ſpaſmodics were directed, and particularly the flowers of zinc, which were continued till the beginning of July, but without the leaſt abatement of the ſymptoms; when her father growing impatient of fruitleſs attendance at the hoſpital, I recommended, as a dernier reſort, a trial of electricity, under the management of the Rev. Mr. Underwood, an ingenious electrician. After this I heard no more of her till the firſt of Auguſt, when her father came to inform me that his daughter was well, and deſired ſhe might have her diſcharge. To which, after expreſſing my doubts of the cure, I conſented; but ſhould not have been perfectly convinced of it, had I not received afterwards a full confirmation of it from Mr. Underwood, dated Sept. 16. an extract from whoſe letter I will now give you in his own words:

'I have long expected the pleaſure of ſeeing you, that I might inform you how I proceeded in the cure of the poor girl. As the caſe was particular, I have been very minute, and wiſh you may find ſomething in it that may be uſeful to others. If you think it proper, I beg you will ſtate the caſe medically, and make it as public as you pleaſe.

'July 5. On the glaſs footed ſtool for thirty minutes: ſparks were drawn from the arms, neck, and head, which cauſed a conſiderable perſpira-

perſpiration, and a raſh appearance in her forehead. She then received ſhocks through her hands, arms, breaſts, and back; and from this time the ſymptoms abated, her arms beginning to recover their uſes *.

'July 13. On the glaſs-footed ſtool forty-five minutes: received ſtrong ſhocks through her legs and feet, which from that time began to recover their wonted uſes; alſo four ſtrong ſhocks through the jaws, ſoon after which her ſpeech returned.

'July 23. On the glaſs-footed ſtool for the ſpace of one hour: ſparks were drawn from her arms, legs, head, and breaſt, which for the firſt time ſhe very ſenſibly felt; alſo two ſhocks through the ſpine. She could now walk alone; her countenance became more florid, and all her faculties ſeemed wonderfully ſtrengthened, and from this time ſhe continued mending to a ſtate of perfect health.

'Every time ſhe was electrified poſitively, her pulſe quickened to a great degree, and an eruption, much like the itch, appeared in all her joints.'

Thus far Mr. Underwood. To complete the hiſtory of this ſingular caſe, I this day (Oct. 28.) rode ſeveral miles, on my return from the country, to viſit her; and had the ſatisfaction to find her in good health, and the above account verified in every particular, with this addition, that at the beginning of the diſeaſe ſhe had but ſlight twitchings, attended with running, ſtaggering, and a variety of involuntary geſticulations which diſtinguiſh the St. Vitus's dance, and that theſe ſymptoms were afterwards ſucceeded by convulſions, which rendered it difficult for two aſſiſtants to keep her in bed, and which ſoon deprived her of ſpeech and the uſe of her limbs. The eruptions which appeared on the parts electrified ſoon receded, without producing any return of the ſymptoms, and therefore could not be called critical, but merely the effect of the electrical ſtimulus. Having given her parents ſome general directions as to her regimen, &c. I took my leave, with a ſtrong injunction to make me acquainted in caſe ſhe ſhould happen to relapſe. Before I conclude, it may not be improper to obſerve, that ſome time ago I was fortunate enough to cure a boy who had long had the St. Vitus's dance (though in a much leſs degree) by electricity. A violent convulſive diſeaſe, ſomewhat ſimilar to the above, though, if I recollect right, not attended with the 'aphonia,' was ſucceſsfully treated in the ſame way by Dr. Watſon, and is recorded in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. May we not then conclude, that theſe facts alone, and more might perhaps be produced, are ſufficient to intitle electricity to a diſtinguiſhed place in the claſs of antiſpaſmodics?

I am, &c.

An Account of a Remarkable Imperfection of Sight. From the ſame.

Raſen, May 26, 1777.

Rev. Sir,

I RECEIVED your favour in due time. I ſhould have given

* The coated bottle held near a quart.

you

you my anſwer ſooner, but have been greatly afflicted with the gout. I am very willing to inform you (and take your inquiry as a favour) of my inability concerning colours, as far as I am able from my own common obſervation.

It is a family failing: my father has exactly the ſame impediment: my mother and one of my ſiſters were perfect in all colours: my other ſiſter and myſelf alike imperfect: my laſt mentioned ſiſter has two ſons, both imperfect;—but ſhe has a daughter who is very perfect: I have a ſon and daughter, who both know all colours without exception; and ſo did their mother: my mother's own brother had the like impediment with me, though my mother, as mentioned above, knew all colours very well.

Now I will inform you what colours I have leaſt knowledge of. I do not know any green in the world; a pink colour and a pale blue are alike, I do not know one from the other. A full red and full green the ſame, I have often thought them a good match;—but yellows (light, dark, and middle) and all degrees of blue, except thoſe very pale, commonly called ſky, I know perfectly well, and can diſcern a deficiency, in any of thoſe colours, to a particular nicety: a full purple and deep blue ſometimes baffle me. I married my daughter to a genteel, worthy man a few years ago; the day before the marriage he came to my houſe, dreſſed in a new ſuit of fine cloth cloaths. I was much diſpleaſed that he ſhould come (as I ſuppoſed) in black; ſaid, "He ſhould go back to change his colour." But my daughter ſaid, "No, no; the colour is very genteel; that it was my eyes that deceived me." He was a Gentleman of the Law, in a fine, rich claret-coloured dreſs, which is as much a black to my eyes as any black that ever was dyed. She has been married ſeveral years; no child living, and my ſon is unmarried; ſo how this impediment may deſcend from me is unknown.

I have a general good ſatisfaction in the midſt of this my inability; can ſee objects at a diſtance when I am on travel with an acquaintance, and can diſtinguiſh the ſize, figure, or ſpace, equal to moſt, and, I believe, as quick, colour excepted.

My buſineſs was behind a counter many years, where I had to do with variety of colours. I often, when alone, met with a difficulty; but I commonly had a ſervant in the way to attend me, who made up my deficiency. I have been now ſeven years from trade. My eyes, thank God, are very good at diſcerning men and things.

If your learned ſociety can ſearch out the cauſe of this very extraordinary infirmity, and find a method for an amendment, you will be ſo obliging to acquaint me. I am, &c.

J. SCOTT.

An Account of the Iſland of St. Miguel; *by Mr.* Francis Maſon, *in a Letter to Mr.* William Aiton, *Botanical Gardener to his Majeſty. From the ſame.*

St. Miguel, Aug. 10, 1777.

SIR,

I Have viſited the greateſt part of this iſland, and find that its produc-

productions differ greatly from those of Madeira, insomuch that none of the trees of the latter are found here, except the *faya*: it has a nearer affinity to Europe than Africa. The mountains are covered with the *erica vulgaris*; and an elegant ever-green shrub very like a *phillyrea*, which gives them a most beautiful appearance. Notwithstanding this island has been frequently visited by Europeans, I cannot help communicating to you a few of its singularities. It is one of the principal and most fertile of the Azores, sometimes called the Western Islands, of which there are nine, belonging to the crown of Portugal, and situated about 500 miles west of Lisbon. Longitude west from London 25 to 33. Latitude 36 to to 40 north.

The length of St. Miguel is about eighteen or twenty leagues, nearly east to west; its breadth is unequal, not exceeding five leagues, and in some places not more than two. It contains about 80,000 inhabitants.

Its capital, the city of *Ponta del Guda*, which contains about 12000 inhabitants, is situated on the south side of the island, on a fine fertile, plain country, pretty regularly built; the streets straight and of a good breadth. It is supplied with good water, which is brought about the distance of three leagues from the neighbouring mountains. The churches and other religious edifices are elegant and well built for such an island. There is a large convent of Franciscan friars, and one of the order of St. Augustin, four convents for professed nuns, and three *recolhimentos* (houses of retirement) for young women and widows who are not professed. The vessels anchor in an open road; but it is not dangerous, as no wind can prevent their going to sea in case of stormy weather. The country round the city is plain for several miles, well cultivated, and laid out with good taste into spacious fields, which are sown with wheat, barley, Indian corn, pulse, &c. and commonly produce annually two crops; for as soon as one is taken off, another is immediately sown in its place. The soil is remarkably gentle and easy to work, being for the most part composed of pulverized pumice stone. There are in the plains a number of pleasant country seats, with orchards of orange trees, which are esteemed the best in Europe.

The second town is *Ribeira Grande*, situated on the north side of the island, containing about as many inhabitants as the city; a large convent of Franciscan friars, and one of nuns. It gives title to a count, called the Conde Ribeira Grande, who first instituted linen and woollen manufactories in the island.

The third town is Villa Franca, on the south side of the island, about six leagues east of Ponta del Guda. It has a convent of Franciscan friars, and one of nuns, which contains about three hundred. Here, about half a mile from the shore, lies a small island (Ilhas) which is hollow in the middle, and contains a fine bason with only one entrance into it, fit to hold fifty sail of vessels secure from all weather; at present it wants cleaning out, as the winter's rain washes down great quantities of earth into it, which has greatly

greatly diminiſhed its depth. But veſſels frequently anchor between this iſland and the main.

Beſide theſe towns, are ſeveral ſmaller, *viz.* Alagoa, Agoa de Pao, Brelanha, Fanaes de Ajuda, and a number of hamlets, called Lugars, or Places.

About four leagues north-eaſt from Villa Franca, lies a place called *Furnas*, being a round deep valley in the middle of the eaſt part of the iſland, ſurrounded with high mountains, which, though ſteep, may be eaſily aſcended on horſeback by two roads. The valley is about five or ſix leagues in circuit, the face of the mountains, which are very ſteep, is entirely covered with evergreens, *viz.* myrtles, laurels, a large ſpecies of bilberry, called *ura del ſerra* (mountain grapes) &c. and numberleſs rivulets of the pureſt water run down their ſides. The valley below is well cultivated, producing wheat, Indian corn, flax, &c. The fields are planted round with a beautiful ſort of poplars, which grow into pyramidal forms, and by their careleſs, irregular diſpoſition, together with the multitudes of rivulets, which run in all directions through the valley, a number of boiling fountains, throwing up clouds of ſteam, a fine lake in the ſouth-weſt part about two leagues round, compoſe a proſpect the fineſt that can be imagined. In the bottom of the valley the roads are ſmooth and eaſy, there being no rocks but a fine pulverized pumice ſtone that the earth is compoſed of.

There are a number of hot fountains in different parts of the valley, and alſo on the ſides of the mountains: but the moſt remarkable is that called the Caldeira, ſituated in the eaſtern part of the valley, on a ſmall eminence by the ſide of a river, on which is a baſon about thirty feet in diameter, where the water continually boils with prodigious fury. A few yards diſtant from it is a cavern in the ſide of the bank, in which the water boils in a dreadful manner, throwing out a thick, muddy, unctuous water ſeveral yards from its mouth with a hideous noiſe. In the middle of the river are ſeveral places where the water boils up ſo hot, that a perſon cannot dip his finger into it without being ſcalded; alſo along its banks are ſeveral apertures, out of which the ſtream riſes to a conſiderable height, ſo hot, that there is no approaching it with one's hand: in other places, a perſon would think, that a hundred ſmiths bellows were blowing all together, and ſulphureous ſtreams iſſuing out in thouſands of places, ſo that native ſulphur is found in every chink, and the ground covered with it like hoar froſt; even the buſhes that happen to lay near theſe places are covered with pure brimſtone, condenſing from the ſtream that iſſues out of the ground, which in many places is covered over with a ſubſtance like burned allum. In theſe ſmall caverns, where the ſtream iſſues out, the people often boil their yams (inhames.)

Near theſe boiling fountains are ſeveral mineral ſprings; two, in particular, whoſe waters have a very ſtrong mineral quality, of an acid taſte and bitter to the tongue.

About half a mile to the weſtward, and cloſe by the river ſide, are

are ſeveral hot ſprings, which are uſed by ſick people with great ſucceſs. Alſo on the ſide of a hill, weſt of St. Ann's Church, are many others, with three bathing houſes, which are commonly uſed. Theſe waters are warm, although not boiling hot; but at the ſame place iſſue ſeveral ſtreams of cold mineral water, by which they are tempered, according to every one's liking.

About a mile ſouth of this place, and over a low ridge of hills, lies a fine lake about two leagues in circumference, and very deep, the water thick, and of a greeniſh colour. At the north end is a plain piece of ground, where the ſulphureous ſtreams iſſue out in many places, attended with a ſurpriſing blowing noiſe. I could obſerve ſtrong ſprings in the lake, but could not determine whether they were hot or cold: this lake ſeems to have no viſible evacuation. The other ſprings immediately form a conſiderable river, called *Ribeira Quente* (hot river) which runs a courſe about two or three leagues through a deep rent in the mountain, on each ſide of which are ſeveral places where the ſmoke iſſues out. It diſcharges itſelf into the ſea on the ſouth ſide, near which are ſome places where the water boils up at ſome diſtance in the ſea.

This wonderful place had been taken little notice of, until very lately; ſo little curioſity had the gentlemen of the iſland, that ſcarcely any of them had ſeen it, until of late ſome perſons afflicted with very virulent diſorders, were perſuaded to try its waters, and found immediate relief from them. Since that time it has become more and more frequented; ſeveral perſons who had loſt the uſe of their limbs by the dead palſy have been cured; and alſo others who were troubled with eruptions on their bodies.

A clergyman, who was greatly afflicted with the gout, tried the ſaid waters, and was in a ſhort time perfectly cured, and has had no return ſince.

When I was there ſeveral old gentlemen, who were quite worn out with the ſaid diſorder, were uſing the waters, and had received incredible benefit from them; in particular, an old gentleman, about ſixty years of age, who had been tormented with that diſorder more than twenty years, and often confined to his bed for ſix months together: he had uſed theſe waters about three weeks, had quite recovered the uſe of his limbs, and walked about in the greateſt ſpirits imaginable. A friar alſo who had been troubled with the ſaid diſorder about twelve years, and reduced to a cripple, by uſing them a ſhort time was quite well, and went a hunting every day. There are many other inſtances of the efficacy of theſe waters, which for the ſake of brevity I muſt here omit.

There are ſeveral other hot ſprings in the iſland, particularly at Ribeira Grande; but they do not poſſeſs the ſame virtues, at leaſt not in ſo great a degree. The eaſt and weſt parts of the iſland riſe into high mountains, but the middle is low, interſperſed with round conic hills, all of which have very recent marks of fire; all the parts below the ſurface conſiſting of melted lava lying very hollow.

Moſt of the mountains to the weſtward have their tops hollowed out like a punch bowl, and contain water. Near the weſt end is an immenſe deep valley like the Furnas, called the *Sete Cidades* (the ſeven cities). This valley is ſurrounded with very abrupt mountains, about ſeven or eight leagues round; in the bottom is a deep lake of water, about three leagues in circuit, furniſhed with a great number of water fowls. This water has no mineral quality; neither are there any hot ſprings in the valley. All theſe mountains are compoſed of a white crumbly pumice ſtone, which is ſo looſe, that if a perſon thruſt a ſtick into the banks, whole waggon loads of it will tumble down. The inhabitants of the iſland relate a ſtory, that he who firſt diſcovered it obſerved an extraordinary high peak near the weſt end; but the ſecond time he viſited it no ſuch peak was to be ſeen, which he ſuppoſed muſt have certainly ſunk; but however improbable this ſtory may be, at ſome period or another it muſt have certainly been the caſe.

If you ſhould think the account of the mineral waters of any ſervice to the public, they are very welcome to it; and ſhould any perſon venture ſo far for his health, a ſmall ſtock of the ſuperfluities of life only need be laid in, as the iſland yields every neceſſary. The climate is very temperate: the thermometer ſince I have been here has been no higher that 77°, commonly from 70° to 75°.

An Account of the Figure and Formation of the Earth—Of Subterraneous Fire and its Effects—Of the Deluge—Of the Origin of Mountains, Continents, &c.

[From Whitehurſt's Enquiry into the original State of the Earth.]

HAVING premiſed the general laws or principles beſtowed upon matter, let us endeavour to trace their operations in forming the chaotic maſs into an habitable world.

The firſt operation which preſents itſelf to our conception is the figure of the earth: for according to propoſition the ſecond, the fluid maſs no ſooner began to revolve upon its axis, than its component parts began to recede from their axes of motion, and thus continued till the two forces were equally ballanced, and the earth had acquired its preſent oblate ſpheroidical form.

The component parts being now arrived at a ſtate of reſt, with reſpect to the general laws of motion, began a ſecond operation by means of their affinities; for particles of a ſimilar nature attract each other more powerfully than thoſe of a contrary affinity or quality.

Hence particles of air united with thoſe of air; thoſe of water with water; and thoſe of earth with earth; and with their union commenced their ſpecific gravities.

The uniform ſuſpenſion of the component parts being thus deſtroyed by the union of ſimilar particles, thoſe bodies which were the moſt denſe began their approach towards the center of gravity, and the others towards the ſurface.

Thus commenced the ſeparation of the chaotic maſs into *air, water, earth*, &c.

Now

Now as *air* is eight hundred times lighter than water, it ſeems to follow, by the laws of ſtatics, that it became freed from the general maſs in a like proportion of time, ſooner than water, and formed a *muddy, impure atmoſphere.*

The proceſs of ſeparation ſtill goes on, and the earth conſolidates every day more and more towards its centre, and its ſurface becomes gradually covered with water, until one *univerſal ſea* prevailed over the globe, perfectly *pure* and *fit* for *animal life.*

Thus, by the union of ſimilar particles, the component parts of the atmoſphere and the ocean ſeem to have been ſeparated from the general maſs, aſſembled together, and ſurrounded the terraqueous globe.

To the peculiar laws of attraction may likewiſe be aſcribed that ſameneſs of quality which prevails in *ſtrata* of different denominations, as calcarious, argillaceous, &c. and alſo the aſſemblage of all other particles into ſelect bodies, of metals, minerals, ſalts, talks, ſpars, fluors, cryſtals, diamonds, rubies, amethyſts, &c. and many other phenomena in the natural world.

Having thus defined the general laws or principles by which the component parts of the chaos were ſeparated and arranged into the different claſſes of air, water, &c. it may not be improper to remark, that as the ſun is the common center of gravity, or the governing principle in the planetary ſyſtem, the preſumption is great that the governing body was at leaſt coeval with the bodies governed;

Therefore, as the chaos revolved upon its axis during the ſeparation of its component parts, may we not thence infer, that as the atmoſphere was progreſſively freed from its groſs matter, light and heat muſt have gradually increaſed, until the ſun became viſible in the firmament, and ſhone with its full luſtre and brightneſs on the face of the new-formed globe.

Hence it appears, that ſeveral days and nights preceded the ſun's appearance in the heavens. How far the reſult of this reaſoning may illuſtrate the Moſaic account, of the ſun being created, or becoming viſible, on the fourth day of creation, is moſt humbly ſubmitted to the conſideration and candour of the learned world.

It is further to be obſerved, that as the ſeparation of the chaos was owing to the union of ſimilar particles, it ſeems to follow, that as the central parts of the earth were ſooner at reſt than the more ſuperficial parts thereof, that the former would begin to conſolidate before the latter, and therefore it appears repugnant to the laws of Nature, that the central part ſhould conſiſt of water only, and the more ſuperficial part of a ſhell or cruſt, as ſome writers have imagined.

Having traced the operations of Nature in ſeparating the chaotic maſs into air, earth, and water, we have now to inquire into the formation of the primitive iſlands.

To inveſtigate this matter, let us ſuppoſe, for the preſent, that during the ſeparation of the chaos, the earth was perfectly free from the attractive influence of all other bodies; that nothing interfered with the uniform law of its own

gravitation. It will then follow, that as the chaos was an uniform pulp, the ſolids would equally ſubſide from every part of its ſurface, and conſequently become equally covered with water.

On the contrary, if the moon was coeval with the earth, its attractive power would greatly interfere with the uniform ſubſiding of the ſolids: for as the ſeparation of the ſolids and fluids increaſed, ſo, in like manner, the tides would increaſe, and remove the ſolids about, from place to place, without any order or regularity.

Hence, the ſea neceſſarily became unequally deep, and thoſe inequalities daily increaſing, in proceſs of time dry land would appear, and divide the ſea, which had univerſally covered the earth.

The primitive iſlands being thus raiſed, by the flux and reflux of the tides, as ſand-banks are formed in the ſea, we cannot ſuppoſe them to have been of any great extent or elevation, compared to the mountains and continents in the preſent ſtate of the earth: therefore they can only be conſidered as ſo many protuberances gradually aſcending from the deep: whence it appears, that craggy rocks and impending ſhores were not then in being; all was ſmooth, even, and uniform; ſtones, minerals, &c. only exiſted in their elementary principles.

The primitive iſlands being thus raiſed above the ſurface of the ſea, in proceſs of time, became firm, and fit for animal or vegetable life.

Having now conſidered the formation of the atmoſphere, the ſea and the land, I cannot paſs over in ſilence the great analogy between the Moſaic account of the creation and the reſult of phyſical reaſonings, in ſo many eſſential points: for we find the ſame ſeries of truths aſſerted in Scripture which are here deduced from the univerſal laws and operations of Nature.

From this obvious agreement of revelation with reaſon, may we not conclude, that they both flow from the ſame fountain, and therefore cannot operate in contradiction to each other? Conſequently, by which ever means the ſame truths are brought to light, be it by *reaſon* or *revelation*, they will perfectly coincide, and that coincidence may be conſidered as a teſtimony of the truth of each.

The inſtances we find recorded of volcanos, and their effects, leave no room to doubt the *exiſtence*, *force*, and *immenſity* of ſubterraneous fires; not only under the bottom of the ocean, but likewiſe under mountains, continents, &c. in all parts of the world.

But from what principles they were generated, at what diſtance of time from the creation of the world, or whether nearer to its centre or to its ſurface, is perhaps not aſcertainable, whilſt the phenomena of fire remain in ſo much obſcurity: for, according to the celebrated chymiſt M. Macquer, "an accurate diſtinction has not "yet been made between the phe- "nomena of fire actually exiſting "as a principle in the compoſition "of bodies, and thoſe which it "exhibits when exiſting ſeparate- "ly in its natural ſtate: nor have "proper and diſtinct appellations "been aſſigned to it under thoſe "different circumſtances:" therefore, neither the *time*, the *place*, nor the *mode*, in which ſubterraneous

neous fire was generated, can be truly aſcertained.

However, this we know moſt aſſuredly, that a certain degree of moiſture and dryneſs are productive of fire in the vegetable and mineral kingdoms; and likewiſe, that thoſe fires are generated from the firſt increment of heat, and gradually increaſe to their full maturity. Therefore, if we were allowed to reaſon from the analogy one part of nature bears to another, we ſhould conclude, that ſubterraneous fire was generated from the ſame elementary principles, and alſo gradually increaſed to its full maturity.

Having premiſed theſe matters, let us return to the chaotic ſtate of the earth, and endeavour to trace the progreſſive operations of ſubterraneous fire, from its *firſt* increment of heat, and mark its effects on the incumbent *ſtrata*.

1. If a certain degree of moiſture and dryneſs were equally as neceſſary to the production of fire in the bowels of the earth as in the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, it ſeems to follow, that thoſe parts of the globe which firſt began to conſolidate, were alſo the firſt which began to generate fire: therefore as the central parts began to conſolidate ſooner than the more ſuperficial parts, there is ſome probability that they were the firſt ignited.

2. It has alſo been obſerved, that as the earth began to conſolidate by the union of ſimilar particles, an univerſal ſameneſs prevailed either in the ſame *ſtratum*, or in the central part of the earth: whence it appears, that ſubterraneous fire was generated univerſally in the ſame point of time, either in the ſame *ſtratum* or in the central part of the earth, and gradually increaſed to its full maturity.

3. All bodies expand with heat, and the force or power of that law is unlimited: therefore, as ſubterraneous fire increaſed, its expanſive force would gradually increaſe until it became equal to the incumbent weight. Gravity and expanſion being then equal, and the latter continuing to increaſe, became ſuperior to the former, and diſtended the incumbent *ſtrata*, as a bladder forcibly blown.

4. Now if this fire was ſurrounded by a ſhell, or cruſt of *equal thickneſs*, and of *equal denſity*, its *incumbent weight* muſt have been *equal*: on the contrary, if the ſurrounding ſhell or cruſt were *unequally thick*, or *unequally denſe*, its incumbent weight muſt have been unequal.

5. Hence it appears, that as the primitive iſlands were uniform protuberances gradually aſcending from the deep, the incumbent weight muſt have been unequal; for as the ſpecific gravity of ſtone, ſand, or mud, is greater than that of water, the incumbent weight of the former muſt have been greater than that of the latter; conſequently the bottom of the ſea would aſcend by the expanſive force of the ſubterraneous fire ſooner than the iſlands, which would therefore become more or leſs deluged, as the bottom of the ſea was more or leſs elevated; and this effect muſt have been more or leſs univerſal, as the fire prevailed more or leſs univerſally, either in the ſame *ſtratum*, or in the central part of the earth. Therefore, ſince it appears, that ſubterrane-

ous fire operated univerſally in the ſame *ſtratum*, with the ſame degree of force, it appears much more probable, that the deluge prevailed univerſally over the earth, than partially; and more eſpecially when we conſider the elevation of the antediluvian hills. But more of this hereafter.

But the tragical ſcene endeth not with an univerſal flood, and the deſtruction of terreſtrial animals: for the expanſive force of ſubterraneous fire, ſtill increaſing, became ſuperior to the incumbent *weight* and *coheſion* of the *ſtrata*, which were then burſt, and opened a communication between the two oceans of melted matter and water.

The two elements coming thus into contact, the *latter* would be inſtantaneouſly converted into ſteam, and produce an exploſion infinitely beyond all human conception; for it is well known, that the expanſive force of water thus converted into ſteam exceeds that of gunpowder in the proportion of fourteen thouſand to five hundred.

The terraqueous globe being thus burſt into millions of fragments, and from a cauſe apparently ſeated nearer to its center than its ſurface, muſt certainly be thrown into ſtrange heaps of ruins: for the fragments of the *ſtrata* thus blown up, could not poſſibly fall together again into their primitive order and regularity: therefore an infinite number of ſubterraneous caverns muſt have been formed, probably many miles, or many hundreds of miles below the bottom of the antediluvian ſea.

Now it is eaſy to conceive, when a body of ſuch an immenſe magnitude as the earth was thus reduced to an heap of ruins, that its *incumbent water* would immediately deſcend into the caverns and interſtices thereof; and by approaching ſo much nearer towards the center, than in its antediluvian ſtate, much of the terreſtrial ſurface would be left naked and expoſed, with all its horrid gulphs, craggy rocks, mountains, and other diſorderly appearances.

Thus the primitive ſtate of the Earth ſeems to have been totally metamorphoſed by the firſt convulſion of Nature, at the time of the deluge; its *ſtrata* broken, and thrown into every poſſible degree of confuſion and diſorder. Thus, thoſe mighty eminences the Alps, the Andes, the Pyrenean mountains, &c. were brought from beneath the great deep—the ſea retired from thoſe vaſt tracts of land, the continents—became fathomleſs; environed with craggy rocks, cliffs, and impending ſhores; and its bottom ſpread over with mountains and vallies like the land.

It is further to be obſerved of the horrid effects of this convulſion—that as the primitive iſlands were more *ponderous* and *leſs elevated* than the bottom of the ſea, the former would more inſtantaneouſly ſubſide into the ocean of melted matter, than the latter: therefore, in all probability, they became the bottom of the poſtdiluvian ſea: and the bottom of the antediluvian ſea being more elevated, was converted into the poſtdiluvian mountains, continents, &c. This conjecture is remarkably confirmed by the vaſt number of foſſil ſhells, and other marine *exuviæ*, found imbed-

ded near the tops of mountains, and the interior parts of continents, far remote from the ſea, in all parts of the world hitherto explored.

The above phenomena have generally been aſcribed to the effects of an univerſal flood; but we preſume ſuch concluſions were too haſtily drawn: for it manifeſtly appears, upon a more ſtrict examination of the various circumſtances accompanying theſe marine bodies; that they were actually generated, *lived*, and *died*, in the very beds wherein they are found; and that thoſe beds were originally the bottom of the ocean, though now elevated ſeveral miles above its level. Thus we find a further agreement between natural phenomena and the laws of Nature.

Hence it appears, that mountains and continents were not primary productions of Nature; but of a very diſtant period of time from the creation of the world.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that many of the above foſſil bodies are natives of very diſtant regions of the earth, and could not have exiſted in climates wherein they are found, according to the preſent conſtitution of Nature.

To avoid prolixity, in the inveſtigation of the deluge, &c. many intereſting phenomena reſpecting earthquakes have been omitted: we ſhall, therefore, take this opportunity of introducing ſome of them, before we proceed to ſhew the improbability of a ſecond univerſal flood.

1. Previous to an eruption of Veſuvius, the ſea retires from its adjacent ſhores, and leaves its bottom dry, till the mountain is burſt open, when the water returns to its former boundary.

2. Before volcanos burſt open the bottom of the ſea, the water riſes in thoſe places, conſiderably above its former level, runs in mountainous waves towards the leſs elevated parts, and deluges diſtant ſhores.

3. The earth is frequently burſt open many miles in length, and diſcharges ſuch vaſt quantities of water as to deluge the adjacent countries, of which we have had ſeveral inſtances, both in Europe and South America. In the year 1631, ſeveral towns were deſtroyed by an eruption of boiling water from Veſuvius; and in the year 1755, an immenſe torrent of boiling water flowed from Ætna, a mile and a quarter broad, down to its baſe. See Sir Wm. Hamilton's Obſervations on Veſuvius and Ætna, p. 82.

4. Eruptions are generally accompanied with thunder and lightning, and ſucceeded by inceſſant rains.

5. On the 1ſt of November 1755, the memorable æra of the earthquake at Liſbon, not only the ſea, but lakes and ponds were violently agitated all over Europe. See Philoſ. Tranſ. vol. 79.

Moſt of theſe phenomena teſtify the immenſe force of ſteam generated by melted matter and water, in the bowels of the earth; for, in the firſt inſtance, Mount Veſuvius and its adjacent ſhores being more elevated by the ſteams, than the bottom of the diſtant ſea; the water retreats from the ſhores towards the leſs elevated parts, and leaves its bottom dry. When the ſteams find vent, by the eruption, the

the mountain ſubſides to its former level, and the water returns to the ſhore.

The ſecond inſtance ſhews, that the bottom of the ſea is more elevated than the land; therefore the water retires, in mountainous waves, towards the leſs elevated parts, and overflows the coaſt.

The third is not only a corroborating inſtance, to ſhew the expanſive force of ſteam; but likewiſe coincides with the Moſaic deſcription of the deluge, "*the foun-*" *tains of the great deep were boken* "*up.*"

The fourth ſeems to have ſome analogy to that dreadful event.

The fifth phenomena ſeems to ariſe from the ſame cauſe. When the *ſtrata* incumbent on the melted matter are elevated by the force of ſteam; the impending roof is apparently ſeparated from the liquid maſs; and this ſeparation may be laterally extended to the diſtance of many miles from the original ſource of the ſteam, according to its quantity, and degree of its expanſive force.

Now if theſe conjectures are true, the conſequences thence ariſing are manifeſt. The *ſtrata* immediately over the ſteam firſt generated being more elevated than thoſe in the act of ſeparation, the horizontal poſition of the earth's ſurface muſt conſequently be altered, ſo as to produce an undulation of the water in lakes, ponds, &c. as in veſſels ſuddenly elevated on one ſide more than on the other; and thus continue in motion, alternately overflowing the oppoſite banks, until the *momentum* acquired by the firſt impulſe is gradually overcome.

That ſteam is the principal agent whence theſe phenomena ariſe, I preſume will be readily granted by thoſe who have carefully attended to the Rev. Mr. Michell's obſervations on the cauſe of earthquakes. Now, as one of the properties of ſteam is condenſation by a ſmall degree of cold, the ſame degree of expanſive force can only exiſt during the ſame degree of heat: therefore the incumbent weight cannot become elevated to any greater diſtance than ſubterraneous fire is continued. This being granted, it ſeems to follow, that as the waters were thus agitated on the 1ſt of November 1755, through an extent of country not leſs than 3000 miles, there muſt have been one continued uninterrupted maſs of melted matter of the ſame extent at leaſt. And this idea ſeems to be corroborated by thoſe vaſt exploſions which were heard in ſome of the Derbyſhire mines, about ten o'clock in the morning ſo fatal to Liſbon.

The above examples ſerve to illuſtrate the powerful and extenſive effects of ſteam, produced by melted matter and water: truths well known to founders, particularly to thoſe converſant in caſting gold, ſilver, copper, braſs, and iron. "About ſixty years ago, a me-" lancholy accident happened " from the caſting of braſs cannon, " at Windmill-Hill, Moorfields, " where many ſpectators were aſ-" ſembled to ſee the metal run " into the moulds. The heat of " the metal of the firſt gun drove " ſo much damp into the mould of " the ſecond, which was near it, " that as ſoon as the metal was let " into it, it blew up with the " greateſt

greateſt violence, tearing up the " ground ſome feet deep, breaking " down the furnace, untiling the " houſe, killing many people on " the ſpot with the ſtreams of " melted metal," &c. See Cramer's Art of Aſſaying Metals. Engliſh tranſlation, p. 323.

The inflammable vapour or damp, in mines, occaſions violent exploſions; but they are only momentary, as the firing of gunpowder. On the contrary, thoſe from volcanos frequently continue many months, with great violence, which plainly ſhews that thoſe ſtreams muſt be continually generating from the above cauſes.

P. S. As the diſtention of the *ſtrata*, obſerved in the former part of this chapter, may appear highly improbable to ſome readers, I take this opportunity of reciting the Reverend Mr. Michell's obſervations on the elaſticity and compreſſibility of ſtone, &c. mentioned in his excellent Treatiſe on Earthquakes, note, p. 34, as follows: " The compreſſibility and " elaſticity of the earth are qualities which do not ſhew themſelves in any great degree in " common inſtances, and therefore are not commonly attended " to. On this account it is that " few people are aware of the " great extent of them, or the " effects that may ariſe from " them, where exceeding large " quantities of matter are concerned, and where the compreſſive force is immenſely great. " The compreſſibility and elaſticity of the earth may be collected, in ſome meaſure, from " the vibration of the walls of " houſes, occaſioned by the paſſing of carriages in the ſtreets " next to them. Another inſtance, to the ſame purpoſe, " may be taken from the vibration of ſteeples, occaſioned by " the ringing of bells, or by guſts of wind: not only ſpires are moved very conſiderably by this " means, but even ſtrong towers " will ſometimes be made to vibrate ſeveral inches, without " any disjointing of the mortar, " or rubbing the ſtones againſt one " another. Now, it is manifeſt, " that this could not happen, " without a conſiderable degree " of compreſſibility and elaſticity " in the materials of which they " are compoſed."

Now, if ſo ſhort a length of ſtone as that of a ſteeple, viſibly bends, by ſo ſmall a degree of force as the ringing of bells, or a blaſt of wind; may we not conclude, that the *ſtrata*, in the primitive ſtate of the earth, might become conſiderably diſtended, by an unlimited force, and therefore occaſion an univerſal deluge, according to the preceding concluſion. Since it appears, that if a globe 80 inches diameter only, ſuffered a degree of expanſion equal to the thickneſs of a human hair; the ſame degree of heat, by analogy, would have raiſed the bottom of the ocean one-fourth of a mile; which is above four times higher than the primitive iſlands were ſuppoſed to have been elevated above the ſurface of the ſea.

An Account of an Infant Muſician, by Dr. Burney, *F.R.S.*

[From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.]

THAT reaſon begins to dawn, and reflexion to operate, in ſome

ſome children much ſooner than in others, muſt be known to every one who has had an opportunity of comparing the faculties of one child with thoſe of another. It has, however, ſeldom been found, that the ſenſes, by which intelligence is communicated to the mind, advance with even pace towards perfection. The eye and the ear, for inſtance, which ſeem to afford reaſon its principal ſupplies, mature at different periods, in proportion to exerciſe and experience; and not only arrive at different degrees of perfection during the ſtages of infancy, but have different limits at every period of human life. An eye or ear that only ſerves the common purpoſes of exiſtence is intitled to no praiſe; and it is only by extraordinary proofs of quickneſs and diſcrimination in the uſe of theſe ſenſes, that an early tendency to the art of painting or muſic is diſcovered.

Many children, indeed, ſeem to recognize different forms, perſons, ſounds, and tones of voice, in very early infancy, who never afterwards endeavour to imitate forms by delineation, or ſounds by vocal inflexions.

As drawing or deſign may be called a refinement of the ſenſe of ſight, and practical muſic of that of hearing; and as a perfection in theſe arts at every period of life, from the difficulty of its attainment, and the delight it affords to the admirers and judges of both, is treated with reſpect, a premature diſpoſition to either uſually excites the ſame kind of wonder as a phenomenon or prodigy.

But as perſons conſummate in theſe arts, and who are acquainted with the uſual difficulties which impede the rapid progreſs of common ſtudents, can only judge of the miraculous parts of a child's knowledge or performance, it will be neceſſary, before I ſpeak of the talents peculiar to the child who is the ſubject of the preſent inquiry, to diſtinguiſh, as far as experience and obſervation ſhall enable me, between a common and ſupernatural diſpoſition, during infancy, towards the art of muſic.

In general a child is not thought capable of profiting from the inſtructions of a muſic-maſter till five or ſix years old, though many have diſcovered an ear capable of being pleaſed with muſical tones, and a voice that could imitate them, much ſooner. The lullaby of a nurſe during the firſt months of a child's exiſtence has been found to ſubdue peeviſhneſs, and, perhaps, divert attention from pain; and in the ſecond year it has often happened, that a child has not only been more diverted with one tune or ſeries of ſounds than another, but has had ſufficient power over the organs of voice to imitate the inflexions by which it is formed; and theſe early proofs of what is commonly called muſical genius would doubtleſs be more frequently diſcovered if experiments were made, or the mothers or nurſes were muſically curious. However, ſpontaneous efforts at forming a tune, or producing harmony upon an inſtrument ſo early, have never come to my knowledge.

The arts being governed by laws built on ſuch productions and effects as the moſt poliſhed part of mankind

mankind have long agreed to call excellent, can make but ſmall approaches towards perfection in a ſtate of nature, however favourable may be the diſpoſition of thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be gifted with an uncommon tendency towards their cultivation. Nature never built a palace, painted a picture, or made a tune: theſe are all works of art. And with reſpect to architecture and muſic, there are no models in nature which can encourage imitation: and though there is a wild kind of muſic among ſavages, where paſſion vents itſelf in lengthened tones different from thoſe of ſpeech, yet theſe rude effuſions can afford no pleaſure to a cultivated ear, nor would be honoured in Europe with any better title than the howlings of animals of an inferior order to mankind.

All therefore that is really admirable in early attempts at muſic is the power of imitation; for elegant melody and good harmony can only be ſuch as far as they correſpond with or ſurpaſs their models: and as melody conſiſts in the happy arrangement of ſingle ſounds, and harmony in the artificial combination and ſimultaneous uſe of them, an untaught muſician becomes the inventor of both; and thoſe who are at all acquainted with the infancy of ſuch melody and harmony as conſtitute modern muſic, can alone form an idea of the rude ſtate of both when an individual diſcovers them by the ſlow proceſs of experiment.

Every art when firſt diſcovered ſeems to reſemble a rough and ſhapeleſs maſs of marble juſt hewn out of a quarry, which requires the united and ſucceſſive endeavours of many labourers to form and poliſh. The zeal and activity of a ſingle workman can do but little towards its completion; and in muſic the undirected efforts of an infant muſt be ſtill more circumſcribed: for, without the aid of reaſon and perſeverance he can only depend on memory and a premature delicacy and acuteneſs of ear for his guides; and in theſe particulars the child of whom I am going to ſpeak is truly wonderful.

William Crotch was born at Norwich, July 5, 1775. His father, by trade a carpenter, having a paſſion for muſic, of which however he had no knowledge, undertook to build an organ, on which, as ſoon as it would ſpeak, he learned to play two or three common tunes, ſuch as *God ſave great George our king*; *Let ambition fire thy mind*; and *The Eaſter Hymn*; with which, and ſuch chords as were pleaſing to his ear, he uſed to try the perfection of his inſtrument.

I have been favoured with ſeveral particulars concerning his ſon's firſt attention to muſic from Robert Partridge, Eſquire, a gentleman of rank in the Corporation of Norwich, who, at my requeſt, has been ſo obliging as to aſcertain many curious facts, the truth of which, had they reſted merely on the authority of the child's father or mother, might have been ſuſpected; and tranſactions out of the common courſe of nature cannot be too ſcrupulouſly or minutely proved.

My correſpondent, of whoſe intelligence and veracity I have the higheſt opinion, tells me, that I may reſt aſſured of the authenticity of ſuch circumſtances as he relates from the information of the

the child's father, who is an ingenious mechanic, of good reputation, whom he knows very well; and frequently employs, as theſe circumſtances are confirmed by the teſtimony of many who were witneſſes of the child's early performance; and he adds, that he has himſelf ſeen and heard moſt of the very extraordinary efforts of his genius.

About Chriſtmas 1776, when the child was only a year and a half old, he diſcovered a great inclination for muſic, by leaving even his food to attend to it when the organ was playing: and about Midſummer 1777, he would touch the key-note of his particular favourite tunes, in order to perſuade his father to play them. Soon after this, as he was unable to name theſe tunes, he would play the two or three firſt notes of them when he thought the key-note did not ſufficiently explain which he wiſhed to have played.

But, according to his mother, it ſeems to have been in conſequence of his having heard the ſuperior performance of Mrs. Lulman, a muſical lady, who came to try his father's organ, and who not only played on it, but ſung to her own accompanyment, that he firſt attempted to play a tune himſelf: for, the ſame evening, after her departure, the child cried, and was ſo peeviſh that his mother was wholly unable to appeaſe him. At length, paſſing through the dining-room, he ſcreamed and ſtruggled violently to go to the organ, in which, when he was indulged, he eagerly beat down the keys with his little fiſts, as other children uſually do after finding themſelves able to produce a noiſe, which pleaſes them more than the artificial performance of real melody or harmony by others.

The next day, however, being left, while his mother went out, in the dining-room with his brother, a youth of about fourteen years old, he would not let him reſt till he blew the bellows of the organ, while he ſat on his knee and beat down the keys, at firſt promiſcuouſly; but preſently, with one hand, he played enough of *God ſave great* George *our King* to awaken the curioſity of his father, who being in a garret, which was his work-ſhop, haſtened down ſtairs to inform himſelf who was playing this tune on the organ. When he found it was the child, he could hardly believe what he heard and ſaw. At this time he was exactly two years and three weeks old, as appears by a copy I have obtained of the regiſter in the pariſh of St. George's Colgate, Norwich, ſigned by the reverend Mr. Tapps, Miniſter. Nor can the age of this child be ſuppoſed to exceed this account by thoſe who have ſeen him, as he has not only all the appearance, but the manners, of an infant, and can no more be prevailed on to play by perſuaſion than a bird to ſing.

It is eaſy to account for *God ſave great* George *our King* being the firſt tune he attempted to play, as it was not only that which his father often performed, but had been moſt frequently adminiſtered to him as a narcotic by his mother, during the firſt year of his life. It had likewiſe been more magnificently played than he was accuſtomed to hear by Mrs. Lulman, the afternoon before he became a practical muſician himſelf;

ſelf; and, previous to this event, he uſed to teize his father to play this tune on his organ, and was very clamourous when he did not carry his point.

When his mother returned, the father, with a look which at once implied joy, wonder, and myſtery, deſired her to go up ſtairs with him, as he had ſomething curious to ſhew her. She obeyed, imagining that ſome acquaintance or friend was arrived, or that ſome intereſting event had happened during her abſence; but was as much ſurprized as the father on hearing the child play the firſt part of *God ſave great* George *our King*. The next day he made himſelf maſter of the treble of the ſecond part; and the day after he attempted the baſe, which he performed nearly correct in every particular, except the note immediately before the cloſe, which, being an octave below the preceding ſound, was out of the reach of his little hand.

In the beginning of November 1777, he played both the treble and baſe of *Let ambition fire thy mind*, an old tune which is, perhaps, now better known by the words to which it is ſung in Love in a Village, *Hope, thou nurſe of young deſire*.

Upon the parents relating this extraordinary circumſtance to ſome of their neighbours, they laughed at it; and, regarding it as the effect of partial fondneſs for their child, adviſed them by no means to mention it, as ſuch a marvellous account would only expoſe them to ridicule. However, a few days after, Mr. Crotch being ill, and unable to go out to work, Mr. Paul, a maſter-weaver by whom he was employed, paſſing accidently by the door, and hearing the organ, fancied he had been deceived, and that Crotch had ſtayed at home in order to divert himſelf on his favourite inſtrument; fully prepoſſeſſed with this idea, he entered the houſe, and, ſuddenly opening the dining-room door, ſaw the child playing on the organ while his brother was blowing the bellows. Mr. Paul thought the performance ſo extraordinary, that he immediately brought two or three of the neighbours to hear it, who propagating the news, a croud of near a hundred people came the next day to hear the young performer, and, on the following days, a ſtill greater number flocked to the houſe from all quarters of the city; till, at length, the child's parents were forced to limit his exhibition to certain days and hours, in order to leſſen his fatigue, and exempt themſelves from the inconvenience of conſtant attendance on the curious multitude.

This account agrees in moſt particulars with a letter I received from Norwich, and of which the following is an extract.

"There is now in this city a "muſical prodigy, which en- "gages the converſation and ex- "cites the wonder of every body. "A boy, ſon to a carpenter, of "only two years and three quar- "ters old, from hearing his fa- "ther play upon an organ which "he is making, has diſcovered "ſuch muſical powers as are "ſcarcely credible. He plays a "variety of tunes, and has from "memory repeated fragments of "ſeveral voluntaries which he "heard Mr. Garland, the orga- "niſt,

" niſt, play at the cathedral. He " has likewiſe accompanied a per- " ſon who played upon the flute, " not only with a treble, but has " formed a baſe of his own, " which to common hearers ſeem- " ed harmonious. If any perſon " plays falſe, it throws him into " a paſſion directly; and though " his little fingers can only reach " a ſixth, he often attempts to " play chords. He does not ſeem " a remarkable clever child in any " other reſpect; but his whole ſoul " is abſorbed in muſic*. Numbers " croud daily to hear him, and " the muſical people are all amaze- " ment †."

The child being but two years and eight months old when this letter was written, his performance muſt have appeared conſiderably more wonderful than at preſent: for as he ſeems to have received ſcarce any inſtructions, and to have purſued no regular courſe of ſtudy or practice ſince that time, it can hardly be imagined that he is much improved. However, experience muſt have informed him what ſeries or combination of ſounds was moſt offenſive to his ear; but ſuch is his impetuoſity that he never dwells long on any note or chord, and indeed his performance muſt originally have been as much under the guidance of the eye as the ear, for when his hand unfortunately falls upon wrong notes, the ear cannot judge till it is too late to correct the miſtake. However, habit, and perhaps the delicacy and acuteneſs of another ſenſe, that of feeling, now direct him to the keys which he preſſes down, as he hardly ever looks at them.

The firſt voluntary he heard with attention was performed at his father's houſe by Mr. Mully, a muſic-maſter; and as ſoon as he was gone, the child ſeeming to play on the organ in a wild and different manner from what his mother was accuſtomed to hear, ſhe aſked him what he was doing? And he replied, " I am " playing the gentleman's fine " thing." But ſhe was unable to judge of the reſemblance: however, when Mr. Mully returned a few days after, and was aſked, whether the child had remembered any of the paſſages in his voluntary, he anſwered in the affirmative. This happened about the

* This opinion ſeems to have been too haſtily formed; for, independent of his muſical talent, he appears to me poſſeſſed of a general intelligence beyond his age: and he has diſcovered a genius and inclination for drawing, nearly as ſtrong as for muſic; for whenever he is not at an inſtrument, he uſually employs himſelf in ſketching, with his left-hand, houſes, churches, ſhips, or animals, in his rude and wild manner, with chalk on the floor, or upon whatever other plain ſurface he is allowed to ſcrawl. Painters may, perhaps, form ſome judgment of his muſic by his drawings.

† His father, who has lately been in London, and with whom I have converſed ſince this account was drawn up, all the particulars of which he has confirmed, told me, that when he firſt carried the child to the cathedral he uſed to cry the inſtant he heard the loud organ, which, being ſo much more powerful than that to which he had been accuſtomed at home, he was ſome time before he could bear without diſcovering pain, occaſioned, perhaps, by the extreme delicacy of his ear, and irritability of his nerves.

middle

middle of November 1777, when he was only two years and four months old, and for a conſiderable time after he would play nothing elſe but theſe paſſages.

A muſical gentleman of Norwich informed Mr. Partridge, that, at this time, ſuch was the rapid progreſs he had made in judging of the agreement of ſounds, that he played the Eaſter-Hymn with full harmony; and in the laſt two or three bars of *Hallelujah*, where the ſame ſound is ſuſtained, he played chords with both hands, by which the parts were multiplied to fix, which he had great difficulty in reaching on account of the ſhortneſs of his fingers. The ſame gentleman obſerved, that in making a baſe to tunes which he had recently caught by his ear, whenever the harmony diſpleaſed him, he would continue the treble note till he had formed a better accompanyment.

From this period his memory was very accurate in retaining any tune that pleaſed him: and being preſent at a concert where a band of gentlemen-performers played the overture in Rodelinda, he was ſo delighted with the minuet, that the next morning he hummed part of it in bed; and by noon, without any further aſſiſtance, played the whole on the organ.

His chief delight at preſent is in playing voluntaries, which certainly would not be called muſic if performed by one of riper years, being deficient in harmony and meaſure; but they manifeſt ſuch a diſcernment and ſelection of notes as is truly wonderful, and which, if ſpontaneous, would ſurprize at any age. But though he executes fragments of common tunes in very good time, yet no adherence to any particular meaſure is diſcoverable in his voluntaries; nor have I ever obſerved in any of them that he tried to play in triple time. If he diſcovers a partiality for any particular meaſure, it is for dactyls of one long and two ſhort notes, which conſtitute that ſpecies of common time in which many ſtreet-tunes are compoſed, particularly the firſt part of the Belleiſle March, which, perhaps, may firſt have ſuggeſted this meaſure to him, and impreſſed it in his memory. And his ear, though exquiſitely formed for diſcriminating ſounds, is as yet only captivated by vulgar and common melody, and is ſatisfied with very imperfect harmony. I examined his countenance when he firſt heard the voice of Signor Pacchierotti, the principal ſinger of the Opera, but did not find that he ſeemed ſenſible of the ſuperior taſte and refinement of that exquiſite performer; however, he called out very ſoon after the air was begun, "He is ſinging "in F."

And this is one of the aſtoniſhing properties of his ear, that he can diſtinguiſh at a great diſtance from any inſtrument, and out of ſight of the keys, any note that is ſtruck, whether A, B, C, &c. In this I have repeatedly tried him, and never found him miſtaken even in the half notes; a circumſtance the more extraordinary, as many practitioners and good performers are unable to diſtinguiſh by the ear at the Opera or elſewhere in what key any air or piece of muſic is executed.

But this child was able to find any note that was ſtruck in his

hearing, when out of ſight of the keys, at two years and a half old, even before he knew the letters of the alphabet: a circumſtance ſo extraordinary, that I was very curious to know when, and in what manner, this faculty firſt diſcovered itſelf; and his father ſays, that in the middle of January 1778, while he was playing the organ, a particular note hung, or, to ſpeak the language of organ builders, ciphered, by which the tone was continued without the preſſure of the finger: and though neither himſelf nor his elder ſon could find out what note it was, the child, who was then amuſing himſelf with drawing on the floor, left that employment, and going to the organ immediately laid his hand on the note that ciphered *. Mr. Crotch thinking this the effect of chance, the next day purpoſely cauſed ſeveral notes to cipher, one after the other, all which he inſtantly diſcovered: and at laſt he weakened the ſprings of two keys at once, which, by preventing the valves of the wind-cheſt from cloſing, occaſioned a double cipher, both of which he directly found out. Any child, indeed, that is not an idiot, who knows black from white, long from ſhort, and can pronounce the letters of the alphabet by which muſical notes are called, may be taught the names of the keys of the harpſichord in five minutes †; but, in general, five years would not be ſufficient, at any age, to impreſs the mind of a muſical ſtudent with an infallible reminiſcence of the tones produced by theſe keys, when not allowed to look at them.

Another wonderful part of his pre-maturity was the being able at two years and four months old to tranſpoſe into the moſt extraneous and difficult keys whatever he played; and now, in his extemporaneous flights, he modulates into all keys with equal facility.

The laſt qualification which I ſhall point out as extraordinary in this infant muſician, is the being able to play an extemporary baſe to eaſy melodies when performed by another perſon upon the ſame inſtrument. But theſe baſes muſt not be imagined correct, according to the rules of counter-point, any more than his voluntaries. He generally gives, indeed, the key-note to paſſages formed from its common chord and its inverſions, and is quick at diſcovering when the fifth of the key will ſerve as a baſe. At other times he makes the third of the key ſerve as an accompaniment to melodies formed from the harmony of the chord to the key-note; and if ſimple paſſages are played ſlow, in a regular progreſſion aſcending or deſcending, he ſoon finds out that thirds or tenths, below the treble,

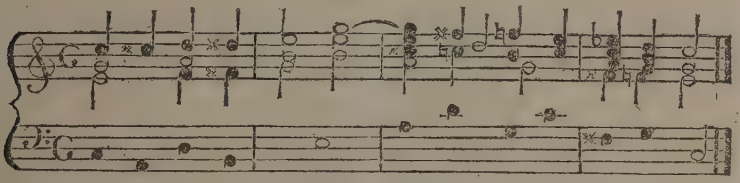
* This circumſtance proves that he exerciſed his eye in drawing, after his manner, before he was two years and a half old.

† By remarking that the ſhort keys, which ſerve for flats and ſharps, are divided into parcels of threes and twos, and that the long key between every two ſhort keys is always called D, it is extremely eaſy from that note to diſcover the ſituation and names of the reſt, according to the order of the firſt ſeven letters of the alphabet.

will

will ſerve his purpoſe in furniſhing an agreeable accompaniment.

However, in this kind of extemporary baſe, if the ſame paſſages are not frequently repeated, the changes of modulation muſt be few and ſlow, or correctneſs cannot be expected even from a profeſſor. The child is always as ready at finding a treble to a baſe as a baſe to a treble, if played in ſlow notes, even in chromatic paſſages; that is, if, after the chord of C natural is ſtruck, C be made ſharp, he ſoon finds out that A makes a good baſe to it; and on the contrary, if, after the chord of D with a ſharp third, F is made natural, and A is changed into B, he inſtantly gives G for the baſe. Indeed he continued to accompany me with great readineſs in the following chromatic modulation, aſcending and deſcending:



I made more experiments of this kind, but to relate them would render my account too technical to all but compoſers, or ſuch as have long ſtudied harmony.

When he declares himſelf tired of playing on an inſtrument, and his muſical faculties ſeem wholly blunted, he can be provoked to attention, even though engaged in any new amuſement, by a wrong note being ſtruck in the melody of any well-known tune; and if he ſtands by the inſtrument when ſuch a note is deſignedly ſtruck, he will inſtantly put down the right, in whatever key the air is playing.

At preſent, all his own melodies are imitations of common and eaſy paſſages, and he ſeems inſenſible to others; however, the only method by which ſuch an infant can as yet be taught any thing better ſeems by example. If he were to hear only good melody and harmony, he would doubtleſs try to produce ſomething ſimilar; but, at preſent, he plays nothing correctly, and his voluntaries are little leſs wild than the native notes of a lark or a black-bird. Nor does he, as yet, ſeem a ſubject for inſtruction: for till his reaſon is ſufficiently matured to comprehend and retain the precepts of a maſter, and ſomething like a wiſh for information appears, by a ready and willing obedience to his injunctions, the trammels of rule would but diſguſt, and, if forced upon him, deſtroy the miraculous parts of his ſelf-taught performance.

Mr. Baillet publiſhed in the laſt century a book, *Sur les Enfans celebres par leurs etudes*; and yet, notwithſtanding the title of his work, he ſpeaks not of infants but adoleſcents, for the youngeſt wonder he celebrates in literature is at leaſt ſeven years old; an age at which ſeveral ſtudents in muſic under my own eye have been able to perform difficult compoſitions on the harpſichord, with great neatneſs and preciſion. However,

this has never been accompliſhed without inſtructions and laborious practice, not always voluntary.

Muſical prodigies of this kind are not infrequent: there have been ſeveral in my own memory on the harpſichord. About thirty years ago I heard Palſchau, a German boy of nine or ten years old, then in London, perform with great accuracy many of the moſt difficult compoſitions that have ever been written for keyed inſtruments, particularly ſome leſſons and double fugues by Sebaſtian Bach, the father of the preſent eminent profeſſors of that name, which, at that time, there were very few maſters in Europe able to execute, as they contained difficulties of a particular kind; ſuch as rapid diviſions for each hand in a ſeries of thirds, and in ſixths, aſcending and deſcending, beſides thoſe of full harmony and contrivance in nearly as many parts as fingers, ſuch as abound in the leſſons and organ fugues of Handel.

Miſs Frederica, now Mrs. Wynne, a little after this time, was remarkable for executing, at ſix years old, a great number of leſſons by Scarlatti, Paradies, and others, with the utmoſt preciſion.

But the two ſons of the Reverend Mr. Weſtley ſeem to have diſcovered, during early infancy, very uncommon faculties for the practice of muſic. Charles, the eldeſt, at two years and three quarters old, ſurprized his father by playing a tune on the harpſichord readily, and in juſt time: ſoon after he played ſeveral, whatever his mother ſung, or whatever he heard in the ſtreet.

Samuel, the youngeſt, though he was three years old before he aimed at a tune, yet by conſtantly hearing his brother practiſe, and being accuſtomed to good muſic and maſterly execution, before he was ſix years old arrived at ſuch knowledge in muſic, that his extemporary performance on keyed inſtruments, like Mozart's, was ſo maſterly in point of invention, modulation, and accuracy of execution, as to ſurpaſs, in many particulars, the attainments of moſt profeſſors at any period of their lives.

Indeed Mozart, when little more than four years old, is ſaid to have been "not only capable of exe-"cuting leſſons on his favourite "inſtrument, the harpſichord, but "to have compoſed ſome in an "eaſy ſtyle and taſte, which were "much approved*:" and Samuel Weſtley before he could write was a compoſer, and mentally ſet the airs of ſeveral Oratorios, which he retained in memory till he was eight years old, and then wrote them down.

Here the difference of education appears: little Crotch, left to nature, has not only been without inſtructions but good models of imitation; while Mozart and Samuel Weſtley, on the contrary, may be ſaid to have been nurſed in good muſic: for as the latter had his brother's excellent performance to ſtimulate attention, and feed his ear with harmony; the German infant, living in the

* See Phil. Tranſ. vol. LX. for the year 1770; an account of a very remarkable young muſician, by the honourable Daines Barrington, F. R. S. who ſoon intends to favour the public with an account of the two Weſtleys.

houſe

houſe of his father, an eminent profeſſor, and an elder ſiſter, a neat player on the harpſichord, and conſtantly practiſing compoſitions of the firſt claſs for that inſtrument, had every advantage of ſituation and culture joined to the profuſion of natural endowments.

Of Mozart's infant attempts at muſic I was unable to diſcover the traces from the converſation of his father; who, though an intelligent man, whoſe education and knowledge of the world did not ſeem confined to muſic, confeſſed himſelf unable to deſcribe the progreſſive improvements of his ſon during the firſt ſtages of infancy. However, at eight years of age I was frequently convinced of his great knowledge in compoſition by his writings; and that his invention, taſte, modulation, and execution in extemporary playing, were ſuch as few profeſſors are poſſeſſed of at forty years of age.

Into what the preſent prodigy may mature is not eaſy to predict; we more frequently hear of trees in bloſſom during the winter months than of fruits in conſequence of ſuch unſeaſonable appearances. However, to keep pace with the expectations to which ſuch premature talents give birth is hardly allowed to humanity. It is the wiſh of ſome, that the uncommon faculties with which this child is endowed might be ſuffered to expand by their own efforts, neither reſtrained by rules, nor guided by examples; that, at length, the world might be furniſhed with a ſpecies of natural muſic, ſuperior to all the ſurprizing productions of art to which pedantry, affectation, or a powerful hand, have given birth. But alas! ſuch a wiſh muſt have been formed without reflection; for muſic having its claſſics as well as poetry and other arts, what could he compoſe or play upon different principles that would not offend the ears of thoſe who have regarded thoſe claſſics as legiſlators, and whoſe ſouls have been wrapped in elyſium by their ſtrains? He might as well, if ſecluded from all intercourſe with men, be expected to invent a better language than the preſent Engliſh, the work of millions, during many centuries, as a new muſic more grateful to the ears of a civilized people than that with which all Europe is now delighted.

An individual may doubtleſs advance nearer perfection in every art by the aſſiſtance of thouſands, than by the mere efforts of his own labour and genius.

Another wiſh has been formed, that the effects of different genera and diviſions of the muſical ſcale might be tried upon this little muſician; but the ſucceſs of ſuch an experiment is not difficult to divine. An uncultivated ear would as naturally like the moſt plain and common muſic, as a young mind would beſt comprehend the moſt ſimple and evident propoſitions: and, as yet, the attention of Crotch cannot be excited by any muſical refinements or elaborate contrivance.

It has likewiſe been imagined by ſome, that every child might be taught muſic in the cradle, if the experiment were made; but to theſe it may with truth be ſaid, that ſuch an experiment is *daily* made on every child, by every

mother and nurſe, that is able to form a tune, on every part of the globe. In Italy the *ninne nonne*, or lullabies, are fragments of elegant melodies, become common and popular by frequent hearing; and theſe, though they help to form the national taſte, are not found to ſtimulate the attention of Italian children to melody, or to accelerate the diſplay of muſical talents at a more early period than elſewhere.

Premature powers in muſic have as often ſurprized by ſuddenly becoming ſtationary as by advancing rapidly to the ſummit of excellence. Sometimes, perhaps, nature is exhauſted or enfeebled by theſe early efforts; but when that is not the caſe, the energy and vigour of her operations are ſeldom properly ſeconded, being either impeded and checked by early ſelf-complacence, or an injudicious courſe of ſtudy; and ſometimes, perhaps, genius is kept from expanſion by ill-choſen models; excluſive admiration, want of counſel, or acceſs to the moſt excellent compoſitions and performers in the claſs for which nature has fitted thoſe on whom it is beſtowed.

On the Growth of Cedars in England; *in a Letter to Sir* John Cullum.

AMONG the ſlighter devaſtations occaſioned by the laſt new-year's hurricane, I cannot, as an admirer of natural productions, but lament with particular regret the deſtruction of perhaps the fineſt cedar in England. This ſuperb tree, *una, nemus*, ſtood cloſe on the north ſide of Hendon Place, the elegant reſidence of Mr. Aiſlabie, eight miles from London. From the gardener's information, and my own admeaſurements, ſome of its dimenſions *had been* theſe. The height 70 feet; the diameter of the horizontal extent of the branches, upon an average, 100; the circumference of the trunk, 7 feet above the ground, 16; 12 feet above the ground, 20. At this latter height it began to branch; and its limbs, about 10 in number, were from 6 to 12 feet in circumference. Its roots had not ſpread wide nor deep; and the ſoil that had ſuited it ſo well, is a ſtrong clay, upon rather an elevated ſituation. Tradition aſcribes the planting of this tree to Queen Elizabeth herſelf; yet the vigour of its trunk, and the full verdure of its branches (beſides a reaſon which I ſhall preſently adduce), make me doubt, whether we are to allow it ſo great an age. However that be, its appearance ſhews that it had not arrived at maturity, and might have ſtood, perhaps have thriven, for centuries to come. The gardener made 50 l. of the cones the year before laſt, but laſt year only 12 l.

The great ſize, and apparent increaſing vigour of this tree, excited my curioſity to inquire into the age and ſize of ſome of its brethren; and to collect what particulars I could towards the Engliſh hiſtory of this nobleſt of our exotics.

The Rev. Mr. Lightfoot of Uxbridge, upon whoſe accuracy, as well as friendſhip, I can depend, has ſent me the following dimenſions

sions of one at Hillingdon, in his neighbourhood. The perpendicular height is 53 feet; the diameter of the horizontal extent of the branches from east to west, 96; from north to south, 89; the circumference of the trunk close to the ground, 15 ½; 3 ½ feet above the ground, 13 ½; 7 feet above the ground, 12 ½; 12 feet above the ground, 14 feet 8 inches; 13 ½, just under the branches, 15 feet 8 inches. It has two principal branches, one of which is bifid 1 ½ foot above its origin: before it divides, it measures in circumference 12 feet; after its division, one of its forks measures 8 ½, the other 7 feet 10 inches. The other primary branch at its origin measures 10 feet; and, soon dividing, throws out two secondary ones, each 5 ½. The proprietor of this tree says he can with much certainty determine its age to be 116 years.

The largest of those at Chelsea, measured last month, is in height 85 feet; the horizontal extent of its branches is about 80; the circumference of its trunk close to the ground 18 ½; at 2 feet above the ground, 15; at 10 feet, 16; at about 1 yard higher it begins to branch. These trees, Mr. Miller says, were, as he was credibly informed, planted in 1683, about 3 feet high. The soil is a lean hungry sand mixed with gravel, and about two feet surface.

In the garden of the old palace at Enfield is a cedar of Libanus, of the following dimensions, taken by Mr. Thomas Liley, an ingenious school-master there, at the desire of my friend Mr. Gough, who was so obliging as to communicate them to me:

	Feet.	Inches.
Height	45	9
Girt at top	3	7
Second girt	7	9
Third girt	10	
Fourth girt	14	6

Large arm that branches out near the top, 3 feet 9 inches; several boughs, in girt 3 feet 5 inches; and the boughs extend from the body from 28 to 45 feet. The contents of the body, exclusive of the boughs, is about 103 cubical feet. This tree is known to have been planted by Dr. Uvedale, who kept a flourishing school in this house at the time of the great plague 1665, and was a great florist. Eight feet of the top were broken off by the high wind of 1703. Tradition says this tree was brought hither immediately from Mount Libanus in a portmanteau. The first lime-trees planted in England found their way over in the same conveyance*.

Several other cedars of considerable size are scattered about in different parts of the kingdom.

I find not, with exactness, when, or by whom, the cedar was first introduced into England. Turner, one of our earliest herbarists, where he treats "of the pyne tre, and "other of that kynde," says nothing of it. Gerard, published by Johnson in 1636, mentions it not as growing here; and Parkinson, in his Theatrum Botanicum, 1640, speaking of the Cedrus magna conifera Libani, says, "The branches, *some say*,

* Harris's Kent, p. 92.

" all grow upright, but others, " ſtrait out." Evelyn, whoſe diſcourſe on foreſt-trees was delivered in the Royal Society in 1662, obſerving that cedars throve in cold climates, adds, " Why then " ſhould they not thrive in Old " England? I know not, ſave for " want of induſtry and *trial*."

Hitherto, I think, it is pretty plain the cedar was unknown among us: and it appears probable, that we are indebted to the laſt-mentioned gentleman for its introduction into England; for he informs us in the ſame paragraph from which I made the above quotation, that he had received cones and ſeeds from the few trees remaining on the mountains of Libanus.

Something better than twenty years afterwards, we find, among Mr. Ray's philoſophical letters, the following curious one addreſſed to him from Sir Hans Sloane:

" *London, March* 7, 1684-5.

" I was the other day at Chelſea, and find that the artifices " uſed by Mr. Watts have been " very effectual for the preſervation of his plants; inſomuch " that this ſevere enough winter " has ſcarcely killed any of his " fine plants. One thing I wonder much, to ſee the *Cedrus* " *montis Libani*, the inhabitant of " a very different climate, ſhould " thrive ſo well, as without pot or " green-houſe, to be able to propagate itſelf by layers this " ſpring. Seeds ſown laſt autumn, " have as yet thriven well, and " are like to hold out: the main " artifice I uſed to them has been, " to keep them from the winds, " which ſeem to give a great additional force to cold to deſtroy " the tender plants."

This is the firſt notice that has occurred to me of the cultivation of the cedar among us. Perhaps the tree that propagated itſelf by layers in 1684, might be from the ſeed received by Mr. Evelyn; and the reputed age of that at Hillingdon agrees with the time of that importation; ſuppoſing that importation was made about the time of the delivery of the diſcourſe on foreſt-trees: nor probably, notwithſtanding tradition, is that at Hendon to be referred to a higher date. Why Sir Hans ſhould wonder at the cedar thriving ſo well in the open air at Chelſea, I know not; for, though it be found in the warmer climates, it is known to be a native of the ſnowy mountains of Libanus, and conſequently not likely to be deſtroyed by the inclemency of an Engliſh winter. But, I believe, we generally treat exotics, upon their firſt arrival among us, with more tenderneſs than they require. Perhaps the fear of loſing them may be one reaſon; perhaps, too, they may be gradually habituated to endure a degree of cold, which at firſt would have proved fatal to them. Upon the firſt introduction of the tea-tree, it was either kept in our green-houſes, or, if planted in the open ground, matted or otherwiſe ſheltered in the winter: we now find ſuch care unneceſſary. I have had one at a degree N. of London, thrive and bloſſom for ſome years, in the open air, without the ſlighteſt protection, in the ſevereſt winter.

That this little memoir may not appear to terminate in mere curioſity, I think it warrants me in recom-

recommending the cultivation of the cedar for common uſe; as it is well known to be a very valuable material in the hand of the joiner and cabinet-maker. Mr. Miller obſerved their quick growth at Chelſea, in a poor gravely ſoil: thoſe at Hendon, Hillingdon, and Enfield, ſhew that they thrive as well in a very different one. Thoſe planted by the old Duke of Argyle at Whitton have made the happieſt progreſs; and I am aſſured that a room has been wainſcotted with their timber.

If theſe ſlight notes ſhould induce any better informed perſon to throw more light on this ſubject, it would afford entertainment to many, as well as to,

Hardwick Houſe, Yours, &c.
Feb. 16, 1779. JOHN CULLUM.

An Account of the Vallais, *and of the* Goitres *and Idiots of that Country. From* Coxe's Letters from Swiſſerland.

I Am now writing to you from the little village of Trient in the Vallais, on my way to the glaciers of Savoy. From the mountain of the Furca, its eaſtern boundary, two vaſt ranges of Alps encloſe the Vallais: the ſouthern chain ſeparates it from the Milaneſe, Piedmont, and part of Savoy; the northern divides it from the canton of Berne. Theſe two chains, in their various windings, form ſeveral ſmall vallies, through which a number of torrents ruſh into the Rhone, as it traverſes the whole country from the Furca to St. Maurice. A country thus entirely encloſed within high Alps, and conſiſting of plains, elevated valleys, and lofty mountains, muſt neceſſarily exhibit a great variety of ſituations, climates, and productions. Accordingly, the Vallais preſents to the curious traveller a quick ſucceſſion of proſpects, as beautiful as they are diverſified. Numberleſs vineyards, rich paſture-grounds covered with cattle, corn, flax, fruit-trees, and wild foreſts: and theſe occaſionally bordered by naked rocks, whoſe ſummits are crowned with everlaſting ſnow, and inacceſſible glaciers. This ſtrong and ſtriking contraſt between the paſtoral and the ſublime; the cultivated and the wild; cannot but affect the mind of an obſerver with the moſt pleaſing emotions.

As to the productions of the Vallais; they muſt evidently vary in different parts, according to the great diverſity of climates, by which this country is ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed. It ſupplies more than ſufficient wine and corn for the interior conſumption; and indeed a conſiderable quantity of both are yearly exported; the ſoil in the midland and lower parts being exceedingly rich and fertile. In the plain, where the heat is collected and confined between the mountains, the harveſt is ſo very forward, that it has already for ſome time been carried in: whereas, in the more elevated parts, barley is the only grain that can be cultivated with any ſucceſs; and the crop is ſeldom cut before November. About Sion, the fig, the melon, and all the other fruits of Italy, ripen to perfection: in conſequence of this ſingular variety of climates, I taſted in the ſame day (what is uſually to be

had only in gradual ſucceſſion) ſtrawberries, cherries, plumbs, pears, and grapes; each of them the *natural* growth of the country.

With reſpect to manufactures; there are none of any conſequence: and indeed the general ignorance of the people is no leſs remarkable than their indolence; ſo that they may be conſidered, in regard to knowledge and improvements, as ſome centuries behind the Swiſs, who are certainly a very enlightened nation. The peaſants ſeldom endeavour to meliorate thoſe lands where the ſoil is originally bad; nor to make the moſt of thoſe, which are uncommonly fertile: having few wants, and being ſatisfied with the ſpontaneous gifts of nature, they enjoy her bleſſings without much conſidering in what manner to improve them.

The beauties and varieties of this country you will find amply and faithfully delineated in that elegant letter of the *Nouvelle Heloiſe*, where St. Preux relates his excurſion into the upper Vallais. As to the truth of the deſcription he gives, in the ſame letter, of the manners of the people, I can hardly be ſuppoſed to be a competent judge, from the little time I have paſſed among them. But, as far as I have had an opportunity to obſerve and inquire; the picture, although in ſome parts not entirely devoid of reſemblance, is, upon the whole, conſiderably heightened.

Before I take leave of the Vallais, you will probably expect, that, according to my promiſe, I ſhould ſend you ſome informations concerning the cauſes which are ſuppoſed to occaſion, or to contribute to render, goitrous perſons and idiots, ſo remarkably common in many parts of this country. I have indeed made all poſſible reſearches in order to gain ſome ſatisfactory intelligence upon ſo curious a ſubject; but I have the mortification to add, that the very faint lights I have been able to obtain, have left me almoſt as much in the dark as I was before: you muſt reſt contented therefore with mere conjectures.

I ſhall begin however with undoubted fact. The Vallaiſans are not all equally ſubject to the above infirmities; but thoſe chiefly who live in or near the lower parts of the Vallais, as about Sider, Sion, Martinac, &c. The people in general are a robuſt and hardy race, as well thoſe who dwell in the places laſt mentioned, as thoſe who inhabit the more mountainous parts of this country.

It is a common notion, that ſnow-water occaſions goiters: but I have ſome reaſon to think the contrary. For, I have been at ſeveral places, where the inhabitants drink no other water than what they procure from thoſe rivers and torrents, which deſcend from the glaciers; and yet are not ſubject to this malady: indeed I have been aſſured, though I will not venture to anſwer for the truth of the aſſertion, that ſnow-water, ſo far from being a cauſe, is eſteemed even a preventive. The air of the mountains is alſo a ſtrong preſervative againſt them; and goiters have been known to diminiſh upon elevated ſituations; whereas, in the lower parts of the Vallais, if this excreſcence once begins to ſhew itſelf, it always continues

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to increaſe *. Some diſtricts are more particularly remarkable for this diſorder than others: thus, in a little village, near Sion, almoſt all the inhabitants are goitrous.

From theſe facts it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that goiters are derived from certain local circumſtances; and that ſeveral cauſes, both phyſical and moral, may jointly contribute to their production. Among the phyſical; bad water, and bad air, may, perhaps, be juſtly aſſigned, but chiefly the former; which, near the particular diſtricts above mentioned, is ſtagnant, and loaded with particles of *tufo*. The torrents alſo, which are formed by the melting of the ſnows, diſſolve this ſubſtance, or ſimilar ones, in their paſſage: and probably this circumſtance has given riſe to the notion, that ſnow-water, ſimply in itſelf, occaſions theſe goiters; but wherever it has that effect, it is ſtrongly impregnated with certain ſtony particles. I was ſhewn ſeveral pools of theſe ſtagnant waters, which I ſhould have ſuppoſed no human being to have been capable of drinking. Among the moral cauſes, which may be ſuppoſed to concur in occaſioning theſe guttural protuberances, the inconceivable lazineſs and negligence of theſe people, may be mentioned. For, they rarely take the leaſt precaution to guard againſt, or to remedy, the ill effects of their unwholeſome water: indolently acquieſcing in its conſequences, they uſe no ſort of means either to prevent or remove them.

The ſame cauſes, which ſeem to produce the goiters, probably operate in the caſe of idiots: for, wherever in this country the former abound, the latter are alſo in great numbers. Such indeed is the nice and inexplicable connexion between our bodies and our minds, that the one ever ſympathiſes with the other: we ſee that the body ſuffers, whenever the mind is deeply affected by any ſtrong impreſſion of melancholy and diſtreſs; and, in return, that whenever the corporeal frame is impaired and ſhattered by long pain and ſickneſs, the underſtanding alſo is equally out of order. Hence it is by no means an ill-grounded conjecture, that in the caſe before us, the ſame cauſes which affect the body ſhould alſo affect the mind; or, in other words, that the ſame waters, &c. which create obſtructions, and goiters, ſhould alſo occaſion mental imbecility and diſarrangement. But, in conjunction with cauſes of a phyſical nature, there is a moral one likewiſe to be taken into the account: for the children of the common people are totally neglected by their parents; and, with no more education than the meaneſt brutes, are, like thoſe, ſuffered to wallow in the dirt, and to eat and drink whatever comes in their way.

I ſaw ſeveral idiots with goiters; but I do not mean to draw any certain concluſion from that circumſtance. For, though in general they are the children of goitrous parents, and have frequently

* This difference, however, may be occaſioned by the different quality of the water, as well as by the ſuperior purity of the air.

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thoſe ſwellings themſelves; yet the contrary often happens: and they are ſometimes the offſpring even of healthy parents, whoſe other children are all properly organized. So that, it ſeems, the cauſes above mentioned operate more or leſs upon ſome conſtitutions than upon others; as indeed is obſervable in all epidemical diſorders whatſoever*.

I was informed at Sion, that the number, both of goitrous perſons, and of idiots, have conſiderably decreaſed within theſe few years; and two reaſons were aſſigned: one is, the laudable care which the magiſtrates have taken to dry up the ſtagnant waters in the neighbourhood; and the other, the cuſtom which now generally prevails of ſending the children to the mountains; by which means they eſcape the bad effects of the unwholeſome air and water.

It is to be preſumed, that a people accuſtomed to ſee theſe excreſcences daily, will not be at all ſhocked at their deformity; but I do not find, as ſome writers aſſert, that they conſider them as beauties: I cannot believe that a Vallaiſan poet would venture to addreſs a copy of verſes to his miſtreſs in praiſe of her goiter. To judge by the accounts of ſome travellers, one might ſuppoſe, that all theſe people, without exception, were gifted with the above appendage: whereas, in fact, as I have before remarked, the Vallaiſans, in general, are a robuſt, hardy race of people; and all that with truth can be affirmed, is, that goitrous perſons, and idiots, are more abundant here than perhaps in any other part of the globe.

It has been aſſerted alſo by ſome, that the people very much reſpect theſe idiots, and even conſider them as bleſſings from Heaven; an aſſertion which is as ſtrongly contradicted by others. I made many inquiries in order to get at the truth of this matter. Upon my queſtioning ſome gentlemen of this country, whom I met at the baths of Leuk, they treated the notion as abſurd and falſe: but whether they ſpoke their real ſentiments, or were unwilling to confirm what they thought might lower their countrymen in the opinion of a ſtranger, will admit perhaps of ſome doubt. For I have, ſince that time, repeatedly enquired among the lower ſort, and am convinced, that the common people eſteem them as bleſſings. They call them "Souls of God, without "ſin:" and there are many pa-

* I was told by a phyſician of the Vallais, that children are ſometimes *born* with goiters; and I ſaw ſeveral, ſcarce ten years old, who had very large ones. Theſe ſwellings, when they increaſe to a conſiderable magnitude, check reſpiration, and render thoſe who have them exceedingly languid and indolent. During my expedition through the Vallais, I obſerved ſome of all proportions, from the ſize of a walnut to the bigneſs of a peck loaf.

The ſpecies of idiots I have mentioned above, and who are deemed by many authors as peculiar to the Vallais, are called *Cretins*. Among theſe I alſo obſerved a kind of ſenſible gradation: namely, from thoſe who, being totally deaf and dumb, and incapable of helping themſelves, give no proof of their exiſtence, but the mere animal ſenſations; to others, who are a little more animated, and poſſeſs ſome faint dawnings of reaſon.

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rents who prefer these idiot-children to those whose understandings are perfect; because, as they are incapable of intentional criminality, they consider them as more certain than the others of happiness in a future state. Nor is this opinion entirely without some good effect, as it disposes the parents to pay the greater attention to those unhappy beings, who are incapable of taking care of themselves. These idiots are suffered to marry, as well among themselves as with others; and thus the breed is, in in some measure, prevented from becoming extinct *.

* Since I wrote the above letter, I have met with an account of these Cretins in the "Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains." The ingenious author compares them with the *Blafards* of the isthmus of Darien; a species of beings who resemble the white negroes. He refers to a memoir written expressly upon these *Cretins*, by the Count of Mogiron, and read to the Royal Society of Lyons: I am sorry that I have not been able to procure this memoir; because, from the character given of it by the author of the *Recherches Philosophiques*, it must contain some very curious remarks. I shall here subjoin his account of the Cretins, as being, in many respects, more ample than mine; premising, at the same time, that it by no means appears these *Cretins* are universally *goiters*.

"On ne sauroit mieux comparer les Blafards quant a leurs facultés, à leur "degeneration, et à leur état, qu'aux *Cretins* qu'on voit en assez grand nombre "dans le Valais, et principalement à Sion capitale de ce pays: ils sont sourds, "muets, presque insensibles aux coups, et portent des goîtres prodigieux qui "leur descendent jusqu'à la ceinture: ils sont ni furieux ni malfaisants, quoiqu' "absolument ineptes et incapables de penser; ils n'ont qu'une sorte d'attrait "assez violent pour leurs besoins physiques, et s'abandonnent aux plaisirs de "sens de toute espece sans y soupçonner aucune crime, aucune indécence. Les "habitans du Vallais regardent ces Crètins comme les anges tutélaires des "familles, comme des saints; on ne les contrarie jamais, on les soigne avec "assiduité, on n'oublie rien pour les amuser, et pour satisfaire leurs gouts et "leurs appetits; les enfants n'osent les insulter, et les vieillards les respectent. "Ils ont la peau très livide et naissent Crètins, c'est-à-dire aussi stupides, aussi "simples qu'il est possible de l'être: les années n'apportent aucun changement "à leur état d'abrutissement: ils y persistent jusqu'à la mort, et on ne connoit "point de remede capable de les tirer de cet assoupissement de la raison, et de "cette defaillance du corps et de l'esprit. Il y en a des deux sexes, et on les "honore également, soit qu'ils soient hommes ou femmes. Le respect qu'on "porte à ces personnes atteintes du Cretinage, est fondé sur leur innocence et "leur foiblesse: ils ne sauroient pécher, parce qu'ils ne distinguent le vice de "la vertu; ils ne sauroient nuire, parce qu'ils manquent de force, de vaillance, "ou d'envie; et c'est justement le cas des Blafards, dont la stupidité est aussi "grande que celle des Crètins."

In another part he says, "Mr. De Maugiron attribue les causes du Cretinage des Vallaisans à la malpropreté, à l'education, aux chaleurs excessives "des vallées, aux eaux, et aux goîtres qui sont communs à tous les enfans de "ce pays: mais il y existe probablement une autre cause specifique, que l'on "sera plus à portée de connoitre quand on sera parvenu à obtenir la permission "de disséquer un de ces Crètins."

See *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, &c. Par Mr. De P——, Quatrieme Partie. Section I.*

Account

Account of the Glaciers of Savoy, *and of* Mont Blanc. *From the ſame.*

UPON quitting Trient, we went along ſome narrow vallies through foreſts of pines by the ſide of the torrent of Trient; and ſoon afterwards entered the valley of Orſina, which led us to the ſmall village of that name: a little way from Trient we entered the dutchy of Faucigny, which belongs to the King of Sardinia. Our road was very rugged, till we arrived at the vale of Chamouny; the great mountains and glaciers of Savoy riſing majeſtically before us.

There are five glaciers, which extend almoſt to the plain of the vale of Chamouny, and are ſeparated by wild foreſts, corn-fields, and rich meadows: ſo that immenſe tracts of ice are blended with the higheſt cultivation, and perpetually ſucceed to each other in the moſt ſingular and ſtriking viciſſitude. All theſe ſeveral vallies of ice, which lie chiefly in the hollows of the mountains, and are ſome leagues in length, unite together at the foot of Mont Blanc; the higheſt mountain in Europe, and probably of the antient world.

According to the calculations of Mr. De Luc, (by whoſe improvement of the barometer, elevations are taken with a degree of accuracy before unattainable,) the heighth of this mountain above the level of the ſea is 2391 $\frac{1}{3}$ French toiſes. Mr. De Sauſſure, profeſſor of natural philoſophy at Geneva, has made uſe of the above barometer in meaſuring the elevation of ſeveral very conſiderable mountains. This great improvement of the barometer marks a diſtinguiſhed æra in the hiſtory of natural philoſophy; as, before it was rectified by that ingenious naturaliſt, Mr. De Luc, its uncertainty was ſo great, that there was no relying upon the menſurations which had been taken by that inſtrument *.

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* It was by this means that Mr. De Luc found the altitude of the glacier of *Buet*; and from thence he took geometrically the elevation of *Mont Blanc* above the Buet. The labours of this celebrated naturaliſt, and his rules for computing heighths by the barometer, are to be found in his very valuable treatiſe, "*Sur les Modifications de l'Atmoſphère.*" Theſe rules are explained, and his tables reduced to Engliſh meaſure, by Dr. Maſkelyne, R. A.; and ſtill more fully by Dr. Horſley, ſecretary to the Royal Society: both theſe treatiſes are publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year 1774.

The accuracy of the barometrical meaſurements made by Mr. De Luc, was verified by Sir George Schuckborough, in a number of ingenious experiments towards aſcertaining the elevation of ſome of the mountains of Savoy, a ſhort time before I arrived at Geneva. He followed Mr. De Luc's method; took the heighths of ſeveral mountains, reciprocally, by barometrical and geometrical obſervations; and he perceived that the former coincided almoſt exactly with the latter.

Having found the elevation of the ſummit of the *Mole*, a neighbouring mountain, above the ſurface of the lake of Geneva; he took from thence the geometrical altitude of *Mont Blanc*.

During the courſe of theſe experiments, he was enabled to correct ſome trif-

I am convinced, from the situation of Mont Blanc; from the heighths of the mountains around it; from its superior elevation above them; and its being seen at a great distance from all sides; that it is higher than any mountain in Switzerland; which, beyond a doubt, is, next to Mont Blanc, the highest ground in Europe. That it is more elevated than any part of Asia and Africa, is an assertion that can only be made good by comparing the judicious calculations of modern travellers, with the exaggerated accounts of former ones; and by shewing that there is no mountain in those two quarters of the globe, the altitude whereof, when accurately taken, amounts to 2,400 toises*.

Perhaps in no instance has the imagination of man been more creative, or more given to amplification, than in ascertaining the heighths of mountains. I have been considerably amused to-day with considering this article in Gruner's description of the Swiss glaciers. In one of the chapters, he has given the altitude of some of the most remarkable mountains of the globe, agreeably to the calculations of several famous geographers and travellers, both antient and modern.

	Toises.
According to Strabo, the highest mountain of the antient world was about.	3,411
According to Riccioli	58,216
According to Father Kircher, who took the elevations of mountains by the uncertain method of measuring their shadows,	
Ætna is	4,000
The Pike of Teneriff	10,000
Mount Athos	20,000
Larissa in Egypt	28,000

But these several calculations are evidently so extravagant, that their exaggeration cannot but strike the most common observer. If we consult the more † modern and

ling errors that had crept into Mr. De Luc's computations; to improve still farther the discoveries of the latter; and has facilitated the means of taking elevations, by simplifying the tables and rules necessary for that purpose.

The height of *Mont Blanc*, according to Sir George Schuckborough, is 15,662 feet perpendicular above the level of the sea; according to Mr. De Luc 2391¼ French toises: which, reduced to our measure, gives 15,303 feet; if the proportion of the French to the English foot be nearly as 15 to 16, without considering the fraction. The difference is only 359 feet.

[See *Sir George Schuckborough's Observations made in Savoy.*]

* General Pfiffer indeed computes the heighth of the *Schereckhorn* (the most elevated of the Alps in the canton of Berne) as equal to 2,400 toises above the level of the sea: a calculation, however, which is probably somewhat exaggerated. For although, as I am informed, his method of taking elevations is in itself exact; yet as he does not correct the difference occasioned by the refractions of the atmosphere; he consequently assigns too great an heighth. Nevertheless, as he accurately preserves the different proportions, this exaggeration may be easily reduced to the true standard. Probably the *Shereckhorn* will be found to be the highest mountain of the old world, excepting *Mont Blanc*.

† In order to determine with absolute certainty that Mont Blanc is the highest point of the old world, it would be necessary to estimate, by the same mode

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and rational accounts, it appears that the Pike of Teneriff and Ætna have been frequently ſuppoſed to be the higheſt mountains of the globe. The former is eſtimated by ſome natural philoſophers, to be 3,000 toiſes above the level of the ſea; but, according to Feuillée, this elevation is reduced to 2,070 toiſes (and this meaſurement too is probably ſomewhat beyond the truth) whereas Ætna, by the accurate computations of Mr. De Sauſſure, riſes only * 1672 toiſes above the ſea. So that from theſe obſervations, as well as from thoſe which have been made by other travellers, whoſe ſkill may be depended upon, it will appear that there are few mountains, except thoſe in America, (the elevation whereof reaches, according to Condamine, to above 3,000 toiſes) which are equal in heighth to *Mont Blanc*.

The acceſs to Mont Blanc has been hitherto found impracticable. About two months ago four inhabitants of Chamouny attempted to reach it; and ſet out from that village at ten in the evening. After above fourteen hours moſt violent fatigue, employed in mounting rugged and dangerous aſcents, in croſſing ſeveral vallies of ice, and large plains of ſnow, which was in ſome parts ſo looſe, that they ſunk in it down to the

of menſuration, Mont Blanc, the Schereckhorn, the Pike of Teneriff, the mountains of the Moon in Africa, the Taurus, and the Caucaſus.

The latter have long been deemed the higheſt mountains of Aſia; and ſome philoſophers, upon conſidering the great ſuperiority, which the eaſtern rivers have over the European, both in depth and breadth, have drawn from thence a preſumptive argument, that the Aſiatic mountains are much more elevated than thoſe of Europe. But conjectures are now baniſhed from natural philoſophy: and, till ſome perſon of ſufficient ability ſhall ſhew from undoubted calculations, that the higheſt part of the Caucaſus riſes more than 15,000 feet above the level of the ſea, *Mont Blanc* may be fairly conſidered as more elevated.

N. B. Throughout the text I have made uſe of the French toiſe, conſiſting of ſix French feet.

* About 10,660 Engliſh feet. According to Sir George Schuckborough 10,954: who ſays, "I have ventured to compute the heighth of this celebrated "mountain from my own tables, though from an obſervation of Mr. De Sauſſure, in 1773, which that gentleman obligingly communicated to me. It "will ſerve to ſhew that this Volcano is by no means the higheſt mountain of "the old world; and that Veſuvius, placed upon Mount Ætna, would not "be equal to the heighth of Mont Blanc, which I take to be the moſt elevated "point in Europe, Aſia, and Africa."

I am happy to find my conjectures corroborated by that ingenious and accurate obſerver.

	Feet.
Heighth of Ætna, according to Sir George	10,954
Of Veſuvius, according to Mr. De Sauſſure	3,900
Of both together	14,854
Heighth of Mont Blanc, according to Sir George	15,662
Difference,—or the height of Mont Blanc above that of Ætna and Veſuvius taken together	808

waiſt;

waiſt; they found themſelves upon the ſummit next to Mont Blanc. At firſt ſight it appeared ſcarce a league diſtant: however, they ſoon diſcovered that the clearneſs of the air, the extraordinary whiteneſs of the ſnow, and the heighth of that mountain, made it ſeem nearer than it was in reality; and, they perceived with regret, that it would require at leaſt four hours more to arrive at it, even ſuppoſing it were practicable. But as the day was now far advanced, and the vapours towards the ſummit of Mont Blanc began to gather into clouds; they were obliged to return without having accompliſhed their enterpriſe. They had no time to loſe: and as they were returning in great haſte, one of the party ſlipped down in attempting to leap over a chaſm of ice. He had in his hand a long pole, ſpiked with iron, which he had ſtruck into the ice on the other ſide of the opening; and upon this he hung dreadfully ſuſpended for a few moments, until he was taken out by his companions. The danger he had juſt eſcaped, made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he fainted away, and continued for ſome time in that ſituation: he was at length, however, brought to himſelf, and, though conſiderably bruiſed, he ſufficiently recovered to be able to go on. They did not arrive at Chamouny till eight that evening, after having paſſed two and twenty hours of inconceivable fatigue, and being more than once in danger of loſing their lives in thoſe deſolate regions; but, as ſome ſort of recompence for ſo much danger and fatigue, they have the ſatisfaction, at leaſt, to boaſt of having approached nearer to Mont Blanc than any former adventurers *.

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* According to Sir George Schuckborough, the ſummit to which they arrived, is more than 13,000 feet above the Mediterranean. Theſe perſons however do not ſeem to have taken ſufficient precautions for ſo perilous an enterprize: for the expedition was not only hazardous to a great degree, but it was alſo too fatiguing and too difficult to be accompliſhed within twenty-four hours. They ought to have ſet out in the morning, have taken furs with them, and, if poſſible, have found ſome proper place in which to have paſſed the night. If that could have been accompliſhed, and if by any means they could have guarded themſelves againſt the piercing cold, they would have been ſufficiently refreſhed the next morning to purſue their expedition; and would not have found themſelves, after advancing within four hours of Mont Blanc, ſo fatigued and terrified as to be unable to proceed; nor the day ſo far ſpent, that, had they gone on, they muſt have been overtaken by darkneſs, and would probably have either fallen down one of the precipices, or have periſhed with cold.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Account of the late Dr. Knight's *Method of making artificial Loadſtones; by Mr.* Benjamin Wilſon, *F. R. S.*

[From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.]

THE method of making artificial Loadſtones, as it was diſcovered and practiſed by the late Dr. Gowin Knight, being unknown to the public, and I myſelf having been frequently preſent when the doctor was employed in the moſt material ſteps of that curious proceſs, I thought a communication thereof would be agreeable to you and the philoſophic world.

The method was this: having provided himſelf with a large quantity of clean filings of iron, he put them into a large tub that was more than one-third filled with clean water: he then, with great labour, worked the tub to and fro for many hours together, that the friction between the grains of iron by this treatment might break off ſuch ſmaller parts as would remain ſuſpended in the water for a time. The obtaining of thoſe very ſmall particles in ſufficient quantity ſeemed to him to be one of the principal *deſiderata* in the experiment.

The water being by this treatment rendered very muddy, he poured the ſame into a clean earthen veſſel, leaving the filings behind; and when the water had ſtood long enough to become clear, he poured it out carefully, without diſturbing ſuch of the iron ſediment as ſtill remained, which now appeared reduced almoſt to impalpable powder. This powder was afterwards removed into another veſſel, in order to dry it; but as he had not obtained a proper quantity thereof, by this one ſtep, he was obliged to repeat the proceſs many times.

Having at laſt procured enough of this very fine powder, the next thing to be done was to make a paſte of it, and that with ſome vehicle which would contain a conſiderable quantity of the phlogiſtic principle; for this purpoſe he had recourſe to linſeed oil, in preference to all other fluids.

With theſe two ingredients only he made a ſtiff paſte, and took particular care to knead it well before he moulded it into convenient ſhapes.

Sometimes, whilſt the paſte continued in its ſoft ſtate, he would put the impreſſion of a ſeal upon the ſeveral pieces: one of which is in the Britiſh Muſeum.

This paſte was then put upon wood, and ſometimes on tiles, in order to bake or dry it before a moderate

moderate fire, at a foot distance or thereabouts.

The doctor found, that a moderate fire was most proper, because a greater degree of heat made the composition frequently crack in many places.

The time required for the baking or drying of this paste was generally five or six hours before it attained a sufficient degree of hardness. When that was done, and the several baked pieces were become cold, he gave them their magnetic virtue in any direction he pleased, by placing them between the extreme ends of his large magazine of artificial magnets for a few seconds or more, as he saw occasion.

By this method the virtue they acquired was such, that when any one of those pieces was held between two of his best ten guinea bars, with its poles purposely inverted, it immediately of itself turned about to recover its natural direction, which the force of those very powerful bars was not sufficient to counteract.

I am, &c.

A Method to make Potatoe-Bread without the Admixture of Flour, by M. Parmentier, *Member of the College of Pharmacy, Royal Censor, &c. of the Royal Printing-Office at* Paris.

Of the STARCH.

THE potatoes must be well washed; they must be ground fine with the assistance of a tin rasp; they are thereby converted into a liquid paste, which must be diluted in water, and well agitated, in order to empty it into a sieve placed over a proper vessel. The water passes with the starch of the potatoes; this starch must be well washed in several waters; it is to be divided into small pieces, and exposed to the air, in order to dry it: it is of a most exquisite whiteness. The substance which remains in the sieve is the most fibrous part; it must be dried after all the moisture is pressed out of it; it may be used in the composition of brown bread, or may be given in that state to poultry.

Remarks.—One pound of potatoes contains three ounces of starch, two ounces of fibrous substance and extractive matter, and eleven ounces of vegetative water. These substances vary according to the nature of the soil and the species of the potatoe. It is to clear this root from the superabundance of water which it contains, and to separate the starch from the other substances which constitute the potatoe, that the foregoing process is put in practice. You may, in lieu of a rasp, which renders the operation tedious, substitute a broad wheel with double parallel spokes, upon the same axis or axletree, shod with plate iron, stamped with holes, instead of bands of iron, or any other instrument; besides, necessity and practice will soon clear up that point.

The starch extracted from potatoes has this advantage; that it may be kept for many years without the least alteration, and will still subsist without corruption, or untouched in a frozen potatoe, even when animals will not eat it.

Of the Pulp.—Put the potatoes in boiling-water; when they are

boiled enough, caſt away the water, and peel them; and, with the aſſiſtance of a wooden roller, reduce them into a paſte, which, by grinding, grows ſtiff and elaſtic. When there are no more clots or lumps in the whole maſs, then the pulp is in perfection.

Remarks.—The parts which conſtitute the potatoe are in its natural ſtate divided; after boiling, theſe parts are ſo united as to be but one homogeneous maſs. The ſtarch, the fibrous ſubſtance which floated, as one may ſay, in the vegetative water, are in it diſſolved.

It is from this very ſimple operation that the whole fabrication of potatoe-bread depends; without it, no panification: moreover, the potatoe muſt neceſſarily be in that ſtate when we intend to mix it with any other grain, ſuch as buck-wheat, barley, or oats: under any other form, its union with theſe ſorts of grain will make, at beſt, but a coarſe bread.

Of the Bread.—Take five pounds of dried ſtarch, and five pounds of the pulp; diſſolve a ſuitable quantity of leaven or yeaſt in warm water the eve or night before. The mixture being exactly made, let it lie all night in a kneading trough, well covered and kept warm until the next day; this is the ſecond leaven; then add five pounds more of ſtarch, and the ſame quantity of pulp, and knead it well. The water muſt be in proportion as a fifth part, that is to ſay, that upon twenty pounds of paſte there muſt be five pounds of the water. You muſt obſerve that the water be uſed as hot as poſſible.

The paſte being completely kneaded, it muſt be divided into ſmall loaves: this bread requires ſlow preparation, and the oven muſt be equally and moderately heated: it will require two hours baking.

The ſalt with which they ſeaſon the bread in ſome provinces is alſo neceſſary for this: the quantity depends on the taſte; but half a drachm ſeems to be ſufficient.

Any one may eaſily conceive that this abſtract cannot wholly give an idea of the proceſs, and that thoſe who have the fabrication of this bread at heart muſt be obliged to have recourſe to their own experience, becauſe no exact account is to be expected when a new preparation is to be performed.

Deſcription of a moſt effectual Method of ſecuring Buildings againſt Fire, invented by Charles Lord Viſcount Mahon, *F. R. S.*

[From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.]

THE new and very ſimple method which I have diſcovered of ſecuring every kind of building (even though conſtructed of timber) againſt all danger of fire, may very properly be divided into three parts; namely, underflooring, extra-lathing, and interſecuring, which particular methods may be applied, in part or in whole, to different buildings, according to the various circumſtances attending their conſtruction, and according to the degree of accumulated fire, to which each of theſe buildings may be expoſed, from

from the different uſes to which they are meant to be appropriated. The method of *under-flooring* may be divided into two parts; *viz.* into *ſingle* and *double under-flooring*.

The method of *ſingle under-flooring* is as follows: A common ſtrong lath, of about one quarter of an inch thick (either of oak or fir) ſhould be nailed againſt each ſide of every joiſt, and of every main timber, which ſupports the floor intended to be ſecured. Other ſimilar laths ought then to be nailed the whole length of the joiſts, with their ends butting againg each other: theſe are what I call the *fillets*. The top of each fillet ought to be at one inch and a half below the top of the joiſts or timbers againſt which they are nailed. Theſe fillets will then form, as it were, a ſort of ſmall ledge on each ſide of all the joiſts.

When the fillets are going to be nailed on, ſome of the rough plaſter hereafter mentioned muſt be ſpread with a trowel all along that ſide of each of the fillets which is to lay next to the joiſts, in order that theſe fillets may be well bedded therein, when they are nailed on, ſo that there ſhould not be any interval between the fillets and the joiſts. A great number of any common laths (either of oak or fir) muſt be cut nearly to the length of the width of the intervals between the joiſts. Some of the rough plaſter referred to above ought to be ſpread with a trowel, ſucceſſively upon the top of all the fillets, and along the ſides of that part of the joiſts which is between the top of the fillets and the upper edge of the joiſts. The ſhort pieces of common laths juſt mentioned ought (in order to fill up the intervals between the joiſts that ſupport the floor) to be laid in the contrary direction to the joiſts, and cloſe together in a row, ſo as to touch one another, as much as the want of ſtraitneſs in the laths will poſſibly allow, without the laths lapping over each other; their ends muſt reſt upon the fillets ſpoken of above, and they ought to be well bedded in the rough plaſter. It is not proper to uſe any nails to faſten down either theſe ſhort pieces of laths, or thoſe ſhort pieces hereafter mentioned.

Theſe ſhort pieces of laths ought then to be covered with one thick coat of the rough plaſter ſpoken of hereafter, which ſhould be ſpread all over them, and which ſhould be brought, with a trowel, to be about level with the tops of the joiſts, but not above them. This rough plaſter in a day or two ſhould be trowelled all over cloſe home to the ſides of the joiſts; but the tops of the joiſts ought not to be any ways covered with it.

The method of *double under-flooring* is, in the firſt part of it, exactly the ſame as the method juſt deſcribed. The fillets and the ſhort pieces of laths are applied in the ſame manner; but the coat of rough plaſter ought to be little more than half as thick as the coat of rough plaſter applied in the method of *ſingle under flooring*.

In the method of double under-flooring, as faſt as this coat of rough plaſter is laid on, ſome more of the ſhort pieces of laths, cut as above directed, muſt be laid in the intervals between the joiſts upon

the firſt coat of rough plaſter; and each of theſe ſhort laths muſt be, one after the other, bedded deep and quite ſound into this rough plaiſter whilſt it is ſoft. Theſe ſhort pieces of laths ſhould be laid alſo as cloſe as poſſible to each other, and in the ſame direction as the firſt layer of ſhort laths.

A coat of the ſame kind of rough plaſter ſhould then be ſpread over this ſecond layer of ſhort laths, as there was upon the firſt layer above deſcribed. This coat of rough plaſter ſhould (as above directed for the method of *ſingle under-flooring*) be trowelled level with the tops of the joiſts, but it ought not to riſe above them. The ſooner this ſecond coat of rough plaſter is ſpread upon the ſecond layer of ſhort laths, juſt mentioned the better. What follows is common to the method of ſingle as well as to that of *double under-flooring*.

Common coarſe lime and hair (ſuch as generally ſerves for the pricking up coat in plaſtering) may be uſed for all the purpoſes before or hereafter mentioned; but it is conſiderably cheaper, and even much better, in all theſe caſes, to make uſe of *hay* inſtead of *hair*, in order to prevent the plaſter-work from cracking. The hay ought to be chopped to about three inches in length, but no ſhorter. One meaſure of common rough *ſand*, two meaſures of ſlacked *lime*, and three meaſures but not leſs of chopped *hay*, will prove in general, a very good proportion, when ſufficiently beat up together in the manner of common mortar. The hay muſt be well dragged in this kind of rough plaſter, and well intermixed with it; but the hay ought never to be put in, till the two other ingredients are well beat up together with water. This rough plaſter ought never to be made thin for any of the work mentioned in this paper. The ſtiffer it is the better, provided it be not too dry to be ſpread properly upon the laths. If the flooring boards are required to be laid very ſoon, a fourth or a fifth part of quick lime in powder, very well mixed with this rough plaſter juſt before it is uſed, will cauſe it to dry very faſt.

I have practiſed this method in an extenſive work with great advantage. In *three weeks* this rough plaſter grows perfectly *dry*. The rough plaſter, ſo made, may be applied at *all times of the year* with the greateſt ſucceſs. The eaſieſt method, by much, of reducing *quick lime* to powder is by dropping a *ſmall* quantity of water on the lime-ſtone, a little while before the powder is intended to be uſed: the lime will ſtill retain a very ſufficient degree of heat.

When the rough plaſter-work between the joiſts has got thoroughly dry, it ought to be obſerved, whether or not, there be any ſmall cracks in it, particularly next to the joiſts. If there are any, they ought to be waſhed over with a bruſh, wet with *mortar-waſh*, which will effectually cloſe them; but there will never be any cracks at all, if the *chopped hay* and the *quick lime* be properly made uſe of.

The mortar-waſh I make uſe of is merely this. About two meaſures of quick lime, and one meaſure of common ſand, ſhould be put

put into a pail, and ſhould be well ſtirred up with water, till the water grows very thick, ſo as to be almoſt of the conſiſtency of a thin jelly. This waſh, when uſed, will grow dry in a few minutes.

Before the flooring boards are laid, a ſmall quantity of very dry common ſand ſhould be ſtrewed over the rough plaſter-work, but not over the tops of the joiſts. The ſand ſhould be ſtruck ſmooth with an hollow rule, which ought to be about the length of the diſtance from joiſt to joiſt, and of about one eighth of an inch curvature; which rule, paſſing over the ſand in the ſame direction with the joiſts, will cauſe the ſand to lay rather rounding in the middle of the interval between each pair of joiſts. The flooring boards may then be laid and faſtened down in the uſual manner; but very particular attention muſt be paid to the rough plaſter-work and to the ſand being moſt perfectly dry before the boards are laid, for fear of the dry-rot; of which however there is no kind of danger, when this precaution is made uſe of. The method of *under-flooring* I have alſo applied with the utmoſt ſucceſs, to a wooden ſtair-caſe. It is made to follow the ſhape of the ſteps, but no ſand is laid upon the rough plaſter-work in this caſe.

The method of *extra-lathing* may be applied to cieling joiſts, to ſloping roofs, and to wooden partitions. It is ſimply this: as the laths are going to be nailed on, ſome of the above-mentioned rough plaſter ought to be ſpread between theſe laths and the joiſts (or other timbers) againſt which theſe laths are to be nailed. The laths ought to be nailed very cloſe to each other. When either of the ends of any of the laths laps over other laths, it ought to be attended to, that theſe ends be bedded ſound in ſome of the ſame kind of rough plaſter. This attention is equally neceſſary for the ſecond layer of laths hereafter mentioned.

The firſt layer of laths ought to be covered with a pretty thick coat of the ſame rough plaſter ſpoken of above. A ſecond layer of laths ought then to be nailed on, each lath being, as it is put on, well ſqueezed and bedded ſound into the ſoft rough plaſter. For this reaſon, no more of this firſt coat of rough plaſter ought to be laid on at a time than what can be immediately followed with the ſecond layer of laths.

The laths of this ſecond layer ought to be laid as cloſe to each other as they can be, to allow of a proper clench for the rough plaſter. The laths of the ſecond layer * may then be plaſtered over with a coat of the ſame kind of rough plaſter, or it may be plaſtered over in the uſual manner.

The third method, which is that of *inter-ſecuring*, is very ſimilar, in moſt reſpects, to that of *under-flooring*; but no ſand is afterwards to be laid upon it. *Inter-ſecuring*, is applicable to the ſame parts of a building as the method of *extra-lathing* juſt deſcribed; but it is

* If a third layer of laths be immediately nailed on, and be covered with a third coat of rough plaſter, I then call the method *treble lathing*; but this method of *treble lathing* can almoſt in no caſe be required.

not often neceſſary to be made uſe of.

I have made a prodigious number of experiments upon every part of theſe different methods. I cauſed a wooden building to be conſtructed at *Chevening* in *Kent*, in order to perform them in the moſt natural manner. The methods of *extra-lathing* and *double under-flooring* were the only ones made uſe of in that building.

On the 26th of September 1777, I had the honour to repeat ſome of my experiments before the preſident and ſome of the fellows of the Royal Society, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, the committee of city lands, ſeveral of the foreign miniſters, and a great number of other perſons.

The firſt experiment was to fill the lower room of the building (which room was about twenty-ſix feet long by ſixteen wide) full of ſhavings and faggots, mixed with combuſtibles, and to ſet them all on fire. The heat was ſo intenſe, that the glaſs of the windows was melted like ſo much common ſealing-wax, and run down in drops, yet the flooring boards of that very room were not burnt through, nor was one of the ſide timbers, floor-joiſts, or cieling-joiſts damaged in the ſmalleſt degree; and the perſons who went into the room immediately over the room filled with fire, did not perceive any ill effects from it whatever, even the floor of that room being perfectly cool during that enormous conflagration immediately underneath.

I then cauſed a kind of wooden building of full fifty feet in length, and of three ſtories high in the middle, to be erected, quite cloſe to one end of the ſecured wooden houſe. I filled and covered this building with above eleven hundred large kiln faggots, and ſeveral loads of dry ſhavings; and I ſet this pile on fire. The height of the flame was no leſs than eighty-ſeven feet perpendicular from the ground, and the graſs upon a bank, at a hundred and fifty feet from the fire, was all ſcorched; yet the ſecured wooden building, quite contiguous to this vaſt heap of fire, was not at all damaged, except ſome parts of the outer coat of plaſter-work.

This experiment was intended to repreſent a wooden town on fire, and to ſhow how effectually even a wooden building, if ſecured according to my new method, would ſtop the progreſs of the flames on that ſide, without any aſſiſtance from fire-engines, &c.

The laſt experiment I made that day was, the attempting to burn a wooden ſtair-caſe, ſecured according to my ſimple method of *under-flooring*. The underſide of the ſtair-caſe was *extra-lathed*. Several very large kiln faggots were laid, and kindled, under the ſtair-caſe, round the ſtairs and upon the ſteps; this wooden ſtair-caſe notwithſtanding reſiſted, as if it had been of fire-ſtone, all the attempts that were made to conſume it. I have ſince made five other ſtill ſtronger fires upon this ſame ſtair-caſe, without having repaired it, having, moreover, filled the ſmall place in which this ſtair-caſe is, entirely with ſhavings and large faggots; but the ſtair-caſe is, however, ſtill ſtanding, and is but little damaged.

In

In moſt houſes it is neceſſary *only to ſecure the floors*; and that according to the method *of ſingle under-flooring* already deſcribed. The extra expence of it (all materials included) is only about *nine-pence per* ſquare yard, unleſs there ſhould be particular difficulties attending the execution, in which caſe, it will vary a little. When quick lime is made uſe of, the expence is a trifle more. The extra-expence of the method of *extra-lathing*, is no more than *ſix-pence per* ſquare yard for the timber, ſide-walls, and partitions; but for the cieling about *nine-pence per* ſquare yard. No *extra-lathing* is neceſſary in the generality of houſes.

Inſtructions for cultivating and curing Tobacco in England. *From Mr.* Carver's *Treatiſe on that Subject.*

THE beſt ground for raiſing the plant is a warm rich ſoil, not ſubject to be over-run with weeds; for from theſe it muſt be totally cleared. The ſoil in which it grows in Virginia is inclining to ſandy, conſequently warm and light; the nearer therefore the nature of the land approaches to that, the greater probability there is of its flouriſhing here. The ſituation moſt preferable for a plantation is the ſouthern declivity of a hill, or a ſpot that is ſheltered from the blighting north winds which ſo frequently blow, during the ſpring months, in this iſland. But at the ſame time the plants muſt enjoy a free current of air; for if that be obſtructed they will not proſper.

As the tobacco plant, being an annual, is only to be raiſed from ſeed, the greateſt care in purchaſing theſe is neceſſary; leſt by ſowing ſuch as is not good, we loſe, with the expected crop, the ſeaſon. The different ſorts of the ſeeds not being diſtinguiſhable from each other, nor the goodneſs to be aſcertained by their appearance; the purchaſer ſhould apply to a perſon of character in that profeſſion. In deſcribing the manner in which the plant ought to be raiſed from the ſeed, as well as in the ſucceeding progreſs, I ſhall confine myſelf to the practice of the northern colonies of America, as theſe are more parallel in their latitude to England.

About the middle of April, or rather ſooner in a forward ſpring, ſow the ſeed in beds firſt prepared for the purpoſe with ſome warm rich manure. In a cold ſpring, regular hot-beds would be moſt eligible for this purpoſe; and indeed the gardeners of this country are perſuaded, that the Nicotania cannot be raiſed in any other way; but theſe are ſeldom to be found in common gardens, and I am convinced that if the weather is not remarkably ſevere, they might be reared without doors. A ſquare yard of land, for which a ſmall quantity of ſeed is ſufficient, will produce above five hundred plants, and allow proper ſpace for their nurture till they are fit to tranſplant.

Having ſown the ſeed in the manner directed, on the leaſt apprehenſion of a froſt after the plants appear, it will be neceſſary to ſpread mats over the beds, elevated from the ground by poles laid acroſs. Theſe however muſt be removed in the morning ſoon after the ſun appears, that they may

may receive as much benefit as poſſible from its warmth, and from the air. In this manner proceed till the leaves have attained the ſize of about two inches in length, and one in breadth, which they will do in about a month, or near the middle of May. One invariable rule for their being able to bear removal is, when the fourth leaf is ſprouted, and the fifth juſt appears. Then take the opportunity of the firſt rains, or gentle ſhowers, to tranſplant them into ſuch a ſoil and ſituation as before deſcribed. The land muſt be plowed, or dug up with ſpades, as mellow and light as poſſible. Raiſe, with the hoe, ſmall hillocs at the diſtance of two feet, or a little more, from each other, taking care that no hard ſods or lumps are in it, and then juſt indent the middle of each, without dibbling the holes as for ſome other plants. When your ground is thus prepared, dig up the plants in a gentle manner from their native bed, and inſert a plant gently into the center of each hilloc, preſſing the ſoil around it with your fingers, and taking the greateſt care, during the operation, that you do not break off any of the leaves, which are at this time exquiſitely tender. If the weather proves dry, after they are thus tranſplanted, they muſt be watered with ſoft water, in the ſame manner as is uſually done to coleworts, or plants of a ſimilar kind. From this time great care muſt be taken to keep the ground ſoft, and free from weeds, by often ſtirring with your hoe the mould round the roots; and pruning off the dead leaves that ſometimes are found near the bottom of the ſtalk.

The difference of this climate from that in which I have been accuſtomed to obſerve the progreſs of this plant, will not permit me to direct with certainty the time which is moſt proper to take off the top of it, to prevent it from running to ſeed. This knowledge can only be perfectly acquired by experience. When it has riſen to upwards of two feet, it commonly begins to put forth the branches on which the flowers and ſeeds are produced: but as this expanſion, if ſuffered to take place, would drain the nutriment from the leaves, and thereby leſſen their ſize and efficacy, it becomes needful at this ſtage to nip off the extremity of the ſtalk, to prevent its growing higher. In ſome other climates the top is commonly cut off when the plant has fifteen leaves; if the tobacco is intended to be a little ſtronger than uſual, this is done when it has only thirteen; and ſometimes, when it is choſen to be remarkably powerful, eleven or twelve leaves only are allowed to expand. On the contrary, if the planter is deſirous to have his crop very mild, he ſuffers it to put forth eighteen or twenty: but in this calculation the three or four lower leaves next the ground are not to be reckoned.

This is denominated 'topping 'the tobacco,' and is much better done by the finger and thumb, than with any inſtrument; becauſe the former cloſe, at the ſame time, the pores of the plants; whereas, when it is done with the latter, the juices are in ſome degree exhauſted. And though this might appear unimportant, yet every method that tends to give vigour to the

the leaves ſhould be carefully purſued. For the ſame reaſon care muſt be taken to nip off the ſprouts that will be continually ſpringing up at the junction of the leaves with the ſtalks. This is termed 'ſuckering the tobacco,' and ought to be repeated as often as occaſion requires.

The laſt, and not the leaſt concern in the cultivation of this plant, is the deſtruction of the worm that Nature has given it for an enemy, and which, like many other reptiles, preys on its benefactor. To deſtroy theſe, which are the only inſects that moleſt this plant, every leaf muſt be carefully ſearched. As ſoon as ſuch a wound is diſcovered, the cauſe of it, who will be found near it, from his unſubſtantial texture, which I ſhall preſently deſcribe, may be eaſily cruſhed: but the beſt method is to pluck it away by the horn, and then cruſh it. Without a conſtant attention to theſe noxious inſects, a whole field of plants may be ſoon deſtroyed. This is termed 'worming the tobacco;' and as theſe worms are found moſt predominant the latter end of July, and the beginning of Auguſt, they muſt be particularly attended to at that ſeaſon.

As I have juſt obſerved, that it is impoſſible, without experience, to point out the due time for topping the plant, ſo it is equally as impoſſible to aſcertain the time it will take to ripen in this climate. That can only be known by future obſervations; for as it is at preſent only cultivated in England as an ornament for the garden, no particular attention has, I believe, been hitherto beſtowed on the preſervation of its leaves. The apparent ſigns, however, of its maturity are, that the leaves, as they approach a ſtate of ripeneſs, become more corrugated or rough; and when fully ripe, appear mottled with yellowiſh ſpots on the raiſed parts, whilſt the cavities retain their uſual green colour. They are, at this time, alſo thicker than they have before been, and are covered with a kind of downy velvet. If heavy rains happen at this critical period, they will waſh this excreſcent ſubſtance off, and thereby damage the plants. In ſuch a caſe, if the froſty nights are not begun, it is proper to let them ſtand a few days longer; when, if the weather be more moderate, they will recover this ſubſtance again. But if a froſt unexpectedly happens during the night, they muſt be carefully examined in the morning before the ſun has any influence on them: and thoſe which are found to be covered with froſty particles, whether thoroughly ripe or not, muſt be cut up: for though they may not all appear to be arrived at a ſtate of maturity, yet they cannot be far from it, and will differ but little in goodneſs from thoſe that are perfectly ſo.

Having now given every inſtruction that occurs to my memory relative to the culture of the plant, I ſhall deſcribe the worm that infeſts it. It is of the horned ſpecies, and appears to be peculiar to this plant; ſo that in many parts of America it is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Tobacco-worm. The firſt time it is diſcernible is when the plants have gained about half their height: it then appears to be nearly as large as a gnat; ſoon after which it lengthens into a worm, and

and by degrees increaſes to the ſize of a man's finger. In ſhape it is regular from its head to its tail, without any diminution at either extremity: indented or ribbed round at equal diſtances, nearly a quarter of an inch from each other, and having at every one of theſe diviſions a pair of claws, by which it faſtens itſelf to the plant. Its mouth, like that of the caterpillar, is placed under the fore-part of the head. On the top of the head, between the eyes, grows a horn about half an inch in length, and greatly reſembling a thorn; the extreme part of which is brown, of a firm texture, and ſharp-pointed. By this horn, as before obſerved, it is uſually plucked from the leaf.

'When the plant is fit for gathering, on the firſt morning that promiſes a fair day, before the ſun is riſen, take a long knife, and holding the ſtalk near the top with one hand, ſever it from its root with the other, as low as poſſible. Having done this, lay it gently on the ground, and there let it remain expoſed to the ſun throughout the day, or until the leaves are entirely wilted, as it is termed in America; that is, till they become limper, and will bend any way without breaking. If, on the contrary, the rain ſhould continue without any intervals, and the plant appears to be full ripe, they muſt be cut down and houſed immediately. This muſt be done, however, with great care, that the leaves, which are in this ſtate very brittle, may not be broken. Being placed under proper ſhelter, either in a barn or a covered hovel, where they cannot be affected by the rain or too much air, they muſt be thinly ſcattered on the floor, and if the ſun does not appear for ſeveral days, ſo that they can be laid out again, they muſt remain to wilt in that manner; which is not indeed ſo deſirable as in the ſun, nor will the tobacco prove quite ſo good.

When the leaves have acquired the flexibility before deſcribed, the plants muſt be laid in heaps, or rather in one heap, if the quantity be not too great, and in about twenty-four hours they will be found to ſweat. But during this time, when they have lain for a little while, and begin to ferment, it is neceſſary to turn them, that the whole quantity may be equally fermented. The longer they lie in this ſituation the darker coloured the tobacco becomes. This is termed 'ſweating the tobacco.'

After they have lain in this manner for three or four days, for in a longer time they grow mouldy, the plants may be tied together in pairs, and hung acroſs a pole, in the ſame covered place, a proper interval being left between each pair. In about a month they will be thoroughly dried, and of a proper temperature to be taken down. This ſtate may be aſcertained by their appearing of the ſame colour as thoſe imported from America, with which few are unacquainted. But this can be done at no other ſeaſon than during wet weather; for the tobacco greatly abounding with ſalts, it is always affected if there is the leaſt humidity in the atmoſphere, even though it be hung in a dry place. If this rule be not obſerved, but they are removed in dry weather, the leaves will crumble, and a conſiderable waſte will attend its removal.

As

As ſoon as the plants are taken down, they muſt once more be laid in a heap, and preſſed with heavy logs of wood for about a week. This climate, however, may require a longer time. Whilſt they remain in this ſtate, it will be neceſſary to introduce your hand frequently into the heap to diſcover whether the heat be not too intenſe; for in large quantities this will ſometimes be the caſe, and conſiderable damage will accrue from it. When the heat exceeds a moderate glowing warmth, part of the weight by which they are compreſſed muſt be taken away; and the cauſe being removed, the effect will ceaſe. This is called 'the ſecond or laſt ſweating,' and when compleated, which it generally will be in about the time juſt mentioned, the leaves may be ſtripped from the ſtalks for uſe. Many omit this laſt operation, but it takes away any remaining harſhneſs, and renders the tobacco more mellow. When the leaves are ſtripped from the ſtalks, they are to be tied up in bunches and kept in a cellar, or any other place that is damp; though if not handled in dry weather, but only during a rainy ſeaſon, it is of little conſequence in what part of the houſe or barn they are laid up. At this period the tobacco is thoroughly cured, and equally proper for manufacturing as that imported from the colonies. If it has been properly managed, that raw fiery taſte ſo frequently found in the common ſale tobacco will be totally eradicated; and though it retains all its ſtrength, will be ſoft and pleaſing in its flavour. Thoſe who are curious in their tobacco in the northern colonies of America ſprinkle it, when made up into rolls for keeping, with ſmall common white wines or cyder, inſtead of ſalt water, which gives it an inexpreſſibly fine flavour.

By purſuing the rules which I have endeavoured to give in as explicit terms as poſſible, country gentlemen and landholders in general will be enabled to raiſe much better tobacco than that which is uſually imported from Maryland or Virginia: for notwithſtanding there are not wanting prohibitory laws in thoſe countries to prevent the planters from ſending to market any but the principal leaves, yet they frequently, to increaſe their profit, ſuffer the ſprouts to grow, and mix the ſmaller leaves of theſe with the others, which renders them much inferior in goodneſs.

The crops that I have reaſon to believe may be raiſed in England, will greatly exceed in flavour and efficacy any that is imported from the ſouthern colonies: for though northern climates require far more care and exactneſs to bring tobacco to a proper ſtate of maturity than warmer latitudes, yet this tardineſs of growth tends to impregnate the plants with a greater quantity of ſalts, and conſequently with that aromatic flavour for which it is prized, than is to be found in the produce of hotter climes, where it is brought to a ſtate of perfection, from the ſeed, in half the time required in colder regions.

A pound of tobacco raiſed in New-England or Nova-Scotia is ſuppoſed to contain as much real ſtrength as two pounds from Virginia; and I doubt not but that near

near double the quantity of falts might be extracted from it by a chymical proceſs.

I ſhall alſo juſt add, though the example can only be followed in particular parts of theſe kingdoms, that the Americans uſually chuſe for the place where they intend to make the ſeedling-bed, part of a copſe, or a ſpot of ground covered with wood, of which they burn down ſuch a portion as they think neceſſary. Having done this, they rake up the ſubjacent mould, and mixing it with the aſhes thus produced, ſow therein the ſeed, without adding any other manure, or taking any other ſteps. Where this method cannot be purſued, wood-aſhes may be ſtrewed over the mould in which the ſeed is deſigned to be ſown.

To the uſes already known, there is another to which tobacco might be applied, that I believe has never been thought of by Europeans; and which may render it much more eſtimable than any other. It has been found by the Americans to anſwer the purpoſe of tanning leather, as well, if not better, than bark; and was not the latter ſo plentiful in their country would be generally uſed by them inſtead of it. I have been witneſs to many experiments wherein it has proved ſucceſsful, eſpecially on the thinner ſorts of hides, and can ſafely pronounce it to be, in countries where bark is ſcarce, a valuable ſubſtitute for that article.

Plan by Dr. Franklin *and Mr.* Dalrymple *for benefiting diſtant unprovided Countries*.*

Aug. 29, 1771.

THE country called in the maps *New Zealand*, has been diſcovered by the *Endeavour*, to be two iſlands, together as large as *Great Britain:* theſe iſlands, named *Acpy-nomawée* and *Tovy-poennammoo*, are inhabited by a brave and generous race, who are deſtitute of *corn*, *fowls*, and *all quadrupeds*, except *dogs*.

Theſe circumſtances being mentioned lately in a company of men of liberal ſentiments, it was obſerved that it ſeemed *incumbent* on ſuch a country as *this*, to communicate to *all others* the conveniencies of life which we enjoy.

Dr. Franklin, whoſe life has ever been directed to promote the true intereſt of ſociety, ſaid, "he "would with all his heart *ſubſcribe* to a voyage intended to "communicate *in general* thoſe "benefits which we enjoy, to "countries deſtitute of them in "the remote parts of the globe." This propoſition being warmly adopted by the reſt of the company, Mr. Dalrymple, then preſent, was induced to offer to undertake the command on ſuch an expedition.

On mature reflection this ſcheme appears the more honourable to the national character of any which can be conceived, as it is grounded on the nobleſt principle of be-

* Theſe propoſals were printed upon a ſheet of paper ſome two or three years ago, and diſtributed. The parts written by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dalrymple are eaſily diſtinguiſhed.

nevo-

nevolence. Good intentions are often fruſtrated by letting them remain indigeſted; on this conſideration Mr. Dalrymple was induced to put the outlines on paper, which are now publiſhed, that by an early communication there may be a better opportunity of collecting all the hints which can conduce to execute effectually the benevolent purpoſe of the expedition, in caſe it ſhould meet with general approbation.

On this ſcheme being ſhewn to Dr. Franklin, he communicated his ſentiments by way of introduction, to the following effect.

"Britain is ſaid to have produced originally nothing but *ſloes*. What vaſt advantages have been communicated to her by the fruits, ſeeds, roots, herbage, animals, and arts of other countries! We are by their means become a wealthy and a mighty nation, abounding in all good things. Does not ſome *duty* hence ariſe from us towards other countries ſtill remaining in our former ſtate?

"Britain is now the firſt maritime power in the world. Her ſhips are innumerable, capable by their form, ſize, and ſtrength, of ſailing all ſeas. Our ſeamen are equally bold, ſkilful and hardy; dexterous in exploring the remoteſt regions, ready to engage in voyages to unknown countries, though attended with the greateſt dangers. The inhabitants of thoſe countries, our *fellow men*, have canoes only; not knowing iron, they cannot build ſhips; they have little aſtronomy, and no knowledge of the compaſs to guide them: they cannot therefore come to us, or obtain any of our advantages. From theſe circumſtances, does not ſome duty ſeem to ariſe from us to them? Does not Providence by theſe diſtinguiſhing favours ſeem to call on us to do ſomething ourſelves for the common intereſt of humanity?

"Thoſe who think it their duty to aſk bread and other bleſſings daily from heaven, would they not think it equally a duty to communicate of thoſe bleſſings when they have received them; and ſhow their gratitude to their great Benefactor by the only means in their power, promoting the happineſs of his other children?

"*Ceres* is ſaid to have made a journey through many countries to teach the uſe of corn, and the art of raiſing it. For this ſingle benefit the grateful nations deified her. How much more may Engliſhmen deſerve ſuch honour, by communicating the knowledge and uſe not of corn only, but of all the other enjoyments earth can produce, and which they are now in poſſeſſion of. *Communiter bona profundere, Deum eſt.*

"Many voyages have been undertaken with views of profit or of plunder, or to gratify reſentment; to procure ſome advantage to ourſelves, or do ſome miſchief to others: but a voyage is now propoſed to viſit a diſtant people on the other ſide the globe; not to cheat them, not to rob them, not to ſeize their lands, or enſlave their perſons; but merely to do them good, and make them, as far as in our power lies, to

"live

" live as comfortably as our-
" ſelves.

" It ſeems a laudable wiſh that
" all the nations of the earth were
" connected by a knowledge of
" each other, and a mutual ex-
" change of benefits: but a
" commercial nation particularly
" ſhould wiſh for a general civi-
" lization of mankind, ſince trade
" is always carried on to much
" greater extent with people who
" have the arts and conveniencies
" of life, than it can be with
" naked ſavages. We may there-
" fore hope in this undertaking
" to be of ſome ſervice to our
" country, as well as to thoſe
" poor people, who, however diſ-
" tant from us, are in truth re-
" lated to us, and whoſe intereſts
" do, in ſome degree, concern
" every one who can ſay *Homo*
" *ſum*," &c.

Scheme of a voyage by ſubſcription, to convey the conveniencies of life, as fowls, hogs, goats, cattle, corn, iron, &c. to thoſe remote regions which are deſtitute of them, and to bring from thence ſuch productions as can be cultivated in this kingdom to the advantage of ſociety, in a ſhip under the command of *Alexander Dalrymple*.

	£.
Catt or bark, from the coal trade, of 350 tons, eſtimated at about — — — —	2000
Extra expences, ſtores, boats, &c. — —	3000
	5000

To be manned with 60 men at 4 *per* man *per* month

240
12

2880 *per* annum
3

Wages and proviſions } 8640 for three years — —	8640
	13640
Cargo included, ſuppoſed — — —	15000

The expences of this expedition are calculated for *three* years; but the greateſt part of the amount of wages will not be wanted till the ſhip returns, and a great part of the expence of proviſions will be ſaved by what is obtained in the courſe of the voyage by barter or otherwiſe, though it is proper to make proviſion for contingencies.

* * * * * * * * *

Extract of a Letter to Dr. Percival, *concerning the Proviſion made in* China *againſt Famine.*

" I HAVE ſomewhere read that in China an account is yearly taken of the number of people, and

the quantities of provision produced. This account is transmitted to the Emperor, whose Ministers can thence foresee a scarcity likely to happen in any province, and from what province it can best be supplied in good time. To facilitate the collecting of this account, and prevent the necessity of entering houses and spending time in asking and answering questions, each house is furnished with a little board to be hung without the door, during a certain time each year; on which board are marked certain words, against which the inhabitant is to mark number or quantity, somewhat in this manner:

Men,
Women,
Children,
Rice or Wheat,
Flesh, &c.

All under 16 are accounted children, and all above, men and women. Any other particulars which the government desires information of, are occasionally marked on the same boards. Thus the officers appointed to collect the accounts in each district, have only to pass before the doors, and enter into their book what they find marked on the board, without giving the least trouble to the family. There is a penalty on marking falsely, and as neighbours must know nearly the truth of each others account, they dare not expose themselves by a false one, to each others accusation. Perhaps such a regulation is scarcely practicable with us."

Positions to be Examined.

1. ALL food or subsistence for mankind arise from the earth or waters.

2. Necessaries of life that are not foods, and all other conveniencies, have their values estimated by the proportion of food consumed while we are employed in procuring them.

3. A small people with a large territory may subsist on the productions of nature, with no other labour than that of gathering the vegetables and catching the animals.

4. A large people with a small territory finds these insufficient, and to subsist, must labour the earth, to make it produce greater quantities of vegetable food, suitable for the nourishment of men, and of the animals they intend to eat.

5. From this labour arises a *great increase* of vegetable and animal food, and of materials for clothing, as flax, wool, silk, &c. The superfluity of these is wealth. With this wealth we pay for the labour employed in building our houses, cities, &c. which are therefore only subsistence thus metamorphosed.

6. *Manufactures* are only *another shape* into which so much provisions and subsistence are turned, as were *equal in value* to the manufactures produced. This appears from hence, that the manufacturer does not, in fact, obtain from the employer, for his labour, *more* than a mere subsistence, including raiment, fuel and shelter; all which derive their value from the provisions consumed in procuring them.

7. The

7. The produce of the earth, thus converted into manufactures, may be more eaſily carried to diſtant markets than before ſuch converſion.

8. *Fair commerce* is, where equal values are exchanged for equal, the expence of tranſport included. Thus, if it coſts A in *England* as much labour and charge to raiſe a buſhel of wheat, as it coſts B in *France* to produce four gallons of wine, then are four gallons of wine the fair exchange for a buſhel of wheat, A and B meeting at half diſtance with their commodities to make the exchange. The advantage of this fair commerce is, that each party increaſes the number of his enjoyments, having, inſtead of wheat alone, or wine alone, the uſe of both wheat and wine.

9. Where the labour and expence of producing both commodities are known to both parties, bargains will generally be fair and equal. Where they are known to one party only, bargains will often be unequal, knowledge taking its advantage of ignorance.

10. Thus he that carries 1000 buſhels of wheat abroad to ſell, may not probably obtain ſo great a profit thereon, as if he had firſt turned the wheat into manufactures, by ſubſiſting therewith the workmen while producing thoſe manufactures: ſince there are many expediting and facilitating methods of working, not generally known; and ſtrangers to the manufactures, though they know pretty well the expence of raiſing wheat, are unacquainted with thoſe ſhort methods of working, and thence being apt to ſuppoſe more labour employed in the manufactures than there really is, are more eaſily impoſed on in their value, and induced to allow more for them than they are honeſtly worth.

11. Thus the advantage of having manufactures in a country, does not conſiſt, as is commonly ſuppoſed, in their highly advancing the value of rough materials, of which they are formed; ſince, though ſix-pennyworth of flax may be worth twenty ſhillings when worked into lace, yet the very cauſe of its being worth twenty ſhillings is, that, beſides the flax, it has coſt nineteen ſhillings and ſixpence in ſubſiſtence to the manufacturer. But the advantage of manufactures is, that under their ſhape proviſions may be more eaſily carried to a foreign market; and by their means our traders may more eaſily cheat ſtrangers. Few, where it is not made, are judges of the value of lace. The importer may demand forty, and perhaps get thirty ſhillings for that which coſt him but twenty.

12. Finally, there ſeem to be but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth. The firſt is by *war*, as the *Romans* did, in plundering their conquered neighbours. This is *robbery*.—The ſecond by *commerce*, which is, generally *cheating*.—The third by *agriculture*, the only *honeſt way*; wherein man receives a real increaſe of the ſeed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle wrought by the hand of God in his favour, as a reward for his innocent life, and his virtuous induſtry.

B. F.

April 4, 1769.

Specifi-

Specification of Dr. Higgin's *Patent for a new-invented Water-Cement or Stucco.*

To all whom these Presents shall come, &c.

NOW know ye that in compliance with the said proviſoe, I the ſaid B. H. do hereby declare that my invention of a water cement or ſtucco, for building, repairing and plaſtering walls, and for other purpoſes, is deſcribed in the manner following (that is to ſay) drift ſand, or quarry * ſand, which conſiſts chiefly of hard quartoſe flat faced grains with ſharp angles; which is the freeſt, or may be moſt eaſily freed by waſhing, from clay, ſalts, and calcareous, gypſeous or other grains leſs hard and durable than quartz; which contains the ſmalleſt quantity of pyrites or heavy metallic matter inſeparable by waſhing; and which ſuffers the ſmalleſt diminution of its bulk in waſhing in the following manner, is to be preferred before any other. And where a coarſe and a fine ſand of this kind, and correſponding in the ſize of their grains with the coarſe and fine ſands hereafter deſcribed, cannot be eaſily procured, let ſuch ſand of the foregoing quality be choſen; as may be ſorted and cleanſed in the following manner:

Let the ſand be ſifted in ſtreaming clear water, through a ſieve which ſhall give paſſage to all ſuch grains as do not exceed one ſixteenth of an inch in diameter; and let the ſtream of water and the ſifting be regulated ſo that all the ſand which is much finer than the Lynn-ſand commonly uſed in the London glaſs-houſes, together with clay and every other matter ſpecifically lighter than ſand, may be waſhed away with the ſtream, whilſt the purer and coarſer ſand, which paſſes through the ſieve, ſubſides in a convenient receptacle, and whilſt the coarſe rubbiſh and ſhingle † remain on the ſieve, to be rejected.

Let the ſand which thus ſubſides in the receptacle, be waſhed in clean ſtreaming water, through a finer ſive, ſo as to be further cleanſed and ſorted into two parcels; a coarſer, which will remain in the ſieve which is to give paſſage to ſuch grains of ſand only as are leſs than one thirtieth of an inch in diameter, and which is to be ſaved apart under the name of coarſe ſand; and a finer, which will paſs through the ſieve and ſubſide in the water, and which is to be ſaved apart under the name of fine ſand.—Let the coarſe and the fine ſand be dried ſeparately, either in the ſun, or on a clean iron plate ſet on a convenient furnace, in the manner of a ſand heat ‡.

* This is commonly called pit-ſand.

† I find that I have uſed this word improperly, on bad authority. The reader is requeſted to read rubble inſtead of ſhingle throughout this ſpecification.

‡ The ſand ought to be ſtirred up continually until it is dried, and is then to be taken off; for otherwiſe the evaporation will be very ſlow, and the ſand which lies next the iron plate, by being overheated, will be diſcoloured.

Let lime be chosen * which is stone lime, which heats the most in slaking, and slakes the quickest when duly watered; which is the freshest made and closest kept; which dissolves in distilled vinegar with the least effervescence, and leaves the smallest residue insoluble, and in this residue the smallest quantity of clay gypsum or martial matter.

Let the lime chosen according to these important rules, be put in a brass-wired sieve to the quantity of fourteen pounds. Let the sieve be finer than either of the foregoing; the finer, the better it will be: let the lime be slaked † by plunging it in a butt filled with soft water and raising it out quickly and suffering it to heat and fume, and by repeating this plunging and raising alternately, and agitating the lime, until it be made to pass through the sieve into the water; and let the part of the lime which does not easily pass through the sieve be rejected: and let fresh portions of the lime be thus used, until as many ‡ ounces of lime have passed thro' the sieve, as there are quarts of water in the butt. Let the water thus impregnated stand in the butt closely covered ‖ until it becomes clear; and through wooden § cocks placed

* The preference given to stone lime is founded on the present practice in the burning of lime, and on the closer texture of it, which prevents it from being so soon injured by exposure to the air, as the more spongy chalk lime is: not on the popular notion that stone lime has something in it whereby it excels the best chalk in the cementing properties. The gypsum contained in lime stone remains unaltered or very little altered in the lime, after the burning; but it is not to be expected that clay or martial matter should be found in their native state, in well burned lime; for they concrete or vitrify with a part of the calcareous earth, and constitute the hard grains or lumps, which remain undissolved in weak acids, or are separable from the slaked lime by sifting it immediately through a sieve.

† This method of impregnating the water with lime is not the only one which may be adopted. It is however preferred before others, because the water clears the sooner in consequence of its being warmed by the slaking lime, and the gypseous part of the lime does not diffuse itself in the water so freely in this way, as it does when the lime is slaked to fine powder in the common method, and is then blended with the water; for the gypseous part of the lime slakes, at first, into grains, rather than into fine powder, and will remain on the sieve, after the pure lime has passed through, long enough to admit of the intended separation; but when the lime is otherwise slaked, the gypseous grains have time to slake to a finer powder, and passing through the sieve, dissolve in the water along with the lime. I have imagined that other advantages attended this method of preparing the lime water, but I cannot yet speak of them with precision.

‡ If the water contains no more acidulous gas than is usually found in river or rain water, a fourth part of this quantity of lime, or less, will be sufficient.

‖ The calcareous crust which forms on the surface of the water ought not to be broke, for it assists in excluding the air and preventing the absorption of acidulous gas whereby the lime water is spoiled.

§ Brass cocks are apt to colour a part of the liquor.

at

at different heights in the butt, let the clear liquor be drawn off as faſt * and as low as the lime ſubſides, for uſe. This clear liquor I call the cementing liquor †. The freer the water is from ſaline matter, the better will be the cementing liquor made with it.

Let fifty-ſix pounds of the aforeſaid choſen lime be ſlaked, by gradually ſprinkling on it, and eſpecially on the unſlaked pieces, the cementing liquor, in a cloſe ‡ clean place. Let the ſlaked part be immediately || ſifted through the laſt mentioned fine braſs-wired ſive: Let the lime which paſſes be uſed inſtantly or kept in air-tight veſſels, and let the part of the lime which does not paſs through the ſieve, be rejected §. — This finer richer part of the lime which paſſes through the ſieve, I call purified lime.

Let bone-aſh be prepared in the uſual manner by grinding the whiteſt burnt bones, but let it be ſifted to be much finer than the bone-aſh commonly ſold for making cupels.

The moſt eligible materials for making my cement being thus prepared: take fifty-ſix pounds of the coarſe ſand and forty-two pounds of the fine ſand; mix them on a large plank of hard wood placed horizontally; then ſpread the ſand ſo that it may ſtand to the height of ſix inches with a flat ſurface on the plank; wet it with the cementing liquor; and let any ſuperfluous quantity of the liquor, which the ſand in the condition deſcribed cannot retain, flow away

* Lime water cannot be kept many days unimpaired, in any veſſels that are not perfectly air-tight. If the liquor be drawn off before it clears, it will contain whiting, which is injurious; and if it be not inſtanty uſed, after it is drawn limpid from the butt into open veſſels, it will grow turbid again, and depoſite the lime changed to whiting by the gas abſorbed from the air. The calcareous matter which ſubſides in the butt, reſembles whiting the more nearly, as the lime has been more ſparingly employed; in the contrary circumſtances, it approaches to the nature of lime; and in the intermediate ſtate, it is fit for the common compoſition of the plaſterers for inſide ſtucco.

† At the time of writing this ſpecification I preferred this term before that of lime-water, on grounds which I had not ſufficiently examined.

‡ The vapour which ariſes in the ſlaking of the lime contributes greatly to the ſlaking of theſe pieces which lie in its way; and an unneceſſary waſte of the liquor is prevented, by applying it to the lime heaped in a pit or in a veſſel which may reſtrain the iſſue of the vapour, and direct it through the maſs. If more of the liquor be uſed than is neceſſary to ſlake the lime, it will create error in weighing the ſlaked powder, and will prevent a part of it from paſſing freely through the ſieve. The liquid is therefore to be uſed ſparingly, and the lime which has eſcaped its action is to be ſprinkled apart with freſh liquor.

|| When the aggregation of the lumps of lime is thus broken, it is impared much ſooner than it is in the former ſtate, becauſe the air more freely pervades it.

§ Becauſe it conſiſts of heterogeneous matter, or of ill burnt lime; which laſt will ſlake and paſs through the ſieve, if the lime be not immediately ſifted after the ſlaking, agreeable to the text.

off the plank. To the wetted ſand add fourteen pounds of the purified lime in ſeveral ſucceſſive portions, mixing and beating them up together in the mean time with the inſtruments generally uſed in making fine mortar: then add fourteen pounds of the bone-aſh in ſucceſſive portions, mixing and beating all together. The quicker and the more perfectly theſe materials are mixed and beaten together, and the ſooner the cement thus formed is uſed, the better * it will be. This I call the water cement coarſe grained, which is to be applied in building, pointing, plaſtering, ſtuccoing, or other work, as mortar and ſtucco now are; with this difference chiefly, that as this cement is ſhorter than mortar or common ſtucco and dries ſooner, it ought to be worked expeditiouſly in all caſes, and in ſtuccoing it ought to be laid on by ſliding the trowel upwards on it; that the materials uſed along with this cement in building, or the ground on which it is to be laid in ſtuccoing, ought to be well wetted with the cementing liquor, in the inſtant of laying on the cement; and that the cementing liquor is to be uſed when it is neceſſary to moiſten the cement, or when a liquid is required to facilitate the floating of the cement.

When ſuch cement is required to be of a finer texture; take ninety-eight pounds of the fine ſand, wet it with the cementing liquor, and mix it with the purified lime and the bone-aſh in the quantities and in the manner above deſcribed, with this difference only, that fifteen pounds of lime, or † thereabouts, are to be uſed inſtead of fourteen pounds, if the greater part of the ſand be as fine as Lynn ſand. This I call water cement fine grained. It is to be uſed in giving the laſt coating or the finiſh to any work intended to imitate the finer grained ſtones or ſtucco. But it may be applied to all the uſes of the water cement coarſe grained, and in the ſame manner.

When for any of the foregoing purpoſes of pointing, building, &c. ſuch a cement is required much cheaper and coarſer grained, then, much coarſer clean ſand than the foregoing coarſe ſand, or well waſhed fine ‡ ſhingle, is to be provided. Of this coarſeſt ſand or

* Theſe proportions are intended for a cement made with ſharp ſand, for incruſtation in expoſed ſituations, where it is neceſſary to guard againſt the effects of hot weather and rain. In general half this quantity of bone-aſhes will be found ſufficient; and although the incruſtation in this latter caſe will not harden deeply ſo ſoon, it will be ultimately ſtronger, provided the weather be favourable.

The injuries which lime and mortar ſuſtain, by expoſure to the air, before the cement is finally placed in a quieſcent ſtate, are great; and therefore our cement is the worſe for being long beaten, but the better as it is quickly beaten until the mixture is effected, and no longer.

† The quantity of bone-aſhes is not to be increaſed with that of the lime; but it is to be leſſened as the expoſure and purpoſes of the work will admit.

‡ Rubble.

ſhingle,

shingle * take fifty-six pounds, of the foregoing coarse sand twenty-eight pounds, and of the fine sand fourteen pounds; and after mixing these and wetting them with the cementing liquor in the foregoing manner, add fourteen pounds, or somewhat less, of the † purified lime, and then fourteen pounds, or somewhat less, of the bone-ash, mixing them together in the manner already described. When my cement is required to be white, white sand, white lime, and the whitest bone-ash are to be chosen. Grey sand and grey bone-ash formed of half burnt bones, are to be chosen to make the cement grey; and any other colour of the cement is obtained, either by chusing coloured sand, or by the admixture of the necessary quantity of coloured talc in powder, or of coloured vitreous or metallic powders, or other durable colouring ingredients commonly used in paint.

To the end that such a water cement as I have described may be made as useful as it is possible in all circumstances; and that no person may imagine that my claim and right under these Letters Patent may be eluded by divers variations which may be made in the foregoing process without producing any notable defect in the cement; and to the end that the principles of this art as well as the art itself of making my cement, may be gathered from this specification and perpetuated to the public, I shall add the following observations.

This my water cement, whether the coarse or fine grained, is applicable in forming artificial stone, by making alternate layers of the cement and of flint, hard stone, or brick, in moulds of the figure of the intended stone, and by exposing the masses so formed, to the open ‡ air to harden.

When such cement is required for water § fences, two thirds of the prescribed quantity of bone ashes are to be omitted; and in the place thereof an equal measure of powdered terras is to be used; and if the sand employed be not of the coarsest sort, more terras must be added, so that the terras shall be by weight one sixth part of the weight of the sand.

* Rubble.

† Because less lime is necessary, as the sand is coarser.

‡ But they must not be exposed to the rain, until they are almost as strong as fresh Portland stone; and even then they ought to be sheltered from it, as much as the circumstances will admit. These stones may be made very hard and beautiful, with a small expence of bone-ash, by soaking them, after they have dried thoroughly and hardened, in the lime-liquor, and repeating this process twice or thrice, at distant intervals of time. The like effect was experienced in incrustations.

§ In my experiments, mortar made with terras powder, in the usual method, does not appear to form so strong a cement for water fences, as that made according to the specification, with coarse sand; and I see no more reason for avoiding the use of sand in terras mortar, than there would be for rejecting stone from the embankment. The bone-ashes meant in this place are the dark grey or black sort. I am not yet fully satisfied about the operation of them in this instance.

When such a cement is required of the finest grain * or in a fluid form, so that it may be applied with a brush, flint powder, or the powder of any quartose or hard earthy substance may be used in the place of sand, but in a quantity smaller as the flint or other powder is finer; so that the flint powder or other such powder shall not be more than six times the weight of the lime, nor less than four times its weight. The greater the quantity of lime within these limits, the more will the cement be liable to crack by quick drying, and vice versa.

Where such sand as I prefer cannot be conveniently procured, or where the sand cannot be conveniently washed and sorted, that sand which most resembles the mixture of coarse and fine sand above prescribed, may be used as I have directed, provided due attention is paid to the quantity of the lime, which is to be the greater † as the sand is the finer, and *vice versa*.

Where sand cannot be easily procured, any durable stony body, or baked earth grosly powdered ‡ and sorted nearly to the sizes above prescribed for sand, may be used in the place of sand, measure for measure, but not weight for weight, unless such gross powder be as heavy specifically as sand.

Sand may be cleansed from every softer, lighter, and less durable matter, and from that part of the sand which is too fine, by various methods preferable §, in certain circumstances, to that which I have described.

Water may be found naturally free from fixable gas, selenite or clay: such water may, without any notable inconvenience, be used in the place of the cementing liquor; and water approaching this state will not require so much lime as I have ordered, to make the cementing liquor; and a cementing liquor sufficiently useful may be made by various methods of mixing lime and water in the described proportions, or nearly so.

* The qualities and uses of such fine calcareous cement are recommended chiefly for the purpose of smoothing and finishing the stronger crustaceous works, or for washing walls to a lively and uniform colour. For this last intention, the mixture must be as thin as new cream, and laid on briskly with a brush, in dry weather; and a thick and durable coat is to be made by repeated washing, but is not to be attempted by using a thicker liquor; for the coat made with this last is apt to scale, whilst the former endures the weather much longer than any other thin calcareous covering that has been applied in this way. Fine yellow ochre is the cheapest colouring ingredient for such a wash, when it is required to imitate Bath stone, or the warm-white stones.

† If sea sand be well washed in fresh water, it is as good as any other *round* sand.

‡ The cement made with these and the proper quantities of purified lime and lime-water, are inferior to the best, as the grains of these powders are more perishable and brittle than those of sand. They will not therefore be employed, unless for the sake of evasion, or for want of sand: in this latter case the finer powder ought to be washed away.

§ This and the next paragraph is inserted with a view to evasions, as well as to suggest the easier and cheaper methods which may be adopted in certain circumstances, by artists who understand the principles which I have endeavoured to teach.

When

When ſtone lime cannot be procured, chalk lime or ſhell lime which beſt reſembles ſtone lime, in the characters above written of lime, may be uſed in the manner deſcribed, except that fourteen pounds and a half of chalk lime will be required in the place of fourteen pounds of ſtone lime. The proportion of lime which I have preſcribed above may be increaſed without inconvenience, when the cement or ſtucco is to be applied where it is not liable to dry quickly; and in the contrary circumſtance this proportion may be diminiſhed; and the defect of lime in quantity or quality may be very advantageouſly ſupplied *, by cauſing a conſiderable quantity of the cementing liquor to ſoak into the work, in ſucceſſive portions and at diſtant intervals of time, ſo that the calcareous matter of the cementing liquor, and the matter attracted from the open air, may fill and ſtrengthen the work.

The powder of almoſt every well-dried or burnt animal ſubſtance may be uſed inſtead of bone-aſh; and ſeveral earthy powders, eſpecially the micaceous and the metallic; and the elixated aſhes of divers vegetables whoſe earth will not burn to lime; and the aſhes of mineral fuel, which are of the calcareous kind, but will not burn to lime; will anſwer the ends of bone-aſh in ſome degree.

The quantity of bone-aſh deſcribed may be leſſened without injuring the cement, in thoſe circumſtances eſpecially which admit the quantity of lime to be leſſened, and in thoſe wherein the cement is not liable to dry quickly. And the art of remedying the defects of lime may be advantageouſly practiſed to ſupply the deficiency of bone-aſh, eſpecially in building and in making artificial ſtone with this cement.

N. B. For inſide work, the admixture of hair with this cement is uſeful.

In witneſs whereof I the ſaid B. H. &c.

The excellence of my cement depends, firſt, on the figure, ſize and purity of the ſand; ſecondly, on the purity of the lime, obtained in the choice of lime-ſtone, and in the perfect burning, and ſecured in the preſervation of it from air, in my method of ſlaking, and in the ſeparation of heterogeneous parts; thirdly, on the uſe of ſtrong and pure lime water in the place of common water; fourthly, on the proportion of ſands, lime water, and lime; fifthly, on the manner of mixing them; ſixthly, on the knowledge of ingredients and circumſtances which are injurious or uſeful; ſeventhly, on the uſe of bone-aſhes of determinate ſize; eighthly, on the art of ſuiting ſome of theſe to the ſeveral purpoſes; and finally, on ſo many other particulars, as render it very difficult to give a more candid ſpecification, in the uſual compaſs, than this which I have enrolled, or to guard otherwiſe againſt evaſions, than by anticipating them.

* This practice is noticed, as the remedy which may be uſed for the defects ariſing from evaſive meaſures, and as the method of giving ſpungy incruſtations containing bone-aſhes the greateſt degree of hardneſs.

On the Virtues of Acorn-Coffee.

DR. Marx, an eminent German phyſician, has publiſhed, in the Hanover Magazine, ſome experiments, in which he has ſhewn the great virtues of Acorn-coffee, and has confirmed his experiments by accompanying them with a multitude of facts: it muſt therefore give you pleaſure to be able to acquaint your readers, that ſuch a common fruit is capable of being converted to many ſalutary purpoſes.

The method of preparing the Acorn-coffee is as follows:

Take ſound and ripe acorns, peel off the ſhell or huſk, divide the kernels, dry them gradually, and then roaſt them in a cloſe veſſel or roaſter, keeping them continually ſtirring; in doing of which, eſpecial care muſt be taken that they be not burnt or roaſted too much, both which would be hurtful.

Take of theſe roaſted acorns (ground like other coffee) half an ounce every morning and evening, alone or mixed with a drachm of other coffee, and ſweetened with ſugar, with or without milk.

The author ſays that acorns have always been eſteemed a wholeſome, nouriſhing, and ſtrengthening nutriment for men, and that by their medicinal qualities they have been found to cure the ſlimy obſtructions in the viſcera, and to remove nervous complaints when other medicines have failed; and although acorns, he ſays, have, by the moderns as well as the ancients, been looked upon as a great aſtringent, and generally applied more outwardly, and very ſparingly inwardly; yet he is of opinion, that by the heat of the fire they loſe their aſtringent quality, and thence have no more that effect than other coffee.

The author forbears all manner of inveſtigation, and contents himſelf ſolely with the relation of caſes, which he enumerates with brevity and without exaggeration. Many of the caſes which accompanied this account reſpect women, whoſe complaints aroſe from diſorders peculiar to their ſex.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

A Deſcription of the Alhambra, *or Palace of the* Mooriſh *Kings of* Granada.

THIS ancient fortreſs, and reſidence of the Mahometan monarchs of Granada, derives its name from the red colour of the materials that it was originally built with, Alhambra ſignifying a red houſe. Moſt of the ſovereigns took a delight in adding new buildings to the old towers, now called *Torres de la campana*, or in embelliſhing what had been joined by their predeceſſors. The pleaſantneſs of the ſituation, and purity of its air, induced the Emperor Charles the Fifth to begin a magnificent edifice on the ruins of the offices of the old palace, and it is thought, he intended to fix his chief abode here; but his volatile temper, continual wars, and frequent abſences from Spain, made him give up all thoughts of Granada, long before he had finiſhed the plan. It ſtands between the rivers, on a very high hill, that projects into the plain, and overlooks all the city: the road up to it is through a narrow ſtreet, called *Calle de los Gomeles*, from a great family among the Moors. This brings you through a maſſive gate, built by the Emperor, into the outward incloſure of the Alhambra. You then continue to aſcend by a very ſteep avenue of elms, which ſoon increaſes to a wood, interſected in many directions by wild, neglected walks, where ſtreams of clear water, finding their paſſage obſtructed by the rubbiſh of their old channels, ſpread over the whole road. A large fountain adorns the platform near the top of the hill. The water, diverted from its proper conduits, has been ſuffered to run at random for ſuch a length of time, that it has deſtroyed moſt of the ſculpture and embelliſhments, which were in a very good taſte. Here you turn ſhort to the left, and come under the walls of the inner incloſure. Its appearance is that of an old town, exhibiting a long range of high battlemented walls, interrupted at regular diſtances by large lofty ſquare towers. Theſe have one or two arched windows near the top, and a precipitate ſlope from the bottom into a dry ditch. The whole is built with round irregular pebbles, mixed with cement and gravel. Some parts are covered and ſmoothed over with a thick coat of plaiſter; in other places, mortar has been laid in between the ſtones, leaving as much of them uncovered as came to

to the level; then the trowel has been carefully drawn round, forming about them triangles, half-moons, &c. Juſt before you, ſtands the preſent principal entrance into the caſtle, a ſquare tower built by the king Juſaf Abuhagiagi, in 1348, as an inſcription informs us: from its being the place where juſtice was ſummarily adminiſtered, it was ſtyled *the Gate of Judgment*. You paſs through it under ſeveral arches (each of which is more than a full ſemicircle, reſting upon a ſmall impoſt, the ends of the bow being brought towards each other in the form of a horſeſhoe.) On the key-ſtone of the outward arch, is ſculptured the figure of an arm, the ſymbol of ſtrength and dominion: on that of the next arch is a key embоſſed, the armorial enſign of the Andaluſian Moors. Above it, the wall of this partition is covered with a beautiful blue and gold moſaic, in the middle of which they have placed an image of the Virgin Mary. As this is not a gate ever uſed for carriages, the paſſage winds through ſeveral turns, full of images, indulgences, and altars, before you get through, out into a narrow ſtreet, between a row of ſhabby barracks on the right, and on the left the caſtle wall, ſuppoſed to be built by the Phœnicians. I examined the work very narrowly, and found it conſiſted of a layer of cement one or two inches thick, upon which is placed flatwiſe a ſtone of the ſame thickneſs, chiſſelled on the face into a kind of a chequered deſign. This is the regular method employed from top to bottom. This lane ends in the great ſquare, or *Plaza de los Algibes*, ſo named from the ancient ciſterns, that undermine it from end to end, and are conſtantly fed by a ſupply of running water. The proſpect from the parapet-wall is wonderfully grand, over the vale of Dauro, the Albaycin, and down the Vega. On the very brow of the hill, hanging over the city, ſtands the *towers of the bell*, a groupe of high ſquare buildings, which now ſerve for priſons. Below them, on the ſouth-ſide, on a ſlip of terrace, is the governor's garden, a very pleaſant walk, full of fine orange and cypreſs trees, and myrtle hedges, but quite abandoned. The view it commands is incomparable. Two large vaſes enamelled with gold and azure foliages and characters are the only ornaments left: theſe were taken out of the vaults under the royal apartments. On the right hand of the Plaza de los Algibes, is a ſolitary gateway, formerly the entrance into ſome of the outward quadrangles thrown down by Charles the Fifth, to make room for his ſuperb palace, which ſtands facing the *Torres de la campana*. This edifice is a perfect ſquare of two hundred Spaniſh feet; it has two orders of pilaſters, Doric and Ionic, upon a ruſtic baſe. The whole meaſures ſixty-two feet from the top of the upper entablement to the ground. Three of the fronts are free from all other buildings; the fourth (that to the north) is joined and connected with the ancient palace of the Mooriſh kings. It was never finiſhed, which is much to be regretted by all lovers of the fine arts, for there are few edifices more deſerving of their admiration. The architect was Alonzo Verruguete, a native of Paredes de Navas, near Valladolid.

In

In this work he has discovered a most transcendent genius, grandeur of style, and elegance and chastity of design. How different from all that has been done for a century past in this kingdom! The doors are designed in a great manner; the bass-reliefs, figures, festoons, medallions, &c. are of excellent invention and execution; the ornaments of the cornices, windows, and capitals, are delicate, and suitable to the general effect. On the pedestals of the columns, that support the entablement of the great door, are reliefs on dark marble, that for polish might pass for bronze at a little distance; the Doric door in the south side, called El Zanguenete, pleased me greatly, as there is something simply elegant in the taste, and new in the ornamental part; the pediment is filled with a scroll thrown with great ease, on which is inscribed *Plusoutre*, the motto of the Emperor, which he never failed introducing into every public work he undertook. You come, through an oblong vestibule, into the court which forms the center of the palace. It is an exact circle, of one hundred and forty-four feet diameter, round which runs a Doric colonnade, or portico, of thirty-two columns, supporting an upper gallery of an equal number of pillars, of the Ionic order. They are all of them of one entire block of reddish marble. The portico is nineteen feet wide, and serves as a communication with the stair-case, and the intended apartments, which are disposed round the court in various forms and proportions. The roof of the gallery is crumbling away very fast, and many of the columns are much damaged. The apartments never had any other covering than the sky; and nothing but the matchless temperature of the climate could have saved this beautiful work so many years from total ruin. The magnificence, the unity of this whole pile, but, above all, the elegance of the circular court, quite transported me with pleasure, on the first view, and I have ever since found my admiration increase in proportion to the number of my visits.

Adjoining (to the north) stands a huge heap of as ugly buildings as can well be seen, all huddled together, seemingly without the least intention of forming *one* habitation out of them. The walls are entirely unornamented, all gravel and pebbles, daubed over with plaister by a very coarse hand; yet this is the palace of the Moorish kings of Granada, indisputably the most curious place within, that exists in Spain, perhaps in Europe. In many countries, you may see excellent modern as well as ancient architecture, both entire and in ruins; but nothing to be met with any where else can convey an idea of this edifice, except you take it from the decorations of an opera, or the tales of the Genii. I therefore look upon it to stand alone in its kind, and consequently think no excuse necessary, previous to my entering upon the dry detail I intend giving you of it.

Passing round the corner of the Emperor's palace, you are admitted at a plain unornamented door in a corner. On my first visit, I confess, I was struck with amazement, as I stept over the threshold, to find myself on a sudden transported into a species of fairy-land.

The

The firſt place you come to, is the court called the *communa*, or *del meſucar*, that is, the *common baths*: an oblong ſquare, with a deep baſon of clear water in the middle; two flights of marble ſteps leading down to the bottom; on each ſide a parterre of flowers, and a row of orange-trees. Round the court runs a peryſtile paved with marble; the arches bear upon very ſlight pillars, in proportions and ſtyle different from all the regular orders of architecture. The ceilings and walls are incruſtated with fret-work in ſtucco, ſo minute and intricate, that the moſt patient draughtſman would find it difficult to follow it, unleſs he made himſelf maſter of the general plan. This would facilitate the operation exceedingly, for all this work is frequently and regularly repeated at certain diſtances, and has been executed by means of ſquare moulds applied ſucceſſively, and the parts joined together with the utmoſt nicety. In every diviſion are Arabic ſentences of different lengths, moſt of them expreſſive of the following meanings, "There "is no conqueror but God;" or, "Obedience and honour to our "Lord Abouabdallah." The ceilings are gilt or painted, and time has cauſed no diminution in the freſhneſs of their colours, though conſtantly expoſed to the air. The lower part of the walls is moſaic, diſpoſed in fantaſtic knots and feſtoons. A work ſo new to me, ſo exquiſitely finiſhed, and ſo different from all I had ever ſeen, afforded me the moſt agreeable ſenſations, which, I aſſure you, redoubled every ſtep I took in this magic ground. The porches at the ends are more like grotto-work, than any thing elſe I can compare them to. That on the right hand opens into an octagon vault, under the Emperor's palace, and forms a perfect whiſpering-gallery, meant to be a communication between the offices of both houſes.

Oppoſite to the door of the communa through which you enter, is another, leading into the *Quarto de los leones*, or apartment of the lions, which is an oblong court, one hundred feet in length, and fifty in breadth, environed with a colonade ſeven feet broad on the ſides, and ten at the end. Two porticos or cabinets, about fifteen feet ſquare, project into the court at the two extremities. The ſquare is paved with coloured tiles; the colonade with white marble. The walls are covered five feet up from the ground with blue and yellow tiles, diſpoſed chequerwiſe. Above and below is a border of ſmall eſcutcheons, enamelled blue and gold, with an Arabic motto on a bend, ſignifying, "No con-"queror but God." The columns that ſupport the roof and gallery are of white marble, very ſlender, and fantaſtically adorned. They are nine feet high, including baſe and capital, and eight inches and a half diameter. They are very irregularly placed, ſometimes ſingly, at others in groups of three, but more frequently two together. The width of the horſe-ſhoe arches above them is four feet two inches for the large ones, and three for the ſmaller. The ceiling of the portico is finiſhed in a much finer and more complicated manner, than that of the *communa*; and the ſtucco laid on the walls with inimitable delicacy; in the ceiling it is ſo artfully froſted and handled,

as

as to exceed belief. The capitals are of various deſigns, though each deſign is repeated ſeveral times in the circumference of the court, but not the leaſt attention has been paid to placing them regularly or oppoſite to each other. You will form a much clearer idea of their ſtyle, as well as diſpoſitions, from the drawings, than from the moſt elaborate deſcription I can pen. Not the ſmalleſt repreſentation of animal life can be diſcovered amidſt the varieties of foliages, groteſques, and ſtrange ornaments. About each arch is a large ſquare of arabeſques, ſurrounded with a rim of characters, that are generally quotations from the Koran. Over the pillars is another ſquare of delightful fillagree work. Higher up is a wooden rim, or kind of cornice, as much enriched with carving as the ſtucco that covers the part underneath. Over this projects a roof of red tiles, the only thing that diſfigures this beautiful ſquare. This ugly covering is modern, put on by order of Mr. Wall, the late prime miniſter, who a few years ago gave the Alhambra a thorough repair. In Mooriſh times the building was covered with large painted and glazed tiles, of which ſome few are ſtill to be ſeen. In the center of the court are twelve ill-made lions muzzled, their fore-parts ſmooth, their hind-parts rough, which bear upon their backs an enormous baſon, out of which a leſſer riſes. While the pipes were kept in good order, a great volume of water was thrown up, that, falling down into the baſons, paſſed through the beaſts, and iſſued out of their mouths into a large reſervoir, where it communicated by channels with the jet d'eaus in the apartments. This fountain is of white marble, embelliſhed with many feſtoons, and Arabic diſtichs, thus tranſlated:

"Seeſt thou not how the water "flows copiouſly like the Nile?"

"This reſembles a ſea waſhing "over its ſhores, threatening ſhip-"wreck to the mariner."

"This water runs abundantly, "to give drink to the lions."

"Terrible as the lion is our "king in the day of battle."

"The Nile gives glory to the "king, and the lofty mountains "proclaim it."

"This garden is fertile in de-"lights; God takes care that "no noxious animal ſhall ap-"proach it."

"The fair princeſs that walks "in this garden, covered with "pearls, augments its beauty ſo "much, that thou may'ſt doubt, "whether it be a fountain that "flows, or the tears of her ad-"mirers*."

Paſſing along the colonade, and keeping on the ſouth ſide, you come to a circular room uſed by the men as a place for drinking coffee and ſorbets in. A fountain in the middle refreſhed the apartment in ſummer. The form of this hall, the elegance of its cupola, the chearful diſtribution of light from above, and the exquiſite manner in which the ſtucco is deſigned, painted, and finiſhed, exceed all my powers of deſcription. Every thing in it inſpires the moſt

* This paſſage is very obſcure in the Latin tranſlation. I have endeavoured to make ſomething of it, but it ſtill remains a forced conceit.

pleasing, voluptuous ideas: yet in this sweet retreat they pretend that Abouabdoulah assembled the Abencerrages, and caused their heads to be struck off into the fountain. Our guide, with a look expressive of implicit faith, pointed out to us the stains of their blood in the white marble slabs; which is nothing more than the reddish marks of iron-water in the quarry, or perhaps the effect of being long exposed to the air. Continuing your walk round, you are next brought to a couple of rooms at the head of the court, which are supposed to have been tribunals, or audience-chambers. In the ceiling are three historical paintings, executed with much strength, but great stiffness in the figures and countenances. One of them seems to be a cavalcade; the other the entrance of some princess; and the third a divan. When these were painted, and what they are meant to represent, I could not make out; but our *Cicerone* naturally adapted them to the history of the Sultana and her four Christian knights. If they are representations of that doubtful story, they must have been painted in the Emperor's time, or a little before, for it cannot be supposed that Abouabdoulah would wish to perpetuate the memory of a transaction in which he bore so very weak and dishonourable a part. And besides, the anathema denounced by the Koran against all representations of living creatures, renders it next to impossible that these pieces should have existed previous to the conquest. The lions of the great fountain may be brought as an argument against my last reason; and indeed they shew that the Granadine princes, as well as some of the oriental caliphs, who put their own effigy on their coin, ventured now and then to place themselves above the letter of the law. Be this as it will, if the antiquity of these pictures can be proved to go as far back as the reign of Ferdinand, or at least the beginning of that of Charles, which I take to be no very difficult matter to make out, I should have much greater respect for the authority of Giles Peres than many think him entitled to. It can scarce be supposed that the events of the reign of Abouabdoulah could be so totally forgotten so soon after, that a painter should dare to invent a trial and combat, at which many still living in Granada might have assisted as spectators.

Opposite to the *Sala de los Abencerrages* is the entrance into the *Torre de las dos hermanas*, or the tower of the two sisters, so named from two very beautiful pieces of marble laid as flags in the pavement. This gate exceeds all the rest in profusion of ornaments and in beauty of prospect, which it affords through a range of apartments, where a multitude of arches terminate in a large window open to the country. In a gleam of sunshine, the variety of tints and lights thrown upon this enfilade are uncommonly rich. I employed much time in making an exact drawing of it from the fountain, and hope it will help you to comprehend what I am labouring to explain by my narrative. The first hall is the concert-room, where the women sate; the musicians played above in four balconies. In the middle is a jet d'eau. The

marble

marble pavement I take to be equal to the fineſt exiſting, for the ſize of the flags, and evenneſs of the colour. The two ſiſters, which give name to the room, are ſlabs that meaſure fifteen feet by ſeven and a half, without flaw or ſtain. The walls, up to a certain height, are moſaic, and above are divided into very neat compartments of ſtucco, all of one deſign, which is alſo followed in many of the adjacent halls and galleries. The ceiling is a frettêd cove. To preſerve this vaulted roof, as well as ſome of the other principal cupolas, the outward walls of the towers are raiſed ten feet above the top of the dome, and ſupport another roof over all, by which means no damage can ever be cauſed by wet weather, or exceſſive heat and cold. From this hall you paſs round the little myrtle-garden of Lindaraxa, into an additional building made to the eaſt end by Charles V. The rooms are ſmall and low: his dear motto, *Plus outre*, appears on every beam. This leads to a little tower, projecting from the line of the north wall, called *El tocador*, or the dreſſing-room of the ſultana. It is a ſmall ſquare cabinet, in the middle of an open gallery, from which it receives light by a door and three windows. The look-out charming. In one corner is a large marble flag, drilled full of holes, through which the ſmoke of perfumes aſcended from furnaces below; and here, it is preſumed, the Mooriſh queen was wont to ſit to fumigate and ſweeten her perſon. The emperor cauſed this little pretty room to be painted with repreſentations of his wars, and a great variety of groteſques, which appear to be copies, or at leaſt imitations, of thoſe in the loggie in the Vatican. They have been ſhamefully abuſed by idle ſcribblers; what remains ſhews them to have been the work of able artiſts. From hence you go through a long paſſage to the hall of ambaſſadors, which is magnificently decorated with innumerable varieties of moſaics, and the mottos of all the kings of Granada. This long narrow antichamber opens into the *communa* on the left hand, and on the right into the great audience-hall in the tower of *Comares*, a noble apartment, thirty-ſix feet ſquare, thirty-ſix high up to the cornice, and eighteen from thence to the center of the cupola. The walls on three ſides are fifteen feet thick, on the other nine; the lower range of windows thirteen feet high. The whole hall is inlaid with moſaic of many colours, diſpoſed in intricate knots, ſtars, and other figures. In every part are repeated certain Arabic ſentences, the principal of which are the following:

"The counſel of God and a "ſpeedy increaſe, and give joy to "true believers."

"Praiſe to God, and to his vice-"gerent Nazar, who gave this "empire, and to our king Abou-"abdoulah, to whom be peace, "elevation, and glory."

N. B. Nazar is an appellation of eminence, and ſuppoſed to mean the famous Emir-moumelin Jacob Almanzar.

"There is no God but God."

"Valour, ſucceſs, and duration "to our king Abulhaghagh, king "of the Moors; God guide his "ſtate and elevate his power!"

"Praiſe be to God, for I en-"liven this dwelling of princes

" with my beauty, and with my " crown. I ſtrike firm root; I " have fountains of pureſt water, " and handſome apartments; my " inhabitants are lords of mighty " puiſſance. May God, who " guides his people, protect me, " for I attend to the ſayings of " the holy! I am thus adorned " by the hand and liberality of " Abulhaghagh, who is a bright " moon that caſts forth his light " over the face of heaven."

Theſe inſcriptions, and many others diſperſed over the palace, prove that there is very little of it remaining that is not the work of Abulhaghagh, or of Abouabdoulah.

Having thus completed the tour of the upper apartments, which are upon a level with the offices of the new palace, you deſcend to the lower floor, which conſiſted of bedchambers and ſummer-rooms: the back-ſtairs and paſſages, that facilitated the intercourſe between them, are without number. The moſt remarkable room below is the king's bedchamber, which communicated, by means of a gallery, with the upper ſtory. The beds were placed in two alcoves, upon a raiſed pavement of blue and white tiles; but as it has been repaired by Philip V. who paſſed ſome time here, I cannot ſay how it may have been in former times. A fountain played in the middle, to refreſh the apartment in hot weather. Behind the alcoves are ſmall doors, that conduct you to the royal baths. Theſe conſiſt in one ſmall cloſet with marble ciſterns for waſhing children, two rooms for grown-up perſons, and vaults for boilers and furnaces, that ſupplied the baths with water, and the ſtoves with vapours. The troughs are formed of large ſlabs of white marble; the walls are beautified with party-coloured earthen ware; light is admitted by holes in the coved ceiling.

Hard by is a whiſpering-gallery, and a kind of labyrinth, ſaid to have been made for the diverſion of the women and children.

One of the paſſages of communication is fenced off with a ſtrong iron grate, and called the priſon of the ſultana; but it ſeems more probable that it was put up to prevent any body from climbing up into the women's quarter.

Under the council-room is a long ſlip, called the king's ſtudy; and adjoining to it are ſeveral vaults, ſaid to be the place of burial of the royal family. In the year 1574, four ſepulchres were opened; but, as they contained nothing but bones and aſhes, were immediately cloſed again.

I ſhall finiſh this deſcription of the Alhambra, by obſerving how admirably every thing was planned and calculated for rendering this palace the moſt voluptuous of all retirements; what plentiful ſupplies of water were brought to refreſh it in the hot months of ſummer; what a free circulation of air was contrived, by the judicious diſpoſition of doors and windows; what ſhady gardens of aromatic trees; what noble views over the beautiful hills and fertile plains! No wonder the Moors regretted Granada; no wonder they ſtill offer up prayers to God every Friday for the recovery of this city, which they eſteem a terreſtrial paradiſe.

Of the Cathedral Church of Burgos, *and of the Origin of Gothic Architecture. From the ſame.*

THE cathedral is one of the moſt magnificent ſtructures of the Gothic kind, now exiſting in Europe; but although it riſes very high, and is ſeen at a great diſtance, its ſituation in a hole cut out of the ſide of the hill, is a great diſadvantage to its general effect. Its form is exactly the ſame as that of York-minſter, which I look upon to be the criterion according to which the beauties or defects of every gothic church are to be eſtimated. At the weſtern or principal front are two ſteeples ending in ſpires, and on the center of the edifice riſes a large ſquare tower, adorned with eight pinnacles; on one ſide of the eaſt end is a lower octagon building, with eight pyramids, which correſpond exactly to the Chapter-houſe at York. We were ſtruck with the reſemblance between theſe buildings; both were embelliſhed with a profuſion of ſtatues; moſt of thoſe at York were deſtroyed in the firſt emotions of iconoclaſtic zeal: thoſe of Burgos are ſtill in full poſſeſſion of the homages of the country, and conſequently entire; ſeveral of them are much more delicate than one would expect, conſidering the age they were ſculptured in. Santiago, the patron of this cathedral, ſtands very conſpicuous on his war-horſe among the needles of the main ſteeple; and the Virgin Mary is ſeated in ſolemn ſtate over the great window of the weſt porch. The foliage-work, arches, pillars, and battlements, are executed in the moſt elaborate and finiſhed manner of that ſtyle which has uſually been called *Gothic*; of late this appellation is exploded, and that of *Arabic* ſubſtituted for it. I confeſs, I ſee ſome reaſon to doubt of the propriety of this ſecond epithet. In the buildings I have had opportunities of examining in Spain and in Sicily, which are undoubtedly Saracenic, I have never been able to diſcover any thing like an original deſign, from which the Gothic ornaments might be ſuppoſed to be copied. The arches uſed in our old cathedrals are pointed; thoſe of the Saracens are almoſt ſemi-circular, whenever they are not turned in the form of an horſe-ſhoe. The churches of our anceſtors ſhoot up into ſpires, towers, pinnacles and filligree work, and no ſuch thing as a cupola ſeems ever to have been attempted; the moſques and other buildings of the Arabians, are rounded into domes and coved roofs, with now and then a ſlender ſquare minaret terminating in a ball or pine-apple; the Arabic walls ſhine with painted tiles, moſaics, and ſtucco, none of which ever appear in our ancient edifices; the pillars in the latter are generally grouped many together, and from a very ſmall member of an entablature ſprings one or two arches; in the former, the columns ſtand ſingle, and if placed more than one together to ſupport ſome heavy part, they never touch, or as it were grow into each other; there is always a thick architrave at leaſt to ſupport the arch, and commonly an upright piece of wall to reſiſt the lateral preſſure. Whenever it happens, as in the great diviſions of the moſque at Cordova, that four pillars are

joined together, it is by means of a ſquare wall or pier, at the four angles of which are placed the columns, perfectly ſeparated and diſtinct. In all the varieties of capitals I have taken drawings of, I never found one exactly the ſame in deſign or proportions, as our Gothic ones in the churches of England, or in thoſe of France, at leaſt ſuch as I have examined; viz. Saint Denis, Amiens, Rouen, Bordeaux, Tours, and others. The Chriſtian ſtructures are extremely lofty, and full of long windows with painted glaſs; the porches and doors are deep receſſes, with ſeveral arches one within another, crowded with little ſaints and angels. Now every thing is different in the moſque of Cordova, the only one I have ever ſeen, but which I think may be fairly deemed a proper ſample of Arabian ſacred architecture, to eſtabliſh a judgment upon; whether we conſider its antiquity, being built before the ninth century; its preſent ſtate, which, ſome parts excepted, is exactly as it was a thouſand years ago; or laſtly the princely hands that raiſed it. It was erected by Abdoulrahman the firſt, probably upon the deſigns, and under the inſpection of the ableſt architects of the age, and according to the method of diſtribution obſerved in holy edifices built in Arabia and Egypt. Here, and I have reaſon to think it is ſo in moſt, if not all, moſques, the elevation of the roof is trifling, not a ſeventeenth part of the length of the iles; there are no windows of any ſize, and what there are, are covered with filigree-work in ſtone, ſo as never to admit any great quantity of light, which was received from ſky-lights and cupolas, and from the occaſional opening of the doors: the ſinking back of the arches over the gates is ſcarce perceptible, as they are almoſt of an equal projection with the wall of the building. From all theſe differential marks, I am inclined to ſuſpect that our old ſtructures have been new-named, and Mahometaniſed without ſufficient proof of their Arabic origin. At the ſame time I acknowledge it is difficult to find them a more ſatisfactory and genuine pedigree.

The beſt age of that ſtyle of conſtruction began in England in the reign of Henry the third, for till then we built in the clumſy manner called Saxon, deſtitute of every recommendation but ſolidity; the new taſte came in all probability from France, introduced by ſome Provençals that followed the Queen. If you ſuppoſe it imported into that kingdom by thoſe that returned from the cruſadoes, we muſt of courſe ſet it down as an eaſtern invention. The queſtion is, what part of the eaſt it came from, and whether it was the ſame as that employed by the Arabians. If there were clear proofs of its being a branch of the Arabic architecture, it would ſtill appear extraordinary, that its very firſt introduction into Chriſtendom ſhould be attended with ſo great a variation from the models it was meant to imitate; and that any prince or learned prieſt that thought it worthy of being employed in his country, ſhould immediately ſet about new faſhioning it in all its points. We may, if we pleaſe to indulge our fancy, ſay that ſome ſublime genius

nius ſtarted out from the duſty gloom of a monaſtic library, altered and improved upon the hints he found in books of Arabian architecture, ſubſtituted bold and aſtoniſhing ideas of his own; found biſhops, princes, and abbots, willing to adopt them; and built churches in a ſtyle entirely new, and apparently original. We may ſuppoſe him to have formed a ſchool of other monks, the only architects of thoſe ages among the Chriſtians; and that theſe pupils gradually new modelled the precepts of their maſter, and reduced his method to certain rules; which afterwards ſerved as guides through all the fantaſtic mazes of our eccleſiaſtical architecture. Some perſons have ſuſpected it to have been the manner practiſed by the eaſtern Chriſtians, and not adopted by the Arabs; who might diſdain to have any thing ſimilar in their places of worſhip, with thoſe of a conquered people. Others have been of opinion, that it comes originally from Perſia, or further eaſt; and ſome again maintain it to be an European invention, or at leaſt a barbarous mode of building brought by ſome great genius to the elegant perfection we behold in our cathedrals. The argument would require a great number of compariſons, confrontations, and combinations, to find out the connection between the two manners: ſuch a diſquiſition belongs more properly to a treatiſe than to a letter, of which it has already engroſſed too large a ſhare.

Obſervations on the earlieſt Introduction of Clocks; by the Honourable Daines Barrington. *In a Letter to the Honourable Mr. Juſtice* Blackſtone.

Dear Sir,

AS I know you are ſomewhat intereſted with regard to the period when thoſe uſeful meaſurers of time called clocks were firſt made, I ſend you the reſult of my inquiries on that head, after having conſulted moſt of thoſe treatiſes which might be ſuppoſed to furniſh material information.

Earlier inſtances might be produced from theſe authorities of *Horologia* in different parts of Europe; but this word ſignifying in thoſe centuries *dials* as well as *clocks*, nothing deciſive can be inferred from ſuch term, unleſs from other circumſtances, or expreſſions, it can be ſhewn to relate to a clock rather than a dial.

Dante ſeems to be the firſt author who hath introduced the mention of an *orologio, which ſtruck the hour* (and conſequently cannot be a dial), in the following lines:

" Indi come horologio che *ne chiami*,
" Nel hora che la ſpoſa d'Idio ſurge,
" Amattinar lo ſpoſo, perche l'ami."
Dante. Paradiſo, C. x.

Now Dante was born in 1265, and died in 1321, aged 57; therefore ſtriking clocks could not have been very uncommon in Italy at the latter end of the 13th century, or the very beginning of the 14th.

But the uſe of clocks was not confined to Italy at this period; for we had one of theſe artiſts in England preciſely about the ſame time, who furniſhed the famous clock-houſe near Weſtminſter-hall, with a clock to be heard by the

courts of law, out of a fine impoſed on the Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench in the 16th year of Edward I, or A. D. 1288 *.

You have in your Commentaries † obſerved, that this puniſhment of Radulphus de Hengham is firſt taken notice of in the Year Book ‡ during the reign of Richard III, where indeed no mention is made of a clock's being thus paid for; but if the circumſtances ſtated in the report of this are conſidered, it was highly unneceſſary, and perhaps improper, to have alluded to this application of the Chief Juſtice's fine.

It appears by the Year Book, that Richard III. had cloſeted the Judges in the *Inner* Star Chamber, to take their opinions upon three points of law; the ſecond of which was, "whether a Juſtice of the "Peace, who had inrolled an in-"dictment which had been ne-"gatived by the Grand Jury, "amongſt the *true bills*, might be "puniſhed for this abuſe of his "office."

On this queſtion a diverſity of opinion ariſes amongſt the judges, ſome of which ſuppoſe, that a magiſtrate cannot be proſecuted for what he may have done; whilſt others contend, that he may, and cite the caſe of Hengham, who was fined 800 marks for making an alteration in a record, by which a poor defendant was only to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* inſtead of 13*s.* 4*d.*

Thus far the anſwer of the judges to the queſtion propoſed was ſtrictly proper; but the application of the fine to the building a clock-houſe ‖ was not the leaſt material; beſides that it was probably a moſt notorious fact to every ſtudent upon his firſt attending Weſtminſter-hall, as we find Judge Southcote ſo much later, in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, not only mentioning the tradition, but that the clock ſtill continued there, which had been furniſhed out of the Chief Juſtice's fine §. Sir Edward Coke likewiſe adds, that the 800 marks were actually entered upon the roll †, ſo that it is highly probable he had himſelf ſeen the record.

On the ſide of New Palace-yard which is oppoſite to Weſtminſter-hall, and in the ſecond pediment of the new buildings from the Thames, on the exact ſpot, according to Strype, where the clock-houſe ſtood, a dial is inſerted with this remarkable motto upon it, "*Diſcite Juſtitiam Moniti*," which ſeems moſt clearly to relate to the fine impoſed on Radulphus de Hengham, being applied to the paying for a clock.

Mr. Norris, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, hath been likewiſe ſo obliging as to refer me to the following inſtance of a very ancient clock in the ſame century:

* See Selden in his Pref. to Hengham. † Vol. III. p. 408.

‡ Mich. 2. Ric. 3.

‖ We find that this clock was conſidered during the reign of Henry VI. to be of ſuch conſequence, that the King gave the keeping of it, with the appurtenances, to William Warby, Dean of St. Stephen's, together with the pay of 6*d.* per diem, to be received at the Exchequer.

§ 3 Inſt. p. 72. † 4 Inſt. p. 255.

"Anno 1292, *Novum* Orolo-
"gium Magnum in Eccleſiâ (ſc.
"Cantuarienſi) pretium 30*l.*"

I ſhall now produce a proof, that not only clocks but watches were made in the beginning of the 14th century.

Seven or eight years ago, ſome labourers were employed at Bruce Caſtle in Fifeſhire, where they found a watch, together with ſome coin; both of which they diſpoſed of to a ſhopkeeper of St. Andrews, who ſent the watch to his brother in London, conſidering it as a curious piece of antiquity *. The outer caſe is of ſilver, raiſed, in rather a handſome pattern, over a ground of blue enamel; and I think I can diſtinguiſh a cypher of R. B. at each corner of the enchaſed work. On the dial-plate is written, *Robertus B. Rex Scottorum*, and over it is a convex tranſparent horn, inſtead of the glaſſes which we uſe at preſent.

Now Robertus B. Rex Scottorum can be no other King of Scotland than Robert Bruce, who began his reign in 1305, and died in 1328; for the Chriſtian name of Baliol who ſucceeded him was Edward; nor can Robertus B. be applied to any later Scottiſh King.

This very ſingular watch is not of a larger ſize than thoſe which are now in common uſe; at which I was much ſurpriſed, till I had ſeen ſeveral of the 16th century in the collection of Sir Aſhton Lever, and Mr. Ingham Forſter, which were conſiderably ſmaller.

As I mean to deduce the progreſs of the art of clock-making in a regular chronological ſeries, the next mention I find of *Horologia*, is in Rymer's Fœdera, where there is a protection of Edward the Third, A. D. 1368, to three Dutchmen, who were *Orlogiers*. The title of this protection is, "De Horologiorum Artificio ex-
"ercendo." Mr. B. remarks upon the following lines of Chaucer †, when he ſpeaks of a cock's crowing,

"Full ſikerer was his crowing in his loge,
"As is a *clock*, or any abbey orloge,"

that in the 14th century, *clock* was often applied to a *bell*, which was rung at certain periods, determined by the hour-glaſs or ſun-dial: but that the *abbey orloge* ‡ (or clock) could not have been uncommon when Chaucer wrote theſe lines.

I now paſs on to a famous aſtronomical clock, made by one of our countrymen in the reign of Richard the Second, the account of which I have extracted from Leland.

Richard of Walingford was ſon of a ſmith, who lived at that town, and who, from his learning and ingenuity, became abbot of St. Alban's. Leland proceeds, "cum
"jam per amplas licebat fortunas,

* It is now in his Majeſty's poſſeſſion.

† Chaucer was born A. D. 1328, and died in 1400.

‡ To the time of Queen Elizabeth, clocks were often called orologes;

"He'll watch the *horologe a double ſet*,
"If drink rock not his cradle."

Othello, act ii. ſc. 3.

The clock of Wells cathedral is alſo to this day called the *horologe*.

" voluit illuſtri aliquo opere, non " modo ingenii, verum etiam eru- " ditionis, ac artis excellentis, " miraculum oſtendere. Ergo ta- " lem *horologii* fabricam magno " labore, majore ſumptu, arte vero " maximâ, compegit, qualem non " habet tota Europa *meâ opinione*, " ſecundum, ſive quis curſum ſo- " lis ac lunæ, ſeu fixa ſidera no- " tet, ſive iterum maris increm- " menta & decrementa*."

Richard of Walingford alſo wrote a treatiſe on this clock, " Ne " tam inſignis machina vileſceret " errore monachorum, aut incog- " nito ſtructuræ ordine, fileſce- " ret."

From what hath been above ſtated it appears, that this aſtronomical clock continued to go in Leland's time, who was born at the latter end of Henry the Seventh's reign, and who ſpeaks of a tradition, that this famous piece of mechaniſm was called *Albion* by the inventor.

Having now produced inſtances of ſeveral clocks, and even a watch, which were made in different parts of the 14th century, as alſo having endeavoured to prove that they were not exceſſively uncommon even in the 13th, it may be thought neceſſary that I ſhould account for their not being more generally uſed during theſe periods, as, in their preſent ſtate at leaſt, they are ſo very convenient. For this, it ſhould ſeem, that many reaſons may be aſſigned.

In the infancy of this new piece of mechaniſm, they were probably of a very imperfect conſtruction, perhaps never went tolerably, and were ſoon deranged, whilſt there was no one within a reaſonable diſtance to put them in order.

We find, therefore, that Henry the Sixth of England, and Charles the Fifth of France, appointed clock-maſters, with a ſtipend, to keep the Weſtminſter and Paris clocks in order.

It need ſcarcely be obſerved alſo, that as the artiſts were ſo few, their work muſt have been charged accordingly, and that Kings only could be the purchaſers of what was rather an expenſive toy, than of any conſiderable uſe. And it may perhaps be ſaid, that they continued in a great meaſure to be no better than toys till the middle of the 17th century.

Add to this, that in the 13th and 14th centuries, there was ſo little commerce, intercourſe, or ſociety, that an hour-glaſs, or the ſun, was very ſufficient for the common purpoſes, which are now more accurately ſettled by clocks of modern conſtruction. Dials and hour-glaſſes likewiſe wanted no mending.

Having now finiſhed what hath occurred to me with regard to the firſt introduction of clocks, I ſhall conclude by a few particulars, which I have been enabled to pick up, in relation to thoſe more portable meaſurers of time, called *watches*, the earlieſt of which (except that of Robert Bruce King of Scotland) ſeems to be one in Sir Aſhton Lever's moſt valuable muſeum, the date upon which is 1541†.

Derham

* Leland de Script. Brit.

† The oldeſt clock we have in England that is ſuppoſed to go tolerably, is of the preceding year, viz. 1540, the initial letters of the maker's name being

Derham (in his Artificial Clockmaker, publiſhed in 1714) mentions a watch of Henry the Eighth, which was ſtill in order; and Dr. Demainbray informs me, that he hath heard both Sir Iſaac Newton and Demoivre ſpeak of this watch *.

The Emperor Charles the Fifth (Henry's contemporary) was ſo much pleaſed with theſe time-meaſurers, that he uſed to ſit after his dinner with ſeveral of them on the table, his bottle being in the center; and when he retired to the monaſtery of St. Juſt, he continued ſtill to amuſe himſelf with keeping them in order, which is ſaid to have produced a reflection from him on the abſurdity of his attempt to regulate the motions of the different powers of Europe.

Some of the watches uſed at this time ſeem to have been ſtrikers; at leaſt we find in the Memoirs of Literature, that ſuch watches having been ſtolen both from Charles the Fifth and Lewis the Eleventh, whilſt they were in a croud, the thief was detected by their ſtriking the hour.

In moſt of the more ancient watches (of which I have ſeen ſeveral in the collection of Sir Aſhton Lever and Mr. Ingham Forſter) catgut ſupplied the place of a chain, whilſt they were commonly of a ſmaller ſize than we uſe at preſent, and often of an oval form †.

From theſe and probably many other imperfections they were not in any degree of general requeſt till the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; accordingly in Shakeſpear's Twelfth Night Malvolio ſays,

"I frown the while, and perchance *wind up my watch*, or play with ſome rich jewel."

Again, in the firſt edition of Harrington's Orlando Furioſo (printed in 1591), the author is repreſented with what ſeems to be a watch, (though the engraving is by no means diſtinct) on which is written,

Il tempo paſſa ‡.

In the 3d of James the Firſt, a watch was found upon Guy Fawkes, which he and Percy had bought the day before, "to try concluſions for the long and ſhort burning of the touchwood, with which he had prepared to give fire to the train of powder."

being N. O. It is in the palace at Hampton Court. Derham's Artificial Clockmaker.

* That diſtinguiſhed antiquary Mr. Walpole has in his poſſeſſion a clock, which appears by the inſcription to have been a preſent from Henry the Eighth to Anne Boleyn. Poynet, Biſhop of Wincheſter, likewiſe gave an aſtronomical clock to the ſame King. Godwyn de Praeſul.

† Pancirollus informs us, that about the end of the 15th century, watches were made no larger than an almond, by a man whoſe name was Mermecide. Encyclop.

‡ In Archbiſhop Parker's will, made April 5, 1575, is the following legacy:

"Do, et lego fratri meo Ricardo epiſcopo Elienſi, baculum meum de canna Indica, qui *Horologium* habet in ſummitate."

As likewiſe in the brief of his goods, &c. "A clock, valued at 54*l.* 4*s.*"

In

In 1631 Charles the firſt incorporated the clock-makers; and the charter prohibits *clocks*, *watches*, and *alarms*, from being imported, which ſufficiently proves that they were now more commonly uſed, as well as that we had artiſts of our own, who were expert in this branch of buſineſs.

About the middle of the 17th century, Huygens made his great improvement in clock-work, which produced many others from our own countrymen; the lateſt of which was the introduction of repeating watches in the time of Charles the Second, who, as I have been informed by the late Lord Bathurſt, ſent one of the firſt of theſe new inventions to Lewis XIV.

The former of theſe Kings was very curious with regard to theſe time-meaſurers; and I have been told by an old perſon of the trade, that watch-makers (particularly Eaſt) uſed to attend whilſt he was playing at the Mall, a watch being often the ſtake.

But we have a much more curious anecdote of royal attention to watches in Dr. Derham's Artificial Clock-maker.

Barlow had produced a patent, in concert with the Lord Chief Juſtice Allebone, for *repeaters*; but Quare making one at the ſame time upon ideas he had entertained before the patent was granted, James the Second tried both, and giving the preference to Quare's, it was notified in the Gazette.

In the ſucceeding reign, the reputation of the Engliſh work in this branch was ſuch, that in the year 1698, an act paſſed, obliging the makers to put their names on watches, leſt diſcreditable ones might be ſold abroad for Engliſh.

If any of theſe particulars, or anecdotes, ſhould prove intereſting to you, it will amply recompence the trouble I may have had in collecting them; being,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

Account of the Eiſteddfod *or Seſſions of the Bards and Minſtrels.*

[From Pennant's Tour through Wales.]

THE particular glory of the town of *Caerwys*, was the honour it had of being the place of the *Eiſteddfod*, or the ſeſſions of the bards and minſtrels for many centuries. It was the reſort of thoſe of a certain diſtrict; as *Aberfraw* in *Angleſea* was of thoſe of that iſland, and the neighbouring county; and *Mathraval* of thoſe of the land of *Powys*. The reaſon that theſe places were thus diſtinguiſhed, was, becauſe the two laſt were the reſidence of Princes; and *Caerwys*, on account of the royal palace that ſtood below the town, the reſidence of *Llewelyn ap Gryffydd*.

Theſe *Eiſteddfods* were the *Britiſh Olympics*. Fired at firſt with generous emulation, our poets crowded into the liſt, and carried off the prize, contented with the mere honour of victory. At length, when the competitors became numerous, and the country became oppreſſed with the multitude, new regulations of courſe took place. The diſappointed candidates were

no

no longer suffered to torture the ears of the principality with their wretched compositions. None but bards of merit were suffered to rehearse their pieces; and minstrels of skill, to perform. These went through a long probation: judges were appointed to decide on their respective abilities; and degrees suitable were conferred, and permissions granted for exercising their talents, in the manner that will be related in the following pages. The judges were appointed by commission from our Princes; and after the conquest of *Wales*, by the Kings of *England*, notwithstanding, *Edward* I. exercised a political cruelty over the generation of bards of his time; yet future princes thought fit to revive an institution so likely to soften the manners of a fierce people. The crown had the power of nominating the judges, who decided not only on the merit, but the subject of the poems; and, like our modern Lord Chamberlains, were certain of licensing only those which were agreeable to the *English* court.

It is highly probable, that the bards and minstrels were under certain regulations during the time of *Druidism*; but we find no proofs of them till long after; till the days of *Cadwaladr*, last King of *Britain*, who died at *Rome* about the year 688. Of him it is said, that being at an assembly of this nature, with his nobles, there came a minstrel, and played in a key so displeasing, that he and all his brethren were prohibited, under a severe penalty, from ever playing on it any more; but were ordered to adopt that of *Mwynen Gwynedd*, or the sweet key of *Gwynedd* *.

I imagine, that previous to this, there had been musical regulations in *Britain*; for I find that a tune, called *Gosteg yr Halen*, or the *Prelude of the Salt*, was always played whenever the salt-seller was placed before King *Arthur*'s knights, at his round table †.

After *Cadwaladr*, the next Princes who undertook the reform of our minstrelsie, were *Bleddyn ap Cynfyn* and *Gryffydd ap Cynan*. The first was cotemporary with the conqueror; the last with King *Stephen*. These enacted, that no person should follow the *profession* of bard or minstrel, but such only who were admitted by the *Eisteddfod*, which was held once in three years. They were prohibited from invading one another's province: nor were they permitted to degrade themselves by following any *other* occupation. Neither of these were to demand above ten shillings in any article, under pain of losing the whole, besides being suspended from their profession for three years ‡.

After the times of the princes, the great men, their descendants, took these people under their care and protection, allowing them the liberty of circuiting their respective territories thrice a year, viz. at *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide*; and the whole principality once in three years.

The bards were in the highest repute. I cannot give a stronger idea of the esteem they were in, than by citing from the *Welsh*

* North Wales. † Mr. Morris's MSS. of British music. ‡ Leges Wallicæ, 35.

laws,

laws, the account of their rank in the prince's court, and the various rewards and fees they were entitled to, and the ſevere penalties that were enacted to preſerve their perſons from inſult. They were ſuppoſed to be endowed with powers equal to inſpiration. They were the oral hiſtorians of all paſt tranſactions, public and private. They related the great events of the ſtate; and, like the *ſcalds* of the northern nations, retained the memory of numberleſs tranſactions, which otherwiſe would have periſhed in oblivion. They were likewiſe thoroughly acquainted with the works of the three primary bards, *viz.* Myrddyn ap Morfryn, Myrddyn Emrys, and Talieſin ben Beirdd. But they had another talent, which probably endeared them more than all the reſt to the *Welſh* nobility; that of being moſt accompliſhed genealogiſts, and flattering their vanity, in ſinging the deeds of an anceſtry derived from the moſt diſtant period.

The Bardd Teulu, or Court Bard, held the eighth place in the Prince's court. He poſſeſſed his land free. The prince ſupplied him with a horſe and woollen robe, and the princeſs with linen *. He ſat next to the governor of the palace at the three great feſtivals; for, at thoſe ſeaſons, the governor was to deliver him his harp †. On the ſame feſtivals, he was alſo to have the *Diſdain's*, or ſteward of the houſhold's garment for his fee.

When a ſong is called for, the *Cadeir-fardd*, or the bard who has got the *badge of the chair*, is firſt to ſing a hymn in glory of God; after that, another in honour of the prince. When thoſe are over, the *Teuluwr*, or bard of the hall, is to ſing ſome other ſubject.

If the princeſs calls for a ſong after ſhe has retired from table to her apartment, the *Teuluwr* muſt ſing to her highneſs in a low voice, leaſt he ſhould diſturb the performers in the hall. *John Daſydd Rhys* ſays, that the ſubject was to be on death; but I rather follow *Wotton*, who, inſtead of *angau*, which ſignifies *death*, prefers the word *amgen*, or a *ſeparate ſubject* from what was ſung in the hall.

When the bard goes with the prince's ſervants on a plundering expedition, and performs before them his animating compoſitions, he is to have the fineſt heifer of the booty; and in caſe the detachment was drawn up in order of battle, he was to ſing at their head, the *praiſes of the* Britiſh *monarchy*. This was to remind them of their antient right to the whole kingdom; for their inroads being almoſt always on the *Engliſh* territories, they thought they did no more than ſeize on their own.

The prince beſtowed on him an ivory cheſs-board; others ſay a harp: and the princeſs a golden ring. His lodging was to be with the governor of the palace.

When he is required to ſing with other bards, by way of diſtinction, he is to have a double portion.

If the bard aſks any favour of the prince, he muſt ſing one of his compoſitions: if of a nobleman, three: if of a common perſon, he muſt ſing till he is ſo weary as to reſt on his elbow, or

* Leges Wallicæ, 35.

† The ſame, 35, and 16.

to

to fall asleep. This, I fear, shews our bards were a very importuning race, and required a check; yet still they were in high estimation. Their *Gwerth*, or compensation for their life, was rated at cxxvi cows *, and any injury done them, at vi cows and cxx pence.

The *Merch-Gobr* of his daughter, or marriage fine of his daughter, was cxx pence. Her *cowyll, argyffreu*, or nuptial presents, was thirty shillings; and her portion three pounds †. It is remarkable, that the Pencerdd Gwlad, or chief of the faculty, was entitled to the *merch-gobr*, or *amobr* for the daughters of all the inferiors of the faculty within the district, who payed xxiv pence on their marriage; which not only shews the antiquity, but the great authority of these people.

The Pencerdd was not among the ‡ officers of the court: but occasionally sat in the tenth place. He also had his land free; was to perform much in the same manner as the court bard, whom he seems to have taken place of, whenever he attended; for, when the *Pencerdd* was present, the former sat only in the twelfth seat. No other was to play without license from him. His death was valued at cxxvi cows; and any injury done him, at vi cows, and cxx pence. Each of the chief musicians was to receive from their lord, the first, a harp; the second, a *crwth*; the third, a pipe; which, on their deaths, were to revert to the lord ||.

The prince's harp was valued at cxx pence, and that of *Pencerdd* at the same; the key at xxiv pence: a gentleman's harp was estimated at lx pence.

A commission for holding an *Eisteddfod* at *Caerwys*, in 1568, is still in possession of Sir *Roger Mostyn*, together with the silver harp; which had from time immemorial been in the gift of his ancestors, to bestow on the *chief of the faculty*. This badge of honour is about five or six inches long, and furnished with strings equal to the number of the muses. The commission is the last of the kind which was granted; and is in form following:

By the Quene.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of *England, Fraunce*, and *Ireland* Quene, defendor of the fayth, *&c.* to our trustie and ryght wel beloved S^r *Richard Bulkley* knight, Sir *Rees Gruffith* knight, *Ellice Price* esquio^r, Doctor in cyvill lawe, and one of our counsail in in our marches of *Wales, William Mostyn, Jevan Lloyd* of *Yale, Jh^n Salusbury* of *Ruge, Rees Thomos, Maurice Wynne, Will^m Lewis, Peres Mostyn, Owen Jhn ap Holl Vaughan, John Will^m ap John, John Lewis Owen, Moris Gruffyth, Symound Thelwall, Ellice ap Wm Lloyd, Rob^t Pulesion, Harry Aparry, William Glynne*, and *Rees Hughes*, esquio^rs, and to every of them, greating. Wheras it is come to the knowledge of the Lorde President and other o^r said counsail in o^r marches of *Wales*, that vagraunt and idle psons, naming themselfs mynstrells, rithmors, and barthes, are lately growen into such an intollerable

* Leges Wallicæ, 37. † Ibid. 37. ‡ Ibid. 68. || Leges Wallicæ, 68.

multi-

multitude w^th^in the principalitee of *Northwales*, that not only gentlemen and others, by theire ſhameles diſorders, are oftentimes diſquieted in theire habitac^ons; but alſo thexpert mynſtrells and mucifions in toune and contry therby much diſcouraged to travail in thexerciſe and practize of theire knowledge; and alſo not a litle hyndred in theire lyvings and pferm^ts. The reformac^on wherof, and the putting of theſe people in ord^r, the ſaid Lorde Preſident & counſail have thought verey neceſſarye, and knowing you to be men both of wyſdome and upright dealing, and alſo of experience and good knowledge in the ſcyence, have apointed and authorized you to be comiſſioners for that purpoſe. And foraſmuch as o^r ſaid counſail of late, travayling in ſome pte of the ſaid principalitee, had pfect underſtanding or credible report, that thaccuſtomed place for thexecuc^on of the like comiſſyon, hath bene hertofore at *Caroyes* in our countie of *Fflynt*; and that *William Moſtyn* eſquio^r, and his anceſt^rs have had the gyfte and beſtowing of the ſylver harpe apptayning to the cheff of that facultie, and that a yeares warning at the leaſt hath been accuſtomed to be geaven of thaſſembly and execuc^on of the like commiſſyon. Our ſaid counſail have, therfore, apoynted thexecuc^on of this commiſſyon to be at the ſaid towne of *Caroyes*, the *Monday* next aft^r the feaſt of the bleſſed Trynitee, w^ch ſhall be in the yeare of o^r Lorde God 1568.

And therfore we require and comand you, by the aucthoritee of theſe pſents, not only to cauſe open pclamac^ons to be made in all ffayo^rs, m^rketts, townes, and other places of aſſembly w^th^in our counties of *Anglize*, *Carn^rvon*, *Meyryonneth*, *Denbigh*, and *Fflynt*, that all and ev^ry pſon and pſons that entend to maynteigne theire lyvings by name or color of mynſtrells, rithm^rs, or barthes, wthin the *Talaith* of *Aberfiowe*, comphending the ſaid fyve ſhires, ſhal be and appeare before you the ſaid daye and place, to ſhewe theire learnings accordingly: but alſo that you, xx^tie^, xix^en^, xviii^en^, xvii^en^, xvi^en^, xv^en^, xiiii^en^, xiii^en^, xii^o^, xi^n^, x^en^, ix, viii, vii, or vi of you, whereof youe, S^r^ *Richard Bulkley*, S^r^ *Rees Gruffith*, *Ellice Price*, and *Wm Moſtyn*, Eſquio^rs^, or iii^ee^ or ii of you, to be of the nomb^r to repayre to the ſaid place the daye aforſaid, and calling to you ſuch expert men in the ſaid facultie of the *Welſhe* muſick, as to you ſhall be thought convenient to pceade to thexecuc^on of the pmiſs^s, and to admytt ſuch and ſo many as by your wiſdomes and knowledges you ſhall fynde worthy into and und^r the degrees heretofore in ſemblable ſort, to uſe exerciſe and folowe the ſcyences and facultes of theire pfeſſyons in ſuch decent ord^r as ſhall apptaigne to eche of theire degrees, and as yo^r diſcrec^ons and wiſdomes ſhall pſcribe unto them, geaving ſtraight monyc^ons and comaundm^t in o^r name and on o^r behalf to the reſt not worthy that they returne to ſome honeſt labo^r and due exerciſe, ſuch as they be moſt apte unto for mayntenaunce of their lyvings, upon paine to be taken as ſturdy and idle vacaboundes, and to be uſed according to the lawes and ſtatutes pvided in

that

that behalf, letting you wyth o^r ſaid counſaill look for advertiſem^t by due certificatt at your handes of yo^r doings in thexecuc'on of the ſaid pmiſs^s. For ſeeing in any wiſe that upon the ſaid aſſembly the peas and good order be obſerved and kept accordingly, aſſertayning you that the ſaid *Willm Moſtyn* hath pmiſed to ſee furnyture and things neceſſary pvided for that aſſembly at the place aforſaid. Geven under o^r ſignet at o^r citie of *Cheſter* the xxiiii^th of *October*, the nynth yeare of o^r raigne.

Signed her Hignes counſaill, in the m^rches of WALES.

In conſequence, an *Eiſteddfod* was held on the 26th of *May* following: and on this occaſion fifty-five perſons received their degrees.

Four were created chief bards of vocal ſong.
Seven —— primary ſtudents of vocal ſong.
Three —— ſecondary ſtudents of vocal ſong.
Three —— probationary ſtudents of vocal ſong.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

HARP.

Three were created chief bards and teachers of inſtrumental ſong.
Five —— chief bards (but not teachers) of inſtrumental ſong.
Four —— primary ſtudents of inſtrumental ſong.
Five —— ſecondary ditto.
Three —— probationary ſtudents of inſtrumental ſong.

CRWTH.

Two were created chief bards and teachers of inſtrumental ſong.
Four —— chief bards (but not teachers) of inſtrumental ſong.
One —— primary ſtudent of inſtrumental ſong.
Seven —— ſecondary ſtudents of inſtrumental ſong.
Four —— probationary ſtudents of inſtrumental ſong.

It muſt be obſerved, that players on crwths with three ſtrings, taborers, and pipers, were reckoned among the ignoble performers: they were not allowed to ſit down, and had only a penny for their pains.

The different degrees were comprehended in this liſt. There were four in the poetical, and five in the muſical faculty. The loweſt, or more properly what ſhould be called a candidate or probationer, was *Y Dyſcybl Yſpâs*, or the *loweſt diſciple*, who was obliged (if a candidate for poetry) to underſtand the contraction of five ſpecies of *Englyns*, and to compoſe them before a *Pencerdd*, who was to declare upon his conſcience, that he was endowed with a true poetical genius. After this he commenced

Dyſcybl Dyſcyblaidd, *Diſcipulus diſciplinabilis*: here he becomes a graduate; but muſt underſtand twelve of our different metres, and produce ſpecimens of each of his own compoſition; and if in three years time he does not, by his merit, acquire the next degree, he is degraded from this. If he ſucceeds, he then proceeds to the degree of

Dyſcybl Penceirddiaidd, or candidate for degree of *Pencerdd*, when he muſt underſtand the propriety of expreſſions, and the different metres, and compoſe in twenty-one ſpecies; and if in three years he does not attain by his own merit to the next degree, he falls back into that of *Dyſcybl dyſcyblaidd*; otherwiſe he becomes a

Penbardd

Penbardd or Pencerdd, chief of the faculty he was candidate in; when it is neceſſary he ſhould be accompliſhed in every branch of his art. He then received the badge of the ſilver harp; or that of a golden or ſilver chain, which he wore upon his ſhoulder. He alſo was placed with much ceremony on a magnificent chair, part of the *furnyture* mentioned in the patent; was there inveſted with his degree; and then acquired the honourable name of *Cadeirfardd*, or *Bardd cadeiriawg*.

In inſtrumental muſic there were five degrees; which differ nothing from thoſe in the other faculty, except in the two loweſt: 1. the *Dyſcybl yſpas heb râdd*, or without a degree; 2. *Dyſcybl yſpas graddawl*, or graduated; 3. *Dyſcybl dyſcyblaidd*; 4. *Dyſcybl penceirddiaidd*; 5. *Pencerdd*. Theſe, like the others, were to be attained by their reſpective merits in the ſcience; but as their qualifications are expreſſed in technical terms of *Britiſh* muſic, it is paſt my ſkill to give an explanation. None but a *Pencerdd* ſhould preſume to become an inſtructor. The chief of our days, is that uncommon genius, the blind Mr. John Parry of Rhiwabon, who has had the kingdom for his *Cylch clera*, or muſical circuit, and remains unrivalled.

Our Pencerdds thus qualified, were licenſed to ſing, or to perform under certain reſtrictions. By the law of our princes, particular regard was paid to their morals: 'They were to be no make-bates, 'no vagabonds, no ale-houſe 'haunters, no drunkards, no 'brawllers, no whore-hunters, no 'theeves, nor companions of ſuch; 'in which things, if they offend, 'everie man, by the ſtatute, is 'made an officer, and authorized 'to arreſt and puniſh them; yea, 'and to take from them all that 'they have about them*.'

They were prohibited from uttering any ſcandalous words in ſpeech or whiſpers; detraction, mocking, ſcoffing, inventing lies, or repeating them after others, under pain of fine and impriſonment: nor were they to make a ſong of any perſon without his conſent; nor to enter any man's houſe without formal leave firſt obtained.

Every *Penbardd* and *Pencerdd* was allowed to take in diſciples for a certain ſpace of time, but not above one at a time. A diſciple was not qualified to make another. Each was to be with his teacher during *Lent*, unleſs prevented by ſickneſs or impriſonment, under pain of loſing his degree. He was obliged to ſhew every compoſition to his teacher before it was publicly ſung. They were not to follow the practice of *cler y dom*, i. e. dunghill bards and muſicians, or any other ſpecies of vagabond minſtrels. They were enjoined a month before each feſtival, to ſettle their routs with their reſpective teachers, leaſt too many of them ſhould crowd to the ſame places; only one being allowed to go to a perſon who paid ten pounds a year rent; and two to ſuch who payed twenty pounds, and ſo on in proportion to thoſe of higher rank: and every teacher was obliged to keep a copy of theſe rules, to ſhew and inculcate to his pupils in time of *Lent*, when they came for their inſtructions.

* Powel, 192.

No

No perſon was to mimic, mock, or ſcoff at the *awenyddion* on account of their mental abſence, or when they had on them the *awen* or *poeticus furor*; from an opinion that no bard, duly authorized, could ever meditate on improper ſubjects.

To whatſoever houſe they came in the time of wakes, they muſt remain there while the feaſting laſted; unleſs they had leave from the maſter of the houſe, or were invited by another. If they wandered from houſe to houſe, they were to be apprehended as ſtrollers and vagabonds, and to be deprived of their *clera**, which was forfeited to the uſe of the church. If they got intoxicated, they forfeited their reward: but if they violated the chaſtity of wife or maid, they were fined and impriſoned, and loſt their *clera* for ſeven years.

Their fees or rewards were regulated. *A dyſcybl dyſcyblaidd* was entitled to 3*s.* 4*d.* for his *cowydd*.

A *dyſcybl penceirddiaidd*, received for the ſame ſpecies of compoſition 6*s.* 9*d.*

His teacher, or the *Pencerdd*, had no more; only the maſter of the houſe uſually preſented him with a garment, or ſome other mark of favour.

The minſtrels received theſe rewards; a *dyſcybl yſpas graddawl* had only 1*s.* upon each of the great feſtivals.

A *dyſcyble dyſcyblaidd*, at the ſame ſeaſons 2*s.* and a *dyſcybl penceirddiaidd* 3*s.* 4*d.*

A *pencerdd* the ſame, beſides a voluntary gratuity. He was alſo entitled to fees at royal and other weddings; and upon their *cylch clera*, which was permitted only once in three years. But beſides theſe fees, in order to encourage the *clerwyr* to keep up the language and the memory of the exploits and pedigrees of the *Britons*, they were allowed a penny out of every ploughland, and a halfpenny out of every half ploughland of their diſtrict.

The *Penbardd* and *Pencerdd*, in their circuits, frequented only the houſes of the gentry; but if he degraded himſelf by viſiting the commonalty, he was only to expect the fee of a common *clerwr*, whoſe province it was to viſit the *plebeian* houſes. The following were the perſons who were alloted to entertain the vulgar ears.

A perſon labouring under any infirmity; ſuch as blindneſs, lameneſs, *&c.* a *dyſcybl yſpas*, a *dyſcybl dyſcyblaidd*, and *dyſcybl penceirddiaidd*. The firſt regulation was founded on humanity.

No public feſtivity, great feaſt, or wedding could be duly ſolemnized without the preſence of the bards and minſtrels. A glorious emulation aroſe among them; and prizes were beſtowed on the moſt worthy. In 1176, the Lord *Rhys* Prince of *South Wales*, made a great feaſt † at *Chriſtmas*, on account of the finiſhing his new caſtle at *Aberteifi*; of which he proclaimed notice through all *Britain* a year and a day before; great was the reſort of ſtrangers, who were nobly entertained; ſo that none departed unſatisfied. Among deeds of arms, and variety of *ſpectacles*, Rhys invited all the bards of *Wales*, and provided *chairs* for

* Or their pay. Sometimes it ſignifies the act of their perambulation.

† Powel, 237.

them, which were placed in his hall, where they ſat and diſputed, and ſang, to ſhew their ſkill in their reſpective faculties, and beſtowed great rewards, and rich gifts on the victors. The bards of *North Wales* won the prizes; but the minſtrels of *Rhys*'s houſehold, excelled in their faculty. On this occaſion the *Brawdwr Llys*, or *judge of the court*, and officer fifth in rank, declared aloud the victor, and received from the bard, for his fee, a mighty drinking-horn, made of the horn of an ox; a golden ring, and the cuſhion on which he ſat in his chair of dignity*.

The bards of thoſe times often accompanied their voices with the harp, as they were wont of old, in the manner deſcribed by *Ammianus Marcellinus* †. There was alſo another ſpecies of muſician, of an inferior kind, called *Datceiniad*, who accompanied the muſical inſtruments of others with his ſong. He was inferior to both bard and minſtrel; yet it was requiſite he ſhould be poſſeſſed of a conſiderable degree of knowledge in both ſciences: he ought to be able to tune the harp and *crwth*: to ſhew his ſkill in playing ſeveral notes and keys, and to be perfectly converſant in what are called the twenty-four meaſures of inſtrumental ſong; and to be able to ſing with judgment and melody. He was likewiſe to be maſter of reading juſtly, and writing correctly. He was not only to underſtand the twenty-four modes of metrical compoſitions; but to exhibit ſpecimens of his own, at leaſt in three of them; and if he met with any old ſong faultily tranſcribed, he was to rectify it. He was alſo to carry with him a harp or *crwth* in a white caſe. He was further required, not only to be a ready waiter at table, but to be an expert carver of every ſpecies of fowl. At the weddings of any of the royal family, his office was to wait on the bride.

On thoſe occaſions, I am reminded of another cuſtom in which the bards were concerned. After their nuptial feaſt, a *Pencerdd* was conſtituted *Cyff Clér*, or *pillar of the clér*, and ſeated in a chair ſurrounded by the other bards ſtanding, who made him the ſubject of their merry and ludicrous compoſitions, to raiſe mirth in the company. He was that day to make no reply; but on the next, he was to divert the hall at the expence of the inferior bards; and was alſo to compoſe a poem upon a ſubject given him ſuitable to his dignity.

The moſt inferior of the muſical tribe was ſometimes admitted. This was the *Datceiniad pen paſtwn*, or he that ſung to the ſound of his club; being ignorant of every other kind of inſtrument. When he was permitted to be introduced, he was obliged to ſtand in the middle of the hall, and ſing his *cowydd*, or *awdl*, beating time, and playing the ſymphony with his *paſtwn* or club; but if there was a profeſſor of muſic preſent, his leave muſt be firſt obtained before he preſumed to entertain the company with this ſpecies of melody. Wherever he came he muſt act as a menial ſervant to the bard or muſician.

* Leges Walliceæ, 28.

† Lib. xv. 9.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On Genius and Taſte. From Reynolds's *Academical Diſcourſes.*

IT has been the fate of arts to be enveloped in myſterious and incomprehenſible language, as if it was thought neceſſary that even the terms ſhould correſpond to the idea entertained of the inſtability and uncertainty of the rules which they expreſſed.

To ſpeak of genius and taſte, as any way connected with reaſon or common ſenſe, would be, in the opinion of ſome towering talkers, to ſpeak like a man who poſſeſſed neither, who had never felt that enthuſiaſm, or, to uſe their own inflated language, was never warmed by that Promethean fire, which animates the canvas and vivifies the marble.

If, in order to be intelligible, I appear to degrade art by bringing her down from her viſionary ſituation in the clouds, it is only to give her a more ſolid manſion upon the earth. It is neceſſary that at ſome time or other we ſhould ſee things as they really are, and not impoſe on ourſelves by that falſe magnitude with which objects appear when viewed indiſtinctly as through a miſt.

We will allow a poet to expreſs his meaning, when his meaning is not well known to himſelf, with a certain degree of obſcurity, as it is one ſource of the ſublime. But when, in plain proſe, we gravely talk of courting the muſe in ſhady bowers; waiting the call and inſpiration of Genius, finding out where he inhabits, and where he is to be invoked with the greateſt ſucceſs; of attending to times and ſeaſons when the imagination ſhoots with the greateſt vigour, whether at the ſummer ſolſtice or the equinox; ſagaciouſly obſerving how much the wild freedom and liberty of imagination is cramped by attention to eſtabliſhed rules; and how this ſame imagination begins to grow dim in advanced age, ſmothered and deadened by too much judgment. When we talk ſuch language, or entertain ſuch ſentiments as theſe, we generally reſt contented with mere words, or at beſt entertain notions not only groundleſs, but pernicious.

If all this means what it is very poſſible was originally intended only to be meant, that in order to cultivate an art, a man ſecludes himſelf from the commerce of the world, and retires into the country at particular ſeaſons; or that at one time of the year his body is in better health, and conſequently his mind fitter for the buſineſs of hard thinking than at another time; or that the mind may be

fatigued and grow confused by long and unremitted application; this I can understand. I can likewise believe, that a man eminent when young for possessing poetical imagination, may, from having taken another road, so neglect its cultivation, as to shew less of its powers in his latter life. But I am persuaded, that scarce a poet is to be found, from Homer down to Dryden, who preserved a sound mind in a sound body, and continued practising his profession to the very last, whose later works are not as replete with the fire of imagination, as those which were produced in his more youthful days.

To understand literally these metaphors or ideas expressed in poetical language, seems to be equally absurd as to conclude, that because painters sometimes represent poets writing from the dictates of a little winged boy or genius, that this same genius did really inform him in a whisper what he was to write; and that he is himself but a mere machine, unconscious of the operations of his own mind.

Opinions generally received and floating in the world, whether true or false, we naturally adopt and make our own; they may be considered as a kind of inheritance to which we succeed and are tenants for life, and which we leave to our posterity very near in the condition in which we received it; not much being in any one man's power either to impair or improve it.

The greatest part of these opinions, like current coin in its circulation, we are obliged to take without weighing or examining; but by this inevitable inattention, many adulterated pieces are received, which, when we seriously estimate our wealth, we must throw away. So the collector of popular opinions, when he embodies his knowledge, and forms a system, must separate those which are true from those which are only plausible. But it becomes more peculiarly a duty to the professors of art not to let any opinions relating to *that* art pass unexamined. The caution and circumspection required in such examination we shall presently have an opportunity of explaining.

Genius and taste, in their common acceptation, appear to be very nearly related; the difference lies only in this, that genius has superadded to it a habit or power of execution. Or we may say, that taste, when this power is added, changes its name, and is called genius. They both, in the popular opinion, pretend to an entire exemption from the restraint of rules. It is supposed that their powers are intuitive; that under the name of genius great works are produced, and under the name of taste an exact judgment is given, without our knowing why, and without being under the least obligation to reason, precept, or experience.

One can scarce state these opinions without exposing their absurdity; yet they are constantly in the mouths of men, and particularly of artists. They who have thought seriously on this subject, do not carry the point so far; yet I am persuaded, that even among those few who may be called thinkers, the prevalent opinion gives less than it ought to the powers of reason; and considers the principles of taste, which give all their authority to the rules of art, as

more

more fluctuating, and as having leſs ſolid foundations, than we ſhall find, upon examination, they really have.

The common ſaying, that *taſtes are not to be diſputed*, owes its influence, and its general reception, to the ſame error which leads us to imagine it of too high original to ſubmit to the authority of an earthly tribunal. It will likewiſe correſpond with the notions of thoſe who conſider it as a mere phantom of the imagination, ſo devoid of ſubſtance as to elude all criticiſm.

We often appear to differ in ſentiments from each other, merely from the inaccuracy of terms, as we are not obliged to ſpeak always with critical exactneſs. Something of this too may ariſe from want of words in the language to expreſs the more nice diſcriminations which a deep inveſtigation diſcovers. A great deal however of this difference vaniſhes, when each opinion is tolerably explained and underſtood by conſtancy and preciſion in the uſe of terms.

We apply the term *taſte* to that act of the mind by which we like or diſlike, whatever be the ſubject. Our judgement upon an airy nothing, a fancy which has no foundation, is called by the ſame name which we give to our determination concerning thoſe truths which refer to the moſt general and moſt unalterable principles of human nature, to works which are only to be produced by the greateſt efforts of the human underſtanding. However inconvenient this may be, we are obliged to take words as we find them; all we can do is to diſtinguiſh the *things* to which they are applied.

We may let paſs thoſe things which are at once ſubjects of taſte and ſenſe, and which having as much certainty as the ſenſes themſelves, give no occaſion to enquiry or diſpute. The natural appetite, or taſte of the human mind, is for *truth*; whether that truth reſults from the real agreement or equality of original ideas among themſelves; from the agreement of the repreſentation of any object with the thing repreſented; or from the correſpondence of the ſeveral parts of any arrangement with each other. It is the very ſame taſte which reliſhes a demonſtration in geometry, that is pleaſed with the reſemblance of a picture to an original, and touched with the harmony of muſic.

All theſe have unalterable and fixed foundations in nature, and are therefore equally inveſtigated by reaſon, and known by ſtudy; ſome with more, ſome with leſs clearneſs, but all exactly in the ſame way. A picture that is unlike, is falſe. Diſproportionate ordonnance of parts is not right; becauſe it cannot be true, until it ceaſes to be a contradiction to aſſert, that the parts have no relation to the whole. Colouring is true where it is naturally adapted to the eye, from brightneſs, from ſoftneſs, from harmony, from reſemblance; becauſe theſe agree with their object *nature*, and therefore are true; as true as mathematical demonſtration; but known to be true only to thoſe who ſtudy theſe things.

But beſides *real*, there is alſo *apparent* truth, or opinion, or prejudice. With regard to real truth,

when it is known, the taſte which conforms to it, is, and muſt be, uniform. With regard to the ſecond ſort of truth, which may be called truth upon ſufferance, or truth by courteſy, it is not fixed, but variable. However, whilſt theſe opinions and prejudices, on which it is founded, continue, they operate as truth; and the art, whoſe office it is to pleaſe the mind, as well as inſtruct it, muſt direct itſelf according to *opinion*, or it will not attain its end.

In proportion as theſe prejudices are known to be generally diffuſed, or long received, the taſte which conforms to them approaches nearer to cetainty, and to a ſort of reſemblance to real ſcience, even where opinions are found to be no better than prejudices. And ſince they deſerve, on account of their duration and extent, to be conſidered as really true, they become capable of no ſmall degree of ſtability and determination by their permanent and uniform nature.

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I ſhall now ſay ſomething on that part of *taſte*, which, as I have hinted to you before, does not belong ſo much to the external form of things, but is addreſſed to the mind, and depends on its original frame, or, to uſe the expreſſion, the organization of the ſoul; I mean the imagination and the paſſions. The principles of theſe are are as invariable as the former, and are to be known and reaſoned upon in the ſame manner, by an appeal to common ſenſe deciding upon the common feelings of mankind. This ſenſe, and theſe feelings, appear to me of equal authority, and equally concluſive.

Now this appeal implies a general uniformity and agreement in the minds of men. It would be elſe an idle and vain endeavour to eſtabliſh rules of art; it would be purſuing a phantom to attempt to move affections with which we were entirely unacquainted. We have no reaſon to ſuſpect there is a greater difference between our minds than between our forms, of which, though there are no two alike, yet there is a general ſimilitude that goes through the whole race of mankind; and thoſe who have cultivated their taſte can diſtinguiſh what is beautiful or deformed, or, in other words, what agrees or what deviates from the general idea of nature, in one caſe, as well as in the other.

The internal fabric of our mind, as well as the external form of our bodies, being nearly uniform; it ſeems then to follow of courſe, that as the imagination is incapable of producing any thing originally of itſelf, and can only vary and combine theſe ideas with which it is furniſhed by means of the ſenſes, there will be of courſe an agreement in the imaginations as in the ſenſes of men. There being this agreement, it follows, that in all caſes, in our lighteſt amuſements, as well as in our moſt ſerious actions and engagements of life, we muſt regulate our affections of every kind by that of others. The well-diſciplined mind acknowledges this authority, and ſubmits its own opinion to the public voice.

It is from knowing what are the general feelings and paſſions of mankind, that we acquire a true idea of what imagination is; though

though it appears as if we had nothing to do but to consult our own particular sensations, and these were sufficient to ensure us from all error and mistake.

A knowledge of the disposition and character of the human mind can be acquired only by experience: a great deal will be learned, I admit, by a habit of examining what passes in our bosoms, what are our own motives of action, and of what kind of sentiments we are conscious on any occasion. We may suppose an uniformity, and conclude that the same effect will be produced by the same cause in the minds of others. This examination will contribute to suggest to us matters of enquiry; but we can never be sure that our own sensations are true and right, till they are confirmed by more extensive observation.

One man opposing another determines nothing; but a general union of minds, like a general combination of the forces of all mankind, makes a strength that is irresistible. In fact, as he who does not know himself does not know others, so it may be said with equal truth, that he who does not know others, knows himself but very imperfectly.

A man who thinks he is guarding himself against prejudices by resisting the authority of others, leaves open every avenue to singularity, vanity, self-conceit, obstinacy, and many other vices, all tending to warp the judgment, and prevent the natural operation of his faculties.

This submission to others is a deference which we owe, and indeed are forced involuntarily to pay. In fact, we are never satisfied with our opinions till they are ratified and confirmed by the suffrages of the rest of mankind. We dispute and wrangle for ever; we endeavour to get men to come to us, when we do not go to them.

He therefore who is acquainted with the works which have pleased different ages and different countries, and has formed his opinion on them, has more materials, and more means of knowing what is analogous to the mind of man, than he who is conversant only with the works of his own age or country. What has pleased, and continues to please, is likely to please again: hence are derived the rules of art, and on this immovable foundation they must ever stand.

This search and study of the history of the mind ought not to be confined to one art only. It is by the analogy that one art bears to another, that many things are ascertained, which either were but faintly seen, or, perhaps, would not have been discovered at all, if the inventor had not received the first hints from the practices of a sister art on a similar occasion *. The frequent allusions which every man who treats of any art is obliged to draw from others in order to illustrate and confirm his principles, sufficiently shew their near connection and inseparable relation.

* Nulla ars, non alterius artis, aut mater, aut propinqua est.
TERTULL. as cited by JUNIUS.

All arts having the ſame general end, which is to pleaſe, and addreſſing themſelves to the ſame faculties through the medium of the ſenſes, it follows that their rules and principles muſt have as great affinity as the different materials and the different organs or vehicles by which they paſs to the mind, will permit them to retain *.

We may therefore conclude, that the real ſubſtance, as it may be called, of what goes under the name of taſte, is fixed and eſtabliſhed in the nature of things; that there are certain and regular cauſes by which the imagination and paſſions of men are affected; and that the knowledge of theſe cauſes is acquired by a laborious and diligent inveſtigation of nature, and by the ſame ſlow progreſs as wiſdom or knowledge of every kind, however inſtantaneous its operations may appear when thus acquired.

It has been often obſerved, that the good and virtuous man alone can acquire this true or juſt reliſh even of works of art. This opinion will not appear entirely without foundation, when we conſider that the ſame habit of mind which is acquired by our ſearch after truth in the more ſerious duties of life, is only transferred to the purſuit of lighter amuſements. The ſame diſpoſition, the ſame deſire to find ſomething ſteady, ſubſtantial and durable, on which the mind can lean, as it were, and reſt with ſafety. The ſubject only is changed. We purſue the ſame method in our ſearch after the idea of beauty and perfection in each; of virtue, by looking forward beyond ourſelves to ſociety, and to the whole; of arts, by extending our views in the ſame manner to all ages and all times.

Every art, like our own, has in its compoſition fluctuating as well as fixed principles. It is an attentive enquiry into their difference that will enable us to determine how far we are influenced by cuſtom and habit, and what is fixed in the nature of things.

To diſtinguiſh how much has ſolid foundation, we may have recourſe to the ſame proof by which ſome hold wit ought to be tried; whether it preſerves itſelf when tranſlated. That wit is falſe which can ſubſiſt only in one language; and that picture which pleaſes only one age or one nation, owes its reception to ſome local or accidental aſſociation of ideas.

We may apply this to every cuſtom and habit of life. Thus the general principles of urbanity, politeneſs, or civility, have been ever the ſame in all nations; but the mode in which they are dreſſed is continually varying. The general idea of ſhewing reſpect is by making yourſelf leſs; but the manner, whether by bowing the body, kneeling, proſtration, pulling off the upper part of our dreſs, or taking away the lower †, is a matter of habit. It would be unjuſt to conclude that all ornaments, becauſe they were at firſt arbitrarily contrived, are therefore

* Omnes artes quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quaſi cognatione inter ſe continentur. CICERO.

† Put off thy ſhoes from off thy feet: for the place whereon thou ſtandeſt is holy ground. EXODUS, chap. iii. 5.

undeſerving

undeſerving of our attention; on the contrary, he who neglects the cultivation of thoſe ornaments, acts contrarily to nature and reaſon. As life would be imperfect without its higheſt ornaments the Arts, ſo theſe arts themſelves would be imperfect without *their* ornaments.

Though we by no means ought to rank theſe with poſitive and ſubſtantial beauties, yet it muſt be allowed that a knowledge of both is eſſentially requiſite towards forming a complete, whole and perfect taſte. It is in reality from the ornaments that arts receive their peculiar character and complexion; we may add, that in them we find the characteriſtical mark of a national taſte, as by throwing up a feather in the air, we know which way the wind blows, better than by a more heavy matter.

The ſtriking diſtinction between the works of the Roman, Bolognian and Venetian ſchools, conſiſts more in that general effect which is produced by colours, than in the more profound excellencies of the art; at leaſt it is from thence that each is diſtinguiſhed and known at firſt ſight. As it is the ornaments, rather than the proportions of architecture, which at the firſt glance diſtinguiſh the different orders from each other; the Doric is known by its triglyphs, the Ionic by its volutes, and the Corinthian by its acanthus.

Taſte in dreſs is certainly one of the loweſt ſubjects to which this word is applied; yet there is a right even here, however narrow its foundation reſpecting the faſhion of any particular nation. But we have ſtill more ſlender means of determining, in regard to the different cuſtoms of different ages or countries, to which to give the preference, ſince they ſeem to be all equally removed from nature.

If an European, when he has cut off his beard, and put falſe hair on his head, or bound up his own natural hair in regular knots, as unlike nature as he can poſſibly make it; and having rendered them immovable by the help of the fat of hogs, has covered the whole with flour, laid on by a machine with the utmoſt regularity; if, when thus attired he iſſues forth, he meets a Cherokee Indian, who has beſtowed as much time at his toilet, and laid on with equal care and attention his yellow and red oker on particular parts of his forehead or cheeks, as he judges moſt becoming; whoever deſpiſes the other for this attention to the faſhion of his country; which ever of theſe two firſt feels himſelf provoked to laugh, is the barbarian.

All theſe faſhions are very innocent, neither worth diſquiſition, nor any endeavour to alter them, as the change would, in all probability, be equally diſtant from nature. The only circumſtances againſt which indignation may reaſonably be moved, is where the operation is painful or deſtructive of health, ſuch as is practiſed at Otahaiti, and the ſtrait lacing of the Engliſh ladies; of the laſt of which, how deſtructive it muſt be to health and long life, the profeſſor of anatomy took an opportunity of proving a few days ſince in this Academy.

It is in dreſs as in things of greater conſequence. Faſhions originate from thoſe only who have the

the high and powerful advantages of rank, birth, and fortune. As many of the ornaments of art, thoſe at leaſt for which no reaſon can be given, are tranſmitted to us, are adopted, and acquire their conſequence from the company in which we have been uſed to ſee them. As Greece and Rome are the fountains from whence have flowed all kinds of excellence, to that veneration which they have a right to claim for the pleaſure and knowledge which they have afforded us, we voluntarily add our approbation of every ornament and every cuſtom that belonged to them, even to the faſhion of their dreſs. For it may be obſerved that, not ſatisfied with them in their own place, we make no difficulty of dreſſing ſtatues of modern heroes or ſenators in the faſhion of the Roman armour or peaceful robe, we go ſo far as hardly to bear a ſtatue in any other drapery.

The figures of the great men of thoſe nations have come down to us in ſculpture. In ſculpture remain almoſt all the excellent ſpecimens of ancient art. We have ſo far aſſociated perſonal dignity to the perſons thus repreſented, and the truth of art to their manner of repreſentation, that it is not in our power any longer to ſeparate them. This is not ſo in painting; becauſe having no excellent antient portraits, that connection was never formed. Indeed we could no more venture to paint a general officer in a Roman military habit, than we could make a ſtatue in the preſent uniform. But ſince we have no antient portraits, to ſhew how ready we are to adopt thoſe kind of prejudices, we make the beſt authority among the moderns ſerve the ſame purpoſe. The great variety of excellent portraits with which Vandyke has enriched this nation, we are not content to admire for their real excellence, but extend our approbation even to the dreſs which happened to be the faſhion of that age. We all very well remember how common it was a few years ago for portraits to be drawn in this Gothic dreſs, and this cuſtom is not yet entirely laid aſide. By this means it muſt be acknowledged very ordinary pictures acquired ſomething of the air and effect of the works of Vandyke, and appeared therefore at firſt ſight to be better pictures than they really were; they appeared ſo, however, to thoſe only who had the means of making this aſſociation, for when made, it was irreſiſtible. But this aſſociation is nature, and refers to that ſecondary truth that comes from conformity to general prejudice and opinion; it is therefore not merely fantaſtical. Beſides the prejudice which we have in favour of antient dreſſes, there may be likewiſe other reaſons, amongſt which we may juſtly rank the ſimplicity of them, conſiſting of little more than one ſingle piece of drapery, without thoſe whimſical capricious forms by which all other dreſſes are embarraſſed.

Thus, though it is from the prejudice we have in favour of the antients, who have taught us architecture, that we have adopted likewiſe their ornaments; and though we are ſatisfied that neither nature nor reaſon are the foundation of thoſe beauties which we imagine we ſee in that art, yet if any one perſuaded of this truth ſhould therefore invent new orders of

of equal beauty, which we will suppose to be possible, yet they would not please, nor ought he to complain, since the old has that great advantage of having custom and prejudice on its side. In this case we leave what has every prejudice in its favour, to take that which will have no advantage over what we have left, but novelty, which soon destroys itself, and at any rate is but a weak antagonist against custom.

These ornaments having the right of possession, ought not to be removed, but to make room for not only what has higher pretensions, but such pretensions as will balance the evil and confusion which innovation always brings with it.

To this we may add, even the durability of the materials will often contribute to give a superiority to one object over another. Ornaments in buildings, with which taste is principally concerned, are composed of materials which last longer than those of which dress is composed; it therefore makes higher pretensions to our favour and prejudice.

Some attention is surely required to what we can no more get rid of than we can go out of ourselves. We are creatures of prejudice; we neither can nor ought to eradicate it; we must only regulate it by reason, which regulation by reason is indeed little more than obliging the lesser, the local and temporary prejudices, to give way to those which are more durable and lasting.

He therefore who in his practice of portrait painting wishes to dignify his subject, which we will suppose to be a Lady, will not paint her in the modern dress, the familiarity of which alone is sufficient to destroy all dignity. He takes care that his work shall correspond to those ideas and that imagination which he knows will regulate the judgment of others; and therefore dresses his figure something with the general air of the antique for the sake of dignity, and preserves something of the modern for the sake of likeness. By this conduct his works correspond with those prejudices which we have in favour of what we continually see; and the relish of the antique simplicity corresponds with what we may call the more learned and scientific prejudice.

There was a statue made not long since of Voltaire, which the sculptor, not having that respect for the prejudices of mankind which he ought to have, has made entirely naked, and as meagre and emaciated as the original is said to be. The consequence is what might be expected; it has remained in the sculptor's shop, though it was intended as a public ornament and a public honour to Voltaire, as it was procured at the expence of his cotemporary wits and admirers.

Whoever would reform a nation, supposing a bad taste to prevail in it, will not accomplish his purpose by going directly against the stream of their prejudices. Men's minds must be prepared to receive what is new to them. Reformation is a work of time. A national taste, however wrong it may be, cannot be totally changed at once; we must yield a little to the prepossession which has taken hold on the mind, and we

may

may then bring people to adopt what would offend them, if endeavoured to be introduced by ſtorm. When Battiſto Franco was employed, in conjunction with Titian, Paul Veroneſe and Tintoret, to adorn the library of St. Mark, his work, Vaſari ſays, gave leſs ſatisfaction than any of the others: the dry manner of the Roman ſchool was very ill calculated to pleaſe eyes that had been accuſtomed to the luxuriancy, ſplendor and richneſs of Venetian colouring. Had the Romans been the judges of this work, probably the determination would have been juſt contrary; for in the more noble parts of the art, Battiſto Franco was perhaps not inferior to any of his rivals.

Thoughts on Commercial Subjects. From Dr. Franklin's Political Fragments.

Of Embargoes upon Corn, and of the Poor.

IN inland high countries, remote from the ſea, and whoſe rivers are ſmall, running *from* the country, and not *to* it, as is the caſe of Switzerland; great diſtreſs may ariſe from a courſe of bad harveſts, if public granaries are not provided, and kept well ſtored. Anciently too, before navigation was ſo general, ſhips ſo plenty, and commercial connections ſo well eſtabliſhed; even maritime countries might be occaſionally diſtreſſed by bad crops. But ſuch is now the facility of communication between thoſe countries, that an unreſtrained commerce can ſcarce ever fail of procuring a ſufficiency for any of them. If indeed any government is ſo imprudent, as to lay its hands on imported corn, forbid its exportation, or compel its ſale at limited prices; there the people may ſuffer ſome famine from merchants avoiding their ports. But wherever commerce is known to be always free, and the merchant abſolute maſter of his commodity, as in Holland, there will always be a reaſonable ſupply.

When an exportation of corn takes place, occaſioned by a higher price in ſome foreign countries, it is common to raiſe a clamour, on the ſuppoſition that we ſhall thereby produce a domeſtic famine. Then follows a prohibition, founded on the imaginary diſtreſs of the poor. The poor, to be ſure, if in diſtreſs, ſhould be relieved; but if the farmer could have a high price for his corn from the foreign demand, muſt he by a prohibition of exportation be compelled to take a low price, not of the poor only, but of every one that eats bread, even the richeſt? the duty of relieving the poor is incumbent on the rich; but by this operation the whole burden of it is laid on the farmer, who is to relieve the rich at the ſame time. Of the poor too, thoſe who are maintained by the pariſhes have no right to claim this ſacrifice of the farmer; as, while they have their allowance, it makes no difference to them, whether bread be cheap or dear. Thoſe working poor, who now mind buſineſs only *five* or *four* days in the week, if bread ſhould be ſo dear as to oblige them to work the whole *ſix* required by the commandment, do not ſeem to be aggrieved, ſo as to have a right to

to public redreſs. There will then remain, comparatively, only a few families in every diſtrict, who, from ſickneſs or a great number of children, will be ſo diſtreſſed by a high price of corn, as to need relief; and theſe ſhould be taken care of by particular benefactions, without reſtraining the farmer's profit.

Thoſe who fear, that exportation may ſo far drain the country of corn, as to ſtarve ourſelves, fear what never did, nor ever can happen. They may as well, when they view the tide ebbing towards the ſea, fear that all the water will leave the river. The price of corn, like water, will find its own level. The more we export, the dearer it becomes at home; the more is received abroad, the cheaper it becomes there; and, as ſoon as theſe prices are equal, the exportation ſtops of courſe. As the ſeaſons vary in different countries, the calamity of a bad harveſt is never univerſal. If then, all ports were always open, and all commerce free; every maritime country would generally eat bread at the medium price, or average of all the harveſts; which would probably be more equal than we can make it by our artificial regulations, and therefore a more ſteady encouragement to agriculture. The nation would all have bread at this middle price; and that nation, which at any time inhumanly refuſes to relieve the diſtreſſes of another nation, deſerves no compaſſion when in diſtreſs itſelf.

Of the Effect of Dearneſs of Proviſions upon Working, and upon Manufactures.

THE common people do not work for pleaſure generally, but from neceſſity. Cheapneſs of proviſions makes them more idle; leſs work is then done, it is then more in demand proportionally, and of courſe the price riſes. Dearneſs of proviſions obliges the manufacturer to work more days and more hours; thus more work is done than equals the uſual demand; of courſe it becomes cheaper, and the manufactures in conſequence.

Of an open Trade.

PERHAPS, in general, it would be better if government meddled no farther with trade, than to protect it, and let it take its courſe. Moſt of the ſtatutes or acts, edicts, arrets, and placarts of parliaments, princes, and ſtates, for regulating, directing, or reſtraining of trade, have, we think, been either political blunders, or jobs obtained by artful men for private advantage under pretence of public good. When Colbert aſſembled ſome wiſe old merchants of France, and deſired their advice and opinion how he could beſt ſerve and promote commerce; their anſwer, after conſultation, was in three words only, *Laiſſez nous faire*; 'Let us alone.'—It is ſaid by a very ſolid writer of the ſame nation, that he is well advanced in the ſcience of politics, who knows the full force of that maxim, *Pas trop gouverner*, 'not to govern too much; which, perhaps, would be of more uſe when applied to trade, than in any other public concern. It were therefore to be wiſhed, that commerce were as free between all the nations of the world, as it

is

is between the ſeveral counties of England; ſo would all, by mutual communication, obtain more enjoyments. Thoſe counties do not ruin each other by trade, neither would the nations. No nation was ever ruined by trade, even, ſeemingly, the moſt diſadvantageous.

Wherever deſirable ſuperfluities are imported, induſtry is excited, and thereby plenty is produced. Were only neceſſaries permitted to be purchaſed, men would work no more than was neceſſary for that purpoſe.

Of Prohibitions with reſpect to the Exportation of Gold and Silver.

COULD Spain and Portugal have ſucceeded in executing their fooliſh laws for *hedging in the cuckow*, as Locke calls it, and have kept at home all their gold and ſilver, thoſe metals would by this time have been of little more value than ſo much lead or iron. Their plenty would have leſſened their value. We ſee the folly of theſe edicts: but are not our own prohibitory and reſtrictive laws, that are profeſſedly made with intention to bring a balance in our favour from our trade with foreign nations to be paid in money, and laws to prevent the neceſſity of exporting that money, which if they could be thoroughly executed, would make money as plenty, and of as little value; I ſay, are not ſuch laws akin to thoſe Spaniſh edicts; follies of the ſame family?

Of the Returns for foreign Articles.

IN fact, the *produce of other countries* can hardly be obtained, unleſs by fraud and rapine, without giving the *produce of our land or our induſtry* in exchange for them. If we have mines of gold and ſilver, gold and ſilver may then be called the produce of our land; if we have not, we can only fairly obtain thoſe metals by giving for them the produce of our land or induſtry. When we have them, they are then only that produce or induſtry in another ſhape; which we may give, if the trade requires it and our other produce will not ſuit, in exchange for the produce of ſome other country that furniſhes what we have more occaſion for, or more deſire. When we have, to an inconvenient degree, parted with our gold and ſilver, our induſtry is ſtimulated afreſh to procure more; that, by its means, we may contrive to procure the ſame advantage.

Of Reſtraints upon Commerce in Time of War.

WHEN princes make war by prohibiting commerce, each may hurt himſelf as much as his enemy. Traders, who by their buſineſs are promoting the common good of mankind, as well as farmers and fiſhermen who labour for the ſubſiſtence of all, ſhould never be interrupted, or moleſted in their buſineſs; but enjoy the protection of all in the time of war, as well as in time of peace.

This policy, thoſe we are pleaſed to call Barbarians, have, in a great meaſure, adopted; for the trading ſubjects of any power, with whom the Emperor of Morocco may be at war, are not liable to capture, when within ſight of

of his land, going or coming; and have otherwiſe free liberty to trade and reſide in his dominions.

As a maritime power, we preſume it is not thought right, that *Great Britain* ſhould grant ſuch freedom, except partially; as in the caſe of war with France, when tobacco is allowed to be ſent thither under the ſanction of paſſports.

Exchanges in Trade may be gainful to each Party.

IN tranſactions of trade, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that, like gaming, what one party *gains* the other muſt neceſſarily *loſe*. The gain to each may be equal. If A has more corn than he can conſume, but wants cattle; and B has more cattle, but wants corn, exchange is gain to each: hereby the common ſtock of comforts in life, is increaſed.

Of Paper Credit.

IT is impoſſible for government to circumſcribe, or fix the extent of paper credit, which muſt of courſe fluctuate. Government may as well pretend to lay down rules for the operations, or the confidence of every individual in the courſe of his trade. Any ſeeming temporary evil ariſing, muſt naturally work its own cure.

Rules for a Club formerly eſtabliſhed in Philadelphia *. From the ſame.*

Previous Queſtion, to be Anſwered at every Meeting.

HAVE you read over theſe queries this morning, in order to conſider what you might have to offer the Junto touching any one of them? viz.

"1. Have you met with any thing in the author you laſt read, remarkable, or ſuitable to be communicated to the Junto? particularly in hiſtory, morality, poetry, phyſic, travels, mechanic arts, or other parts of knowledge.

2. What new ſtory have you lately heard agreeable for telling in converſation?

3. Hath any citizen in your knowledge failed in his buſineſs lately, and what have you heard of the cauſe?

4. Have you lately heard of any citizen's thriving well, and by what means?

5. Have you lately heard how any preſent rich man, here or elſewhere, got his eſtate?

6. Do you know of any fellow-citizen, who has lately done a worthy action, deſerving praiſe and imitation? or who has committed an error proper for us to be warned againſt and avoid?

7. What unhappy effects of intemperance have you lately ob-

* This was an early performance; and carries along with it an air of ſingularity, accompanied with ſuch operative good ſenſe and philanthropy, as characterizes it for Dr. Franklin's. We are informed by the editor, that the club for which it was written, was held in Philadelphia; and was compoſed of men conſiderable for their influence and diſcretion; for though the chief meaſures of Penſylvania uſually received their firſt formation in this club, it exiſted for 30 years without the nature of its inſtitution being publicly known.

ſerved or heard? of imprudence? of paſſion? or of any other vice or folly?

8. What happy effects of temperance? of prudence? of moderation? or of any other virtue?

9. Have you or any of your acquaintance been lately ſick or wounded? If ſo, what remedies were uſed, and what were their effects?

10. Who do you know that are ſhortly going voyages or journies, if one ſhould have occaſion to ſend by them?

11. Do you think of any thing at preſent, in which the Junto may be ſerviceable to *mankind?* to their country, to their friends, or to themſelves?

12. Hath any deſerving ſtranger arrived in town ſince laſt meeting, that you heard of? and what have you heard or obſerved of his character or merits? and whether, think you, it lies in the power of the Junto to oblige him, or encourage him as he deſerves?

13. Do you know of any deſerving young beginner lately ſet up, whom it lies in the power of the Junto any way to encourage?

14. Have you lately obſerved any defect in the laws of your *country*, [of] which it would be proper to move the legiſlature for an amendment? or do you know of any beneficial law that is wanting?

15. Have you lately obſerved any encroachment on the juſt liberties of the people?

16. Hath any body attacked your reputation lately? and what can the Junto do towards ſecuring it?

17. Is there any man whoſe friendſhip you want, and which the Junto, or any of them, can procure for you?

18. Have you lately heard any member's character attacked, and how have you defended it?

19. Hath any man injured you, from whom it is in the power of the Junto to procure redreſs?

20. In what manner can the Junto, or any of them, aſſiſt you in any of your honourable deſigns?

21. Have you any weighty affair in hand, in which you think the advice of the Junto may be of ſervice?

22. What benefits have you lately received from any man not preſent?

23. Is there any difficulty in matters of opinion, of juſtice, and injuſtice, which you would gladly have diſcuſſed at this time?

24. Do you ſee any thing amiſs in the preſent cuſtoms or proceedings of the Junto, which might be amended?

Any perſon to be qualified, to ſtand up, and lay his hand on his breaſt, and be aſked theſe queſtions; viz.

1. Have you any particular diſreſpect to any preſent members?—*Anſwer.* I have not.

2. Do you ſincerely declare that you love mankind in general; of what profeſſion or religion ſoever?—*Anſw.* I do.

3. Do you think any perſon ought to be harmed in his body, name or goods, for mere ſpeculative opinions, or his external way of worſhip?—*Anſw.* No.

4. Do you love truth for truth's ſake, and will you endeavour impartially to find and receive it yourſelf and communicate it to others?—*Anſw.* Yes.

Observations on Patriarchal Customs and Manners; by the Hon. Daines Barrington.

HAVING read the book of Genesis lately with attention, I have formed a short sketch of the patriarchal customs and manners, some of which, and more particularly what relates to their marriages, I never could at all comprehend from the perusal of detached chapters; it need scarcely be observed also that such customs and manners must in many respects differ from those of their descendants, when they became a considerable nation, and lived in cities.

A patriarch pitched his tents where the ground was unoccupied by others; or, if occupied, where he was permitted to purchase; as in the instance of Jacob's procuring land from the children of Hamor, for an hundred pieces of money.

As the first of these patriarchs (Abraham) had 318 trained servants, when he assisted his nephew Lot; if we multiply 318 by 5, according to the common rule for giving the number of *souls*, there were probably 1590 in this patriarchal family: Esau also meets Jacob with 400 men.

Their cattle consisted of camels, cows, asses, sheep, and goats; but I do not find any mention of the horse in the book of Genesis, except of the horsemen which came from Egypt with Joseph, when he is to bury Jacob; and, indeed, this quadruped consumed too much provender, to be easily furnished in such a country as the land of Canaan; besides the camel was a much more convenient beast of burthen, in their slow journies over tracts of sultry deserts.

The distance to which they removed must have depended upon their finding proper subsistence for themselves and their cattle, whilst the first thing necessary, when they had fixed their settlement, was to dig wells; which act of labour established their property in the land that was contiguous.

These wells were of different kinds, and were most valuable if an ebullition of the water appeared, when they are described as *living waters*; at least such is the expression in the Septuagint, though not in our version.

Some of these wells had steps to go down into them, and had besides a trough to receive the water when brought up in the pitchers; as, otherwise, there would not have been a sufficient quantity for the larger cattle, and particularly the camels: it should seem also, that this labour was imposed upon the women, who chose the cool of the evening for this purpose, and carried their pitchers on their shoulders.

Other wells were covered with a large stone, which required some strength to remove it, and prevented the sand or ordure from being blown into the well, as also accidents to the cattle, or the evaporation of this so precious an element in so parched a country. Other wells again had a wall round them, to which they planted vines. These wells being so valuable, sometimes occasioned contentions between the herdsmen, in which it does not appear what arms

were uſed, but it ſhould ſeem that the bow and *thruſting* ſword were their only weapons in war, and that the killing with *the edge* of the ſword, Gen. xxxiv. 26. is therefore improper, as the Septuagint expreſſion is εν ςοματι μαχαιρας, and the literal tranſlation from the Hebrew is *in ore gladii*. Perhaps the bow is the moſt ancient of theſe weapons, as it is alluded to in the covenant with Noah. The huſband and his wives lived in ſeparate tents, or houſes; as Iſaac goes into that of his mother Sarah, after her death, and three tents are ſearched for the images, *viz.* Jacob's, Leah's, and Rachel's: in proceſs of time alſo booths were built for their cattle, from which circumſtance Jacob names a place.

The patriarch himſelf ſeems not to have been occupied in any manual labour, but is often repreſented as ſitting before the door of his tent, or under the ſhade of a tree, with a truly Aſiatic indolence, as upon the arrival of a ſtranger, he is ſaid to *lift up his eyes and ſee*: which very particular expreſſion ſeems to imply an effort in ſuch an act.

When the ſtranger arrives, he is received with great courteſy and hoſpitality; for Abraham addreſſes the angels (whom he doth not know to be ſo) as his *Lords*, and ſtiles himſelf *their ſervant*. They are then invited to waſh their feet, whilſt Sarah prepares the bread, and Abraham procures a calf, butter, and milk for them, which they eat under the ſhade of a tree, and Abraham waits upon them during their repaſt. If the ſtranger travelled with cattle, they were alſo provided with ſtraw and provender.

The patriarch's own cattle were kept either by his ſons, or ſervants, who attended them day and night; at leaſt, it was a covenant between Laban and Jacob "that "if any were ſtolen either by day "or night, or deſtroyed by wild "beaſts, the ſhepherd ſhould be "anſwerable for them."

Theſe ſervants became ſo either by being born within the patriarch's diſtrict, or were purchaſed for money; whilſt ſome few engaged only for a term of years, as in the inſtance of Jacob and Laban. But thoſe who could be moſt depended upon were the children of the patriarch himſelf, or their deſcendants; the increaſe of which was encouraged by every poſſible means (being their beſt wealth), and unhappy was the woman who did not bear a conſiderable number. The wife indeed having no fortune, was purchaſed by the huſband for this ſole purpoſe, which if ſhe did not anſwer, her diſgrace was complete. Hence Rachel is diſmiſſed with bleſſings and wiſhes for her fruitfulneſs, and ſays afterwards to her huſband, "give me children or I "ſhall die:" hence God is ſuppoſed "both to open and ſhut her "womb;" and upon bearing a a child "God hath taken away "her reproach." The belief that the Meſſiah might be deſcended from them, might poſſibly contribute alſo to this ſo very earneſt deſire of becoming a mother.

In their marriages (from the time of Iſaac at leaſt), it ſeems to have always been wiſhed that the bride ſhould live at a diſtance from

from the patriarchal reſidence, but that ſhe ſhould be related, and particularly a firſt couſin.

The firſt requiſite probably aroſe from the danger of early inceſt in the patriarch's own family; and the ſecond, from apprehenſions of diſagreement between the huſband and wife, after the introduction of circumciſion, which the wife might probably have oppoſed, when her new-born infant was but eight days old, unleſs ſhe was in ſome meaſure deſcended from Abraham the introducer of this practice.

We find accordingly that Ziporah, who was a Midianite, and married to Moſes, had delayed this operation ſo long, that he is threatened with death by an angel; upon which the mother complies indeed, but reproaches Moſes twice with *being a bloody* huſband to her on this account. Jacob's ſons likewiſe for the ſame reaſon declare, that they will not marry the daughters of the Schechemites, till circumciſion is ſubmitted to by all the male inhabitants of the town of Shechem.

It was allowed to marry at leaſt two wives though ſiſters; but as both of theſe might prove barren, we find that in the inſtance of Rachel and Leah, they received from their father two handmaids, in whom they continued to have ſuch abſolute property, that if they beſtowed them upon their huſbands in marriage, the children which they bore were in a manner conſidered as their own, whilſt to make them more completely ſo, the handmaid was delivered upon the knees of her miſtreſs: "Go in "unto her, and ſhe ſhall bear "upon my knees, that I may "have alſo children by her." Gen. xxx. It ſeems to me that what I have ſuggeſted is fairly to be inferred from theſe words; and I have been informed by a learned friend, that ſome years paſt it was not uncommon in many parts of England, for the grand-daughter to be delivered upon the knees not only of the grand-mother, but the grand-father. The huſband often alſo places the wife upon his knees for this ſame purpoſe, amongſt the lower claſs of peaſants both in Pruſſia and Lapland.

Though the handmaid's children were therefore conſidered as legitimate, yet ſhe and her offſpring ſeem to have continued under the power of the miſtreſs, for Sarah inſiſts upon Hagar being ſent with her child into the deſert, which Abraham cannot oppoſe, though he wiſhes to do ſo; and ſuch a maid is therefore ſometimes ſtiled a *bond-woman*.

Whilſt the miſtreſs however was ſatisfied with her hand-maid's behaviour, both ſhe and her children were treated nearly in the ſame manner as the wife and her children would have been. Thus Joſeph the ſon of Rachel keeps ſheep with the ſons of Bilhah and Zilpah, (who were handmaids to Rachel and Leah) and the only reaſon given for Jacob's preferring Joſeph is, that he was the ſon of his old age. The brothers alſo reſent Joſeph's conceiving from his dream, that he ſhould have any ſuperiority over them. Thus Jacob likewiſe with his two wives and their handmaids, and his eleven ſons, advance by themſelves when he is approaching Eſau un-

der apprehenſions that he ſhall not be well received, whilſt he is preceded by other parts of his train, whoſe lives are not ſo precious to him.

It ſhould ſeem, indeed, that there was ſome ſort of diſtinction between the two ſorts of marriage, as far as related to the mothers, though not as to the children, for it was a general law in all the countries adjacent to the promiſed land, that adultery with the wife of the more ſolemn marriage, ſhould be puniſhed with death. But if the woman was not under ſuch a contract, the princes of the Eaſt often placed her in their ſeraglio. By this I would allude to the inſtances of Sarah and Rebecca whilſt in Egypt and Gerar; but the book of Geneſis does not furniſh an example of its being an equal crime to commit adultery with the wife's handmaid, after ſhe had been given in marriage to the huſband. On the contrary, Reuben lay with Bilhah, his mother Rachel's handmaid, which ſhe had given in marriage to Jacob; nor does any puniſhment or reproof immediately follow, though the Septuagint adds this cenſure, [illegible].

To avoid however this offence of adultery with the wife of the more ſolemn marriage, if the patriarch removed to the dominions of a foreign prince, it ſeems to have not been uncommon to murder him, (for which the puniſhment was not probably ſo ſevere in the caſe of a ſtranger) as the woman was then become a widow and not a wife; by which moſt horrid evaſion, the letter of the law ſeems to have been ſatisfied.

Murder had indeed been forbid in the time of Noah; but this precept did not probably reach to countries which were not inhabited by his more immediate deſcendants; for when Abraham apprehends being murdered in Abimelech's kingdom on account of his wife Sarah, he gives it as a reaſon, "that the fear of God was "not in this place;" by which I underſtand that the divine law againſt murder promulged to Noah had not been heard of, or at leaſt was not obſerved in Abimelech's country, though it is very clear that adultery with Sarah (whilſt ſhe was wife of Abraham) would have been puniſhed with death; and from another ſimilar inſtance, that the ſame law prevailed in Egypt. Hence alſo Abimelech, when he is informed that Iſaac is the huſband of Rebecca, iſſues a proclamation for his protection.

As a wife was only reſpected for the number of children with which ſhe or her handmaids increaſed the patriarchal family, the greateſt injury ſhe could receive, was the preventing her having the earlieſt opportunity of bearing legitimate children. Hence the daughter being at the father's diſpoſal, Laban informs Jacob that he muſt not complain of Leah being impoſed upon him inſtead of Rachel, becauſe Leah was the elder ſiſter, and therefore was not to loſe a year of child-bearing; of which ſhe was capable before her younger ſiſter.

When a wife was once removed from the family of one patriarch to another, ſhe could not be returned without much trouble and inconvenience: beſides which, as

I have

I have obſerved before, ſhe was in reality purchaſed for the purpoſe of bearing children, and conſequently whilſt ſhe was of a proper age, no time was to be loſt in providing her with another huſband (upon the death of the firſt) from the ſame family which had made the purchaſe; the next brother in ſucceſſion being fixed upon for the ſecond huſband.

This appears moſt ſtrongly in what is mentioned with regard to Tamar, who was firſt married to Er, the eldeſt of three brothers, then to Onan the ſecond, and afterwards betrothed to Selah the third when he ſhould be fully grown. When this happens, Tamar thinks herſelf moſt highly injured by his not being immediately more ſolemnly married to her, which is the occaſion of her loſing the firſt opportunity of bearing children, and therefore ſhe commits inceſt with her father-in-law, who acknowledges afterwards that he had been guilty of a greater ſin in not completing the marriage between Tamar and Selah, than ſhe had by adultery; for which otherwiſe he had ordered her to have been burnt. A diſappointment of the ſame ſort occaſioned the death of her ſecond huſband Onan, who ſeems to have declined having children by her, becauſe he conceived at leaſt, that Tamar was already pregnant by his elder brother Er.

But a ſtill ſtronger inſtance of this ſuppoſed duty of bearing children, appears in the conduct of the two daughters of Lot, who commit *inceſt* with their father from the ſame motives, nor do they incur any blame when the deceit is diſcovered; and I am informed by an able orientaliſt, that the name of one of the ſons, *viz. Moab*, ſignifies, *of or by my Father*; and of the other, *viz. Ammon* or *Ben-ammi*, *the ſon of my neareſt kin*; from which it is very clear that they meant to perpetuate an honour, and not a diſgrace to themſelves or their children. Beſides this, the two daughters concert a deliberate plan with each other for this purpoſe, aſſigning it as a reaſon that their father *was grown old*, and it cannot therefore be ſuppoſed to have ariſen from the common inducements to incontinence. I cannot conclude what I have ſtated with regard to the patriarchal marriages; without obſerving, that though ſome of their uſages in this reſpect may appear ſo very ſingular, and perhaps blamable according to our own inſtitutions, yet it muſt be recollected, that no poſitive law of divine revelation was promulged till the decalogue, except the forbidding of murder in the time of Noah, and the covenant of circumciſion. The patriarchs therefore accommodated their laws to their own very particular ſituation.

A patriarch ſeems to have had the higheſt powers over his children and family; at leaſt Lot offers his daughters to the Sodomites, and Abraham obliges his ſon "Iſhmael, together with all "the men of his houſe, born in "the houſe, and bought with "money of the ſtranger," to be circumciſed. Reuben moreover offers to deliver up his two ſons to be ſlain, if he does not bring back Benjamin.

This parental authority was much enforced by the father's being believed to have it in his

power to confer either happineſs or miſery by his bleſſings or curſes, which were therefore deferred till extreme old age, the eyes of both Iſaac and Jacob being ſo dim that they cannot diſtinguiſh objects, when they pronounce their bleſſings on their children. The mother, however, does not appear to have had any ſuch power, nor do we find any inſtance of a daughter being either bleſſed or curſed.

The reſpect to the father during his life was ſuch, that it ſhould ſeem the child was not permitted to ſit in his preſence, from a very particular excuſe which Rachel makes on the occaſion; whilſt Jacob ſwears by *the fear* of his father Iſaac, i. e. by the fear he was under of his father's diſpleaſure. Eſau alſo declares that he will kill Jacob, when *Iſaac dies*, and Joſeph's brethren apprehend he will revenge himſelf on the death of Jacob. Gen. xxxi. 42. and l. 15.

The bleſſing or curſe pronounced by the father, was a prophetic viſion of what was to happen, and therefore could not be revoked or altered; for Iſaac cannot change what he hath given Jacob reaſon to expect when his deceit is diſcovered; nor can Jacob be prevailed upon by Joſeph to put his right hand upon his ſon Manaſſeh, becauſe greater bleſſings were to come upon his younger brother Ephraim. It appears alſo from what hath been ſtated, that the bleſſing was given by the father's putting his right hand upon the head of the ſon who was to receive it.

The parental authority was endeavoured to be ſupported as long as poſſible by the funeral honours paid to the deceaſed patriarch, and the place of his burial. The firſt purchaſe that we hear of therefore in the Old Teſtament, is that of the cave of Macpelah, in the valley of Mamre, which Abraham bought from the ſons of Heth (who were otherwiſe willing to accommodate him in the burying of Sarah), that it might be ſecured to him and his deſcendants.

The conveyance therefore is made to Abraham with all poſſible ſolemnities and accuracy, in regard to the boundaries, which were delivered down to his grand-ſon Jacob, who reminds his children of them when he is dying, and requeſts to be interred in the cave which had been purchaſed by his grandfather.

When the patriarch dies, the expreſſion uſed is, that he was *gäthered unto his people*, with which Montanus' literal verſion from the Hebrew agrees, being *collectus eſt ad populos ſuos*. As I muſt own that I do not underſtand the meaning of either the Engliſh or Latin tranſlation; I have therefore conſulted the Septuagint, where the words are προσετεθη προς τον λαον αυτε, which I tranſlate, "*the corps* "*was produced before his people*," and which is the firſt ſenſe that Stephens gives to this verb, citing Herodian with regard to the funeral of Severus: καλακομιζουσι δια της ιερας οδε, εις δε την αρχαιαν αγοραν προτιθεασι. L. iv. in princ. Dio alſo cenſures Tiberius for his neglect of Livia, ὡς νοσουσαν επεσκεψατο, ὡς αποθανουσαν αυτος προσεθετο. Dio. L. lviii. in princ. μετα ταυτα δε . . . . σεφανωσαντες (ſc. the corpſe) τοις ωραιοις ανθεσι, προτιθεναι λαμπρως αμφιεσαντες.

Lucianus de Luctu, p. 807, Ed. Bourdelot.

——— " Nec tua funera, mater,
" *Produxi.*" Aen. xi. 486.

where the poet literally tranſlates the Greek term uſed in the above citations with regard to funerals. Thus likewiſe Statius,

——— " Et puerile feretrum
" *Produxi.*" L. ii. S. 1.

To this it may be added, that the expreſſion of *being gathered to his people*, is only applied to the death of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob; from whence it may be fairly inferred, that the honour of producing the body, and weeping over it in public, was paid only to the head of the patriarchal family. Perhaps Abraham might have introduced theſe funeral ſolemnities after he had been in Egypt.

Iſhmael indeed is ſaid to have been *gathered to his people*, in our verſion of Gen. xxv. 17; but the Septuagint runs προς το γενος, and not προς τον λαον αυτου; and it ſhould ſeem, therefore, that his corpſe was only lamented over by his relations. If we conſider, however, the term γενος to be uſed in as extenſive a ſenſe as λαος, it muſt be recollected that Iſhmael, on the death of Abraham, was the head of the patriarchal family.

I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew that this is the true ſenſe of the text from the particulars which are ſtated both as to Sarah and Jacob's funeral; for as to thoſe of Abraham and Iſaac, it is only mentioned that they were *gathered unto their peoples*, and were buried.

I ſhall begin, however, with the laſt inſtance, *viz.* that of Jacob, becauſe the ceremonies uſed in the burial of Sarah, will then be better underſtood.

Jacob, in his laſt agonies, is ſaid to raiſe his feet *upon the bed*, and therefore lay in ſuch an attitude that his corpſe might *be produced to his people* (according to my tranſlation of the paſſage); immediately after which Joſeph falls upon his father's face, weeping and kiſſing it; which, with other public lamentations, continued (as I apprehend) till the corpſe was buried.

This laſt particular is, I think, fairly to be inferred from different paſſages which relate to the funeral of Sarah.

Sarah died at ſome diſtance from where Abraham happened to be, who therefore comes to mourn and weep for her before ſhe is interred; and addreſſes the ſons of Heth, the *body of his wife lying before him*; " and Abraham ſtood up " *from before* his dead and ſpake " unto the ſons of Heth."—In the next verſe he ſays, " give me " a burying place that I may bury " my dead *out of my ſight*:" and the ſame expreſſion is again repeated in the 8th verſe.

I have already obſerved how material a purchaſe the cave of Macpelah was conſidered both by Abraham and his deſcendants, it being deſtined to receive their remains, and Dr. Shaw informs us, that it continues to be ſhewn by the Mahometans; he forgets, however, to mention whether it is a *double one* according to the Septuagint, and the literal verſion from the Hebrew, as ſuch a ſeparation muſt ſtill continue if the cave does.

I cannot here but obſerve, that it is much to be wiſhed the travellers

lers into the Promiſed Land would look out for many patriarchal antiquities, if they happen not to be of a periſhable nature. Thus Dr. Shaw hath given us an engraving of the rock of Meribah; nor do I ſee greater difficulties in diſcovering the cave near Zoar, in which Lot and his daughters lived, than the cave of Macpelah.

Four different pillars are ſaid to have been erected by Jacob in commemoration of particular events. As it cannot probably have anſwered any purpoſe to deſtroy them, and, on the contrary, both Jews and Mohometans profeſs an equal veneration for the memory of the patriarchs, I do not ſee why ſome remains of ſuch antiquities may not ſtill continue. I ſhould ſuppoſe likewiſe, that the twelve ſtones which Joſhua ordered to be placed where the Iſraelites ſhould encamp after the paſſage of the Jordan, may be ſtill found out by an inquiſitive and perſevering traveller.

A map of the complete courſe of this river is alſo much wanted, as well as of all the ſtations mentioned in the patriarchal times, notwithſtanding the labours of Reland, Dr. Wells, and others, who have rather taken notice of the places which occur in the later books of the Old Teſtament.

If it be ſaid that it is impoſſible to ſettle them with any preciſion, I admit the objection if accuracy in longitude and latitude is required; but circumſtances are not wanting to fix the ſituation of moſt of them, ſo as greatly to illuſtrate the book of Geneſis.

Another objection may be perhaps made from the inſecurity to the traveller, and the ignorance of the preſent inhabitants of the Promiſed Land. With regard to the firſt of theſe circumſtances, I have little doubt but that if application was made through our miniſter at Conſtantinople, a proper guard might be procured; but even this would ſignify little, unleſs the perſon who undertakes ſuch a journey can readily ſpeak the language of the country himſelf, or is attended by an able interpreter, who may aſk ſuch queſtions as are neceſſary, and which require no great ſagacity of knowledge in the perſon who is to give the anſwer.

DAINES BARRINGTON.

*** It is much to be wiſhed likewiſe, for the illuſtration of the Greek and Roman Claſſics, that a miſſionary of taſte and a landſcape-painter were ſent with the ſame advantages into poetical Thrace. How little do we know of the river *Strymon*, Mount Æmus, &c.—As for antient Greece, it hath lately been very thoroughly examined, and the republic of letters are much obliged to the Society of the *Dilettanti* for the laſt voyage undertaken for this laudable purpoſe.

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1779.

Written by W. WHITEHEAD, *Esq; P. L.*

TO arms, to arms, ye ſons of might,
And hail, with ſounds of war, the new-born year!
Britannia, from her rocky height,
Points to the Gallic coaſt, and lifts her ſpear.
The immortal hatred, which by turns,
Wakes and ſleeps, with fury burns:
New cauſe of juſt offence has Albion found,
And lo! it bleeds afreſh the eternal wound!

Tho' great in war, of ſkill poſſeſt,
Tho' native courage fire their breaſt
With ardour for the public weal,
One want, at leaſt, our rivals feel,
The want of freedom damps each gen'rous aim;
Whoe'er the lord they ſerve, th' oppreſſion is the ſame.

Power deſpotic rarely knows,
Rarely heeds a ſubject's woes.
By force it claims, with graſping hand,
Whate'er ambition dares demand:
The ravag'd merchant, plunder'd ſwain,
May pour their weak complaints in vain;
Their private ſorrows are their own,
A tyrant feels not, tho' a people groan.

O happier far the well-mix'd ſtate,
Which blends the Monarch's with the Subject's fate,
And links the ſceptre to the ſpade.
The ſtroke which wounds the lowlieſt clown,
Is inſult to the Britiſh crown,
And he attacks our rights who dares the throne invade.

One common flame, one active ſoul
Pervades, and animates the whole;
One heart, one hand, directs the blow,
And hurls the vollied vengeance on the foe.

ODE

ODE *for His* MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY.

By the ſame.

LET Gallia mourn! th' inſulting foe,
Who dar'd to aim the treach'rous blow,
When loſt, ſhe thought, in deep diſmay,
Forlorn, diſtreſs'd Britannia lay.

Deems ſhe misfortune e'er can tame,
The gen'rous inborn Britiſh flame?
Is Agincourt ſo little known,
Muſt freſh conviction curb her pride,
Each age new annals be ſupply'd,
Of Gallia's ſhame and our renown?

What though a while the tempeſt ſhrouds
Her ſummits, and a night of clouds
Each rock and mountain wears;
Yet ſoon returns the flitting breeze,
And brighter o'er her ſubject ſeas
The Queen of Iſles appears.

Let Gallia mourn! th' inſulting foe,
Who ſees by all the winds that blow,
Her treaſures wafted to the coaſt,
She inſolently deem'd was loſt.

Yon ſun that with meridian ray
Now gilds the conſecrated day,
When Britain breathes her annual vow
For him, the guardian of her laws,
For him, who in her ſacred cauſe
Bids the red bolt of vengeance glow:

That very ſun, when Ganges ſtream
Redden'd beneath his riſing beam,
Saw Britain's banners wave
In Eaſtern air, with honeſt pride,
O'er vanquiſh'd forts, which Gallia tried,
But tried in vain to ſave.

That very ſun, e'er evening dew
Has dimm'd his radiant orb, will view
Where Lucia's mountains tow'r on high,
And ſeem to prop the weſtern ſky,
That oft conteſted iſland own
Allegiance to the Britiſh throne.

Like

Like her own oak, the foreſt's king,
Tho' Britain feels the blows around;
Ev'n from the ſteel's inflictive ſting
New force ſhe gains, new ſcyons ſpring,
And flouriſh from the wound.

ELEGY *to Miſs* DASHWOOD.

By Mr. HAMMOND.

This Elegy has not yet found a place in his works. In Dodſley's Collection there is an Anſwer to it; which, though generally aſcribed to Lord Hervey, was more probably written by Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

O Say, thou dear poſſeſſor of my breaſt,
Where's now my boaſted liberty and reſt!
Where the gay moments which I once have known!
O, where that heart I fondly thought my own!
From place to place I ſolitary roam,
Abroad uneaſy, nor content at home.
I ſcorn the beauties common eyes adore;
The more I view them, feel thy worth the more;
Unmov'd I hear them ſpeak, or ſee them fair,
And only think on thee, who art not there.
In vain would books their formal ſuccour lend,
Nor wit nor wiſdom can relieve their friend;
Wit can't deceive the pain I now endure,
And wiſdom ſhews the ill without the cure.
When from thy ſight I waſte the tedious day,
A thouſand ſchemes I form, and things to ſay;
But when thy preſence gives the time I ſeek,
My heart's ſo full, I wiſh, but cannot ſpeak.
And could I ſpeak with eloquence and eaſe,
Till now not ſtudious of the art to pleaſe,
Could I, at woman who ſo oft exclaim,
Expoſe (nor bluſh) thy triumph and my ſhame,
Abjure thoſe maxims I ſo lately priz'd,
And court that ſex I fooliſhly deſpis'd,
Own thou haſt ſoften'd my obdurate mind,
And thou reveng'd the wrongs of womankind;
Loſt were my words, and fruitleſs all my pain,
In vain to tell thee, all I write in vain;
My humble ſighs ſhall only reach thy ears,
And all my eloquence ſhall be my tears.
And now (for more I never muſt pretend)
Hear me not as thy lover, but thy friend;

Thouſands

Thouſands will fain thy little heart enſnare,
For without danger none like thee are fair;
But wiſely chooſe who beſt deſerves thy flame,
So ſhall the choice itſelf become thy fame;
Nor yet deſpiſe, though void of winning art,
The plain and honeſt courtſhip of the heart:
The ſkilful tongue in love's perſuaſive lore,
Though leſs it feels, will pleaſe and flatter more,
And, meanly learned in that guilty trade,
Can long abuſe a fond, unthinking maid.
And ſince their lips, ſo knowing to deceive,
Thy unexperienc'd youth might ſoon believe;
And ſince their tears, in falſe ſubmiſſion dreſt,
Might thaw the icy coldneſs of thy breaſt;
O! ſhut thine eyes to ſuch deceitful woe:
Caught by the beauty of thy outward ſhow,
Like me they do not love, whate'er they ſeem,
Like me—with paſſion founded on eſteem.

Verſes to the Memory of Mr. BOSCAWEN, *a Son of the late Admiral, who was unfortunately drowned, as he was bathing in a Pond belonging to Sir* Charles Price *of* Jamaica.

Written near his Grave by Dr. WOLCOT.

FORLORN, from ſhade to ſhade I rove,
By friendſhip's ſacred ſpirit led,
Where horror wraps the twilight grove,
That glooming ſeems to mourn the dead.

Dear youth! tho' hence I wander far,
Thy fate will cloud each riſing morn;
And lo! with evening's dewy ſtar,
My tears ſhall bathe thy diſtant urn.

Remembrance often, with a ſigh,
Shall view the ſpot where many a maid,
And many a ſwain, with ſwimming eye,
The tender rite of ſorrow paid.

Remembrance often ſhall impart
The ſmile of bliſs on Albion's brow,
When kindling in thy youthful heart,
She ſaw the beam of valour glow.

Yes—Albion's genius with amaze
Did oft thy warrior looks devour;
Proud to behold thy eagle gaze,
High fix'd on glory's ſtar-clad tower!

How

How few the ſighs of Virtue mourn!
For few, alas! the friends ſhe knows—
Yet, here ſhe moves a Pilgrim lorn,
To bid her ſon in peace repoſe.

With Sculpture, let the Marble groan,
Where Flattery mocks the lifeleſs ear—
How nobler far thy nameleſs ſtone,
Embalm'd by Pity's ſimple tear!

On her Majeſty's rebuilding the Lodgings of the Black Prince, *and* Henry V. at Queen's College, Oxford.

By Mr. TICKELL. (*Not printed in his Works.*)

WHERE bold and graceful ſoars, ſecure of fame,
The pile, now worthy great Philippa's name,
Mark that old ruin, Gothic and uncouth,
Where the Black Edward paſs'd his beardleſs youth;
And the Fifth Henry, for his firſt renown,
Out-ſtripp'd each rival, in a ſtudent's gown.
In that coarſe age, were Princes fond to dwell
With meagre monks, and haunt the ſilent cell:
Sent from the Monarch's to the Muſe's court,
Their meals were frugal, and their ſleeps were ſhort;
To couch at curfeu-time they thought no ſcorn,
And froze at matins every winter-morn;
They read, an early book, the ſtarry frame,
And liſp'd each conſtellation by its name;
Art, after art, ſtill dawning to their view,
And their mind opening, as their ſtature grew.
Yet, whoſe ripe manhood ſpread our fame ſo far,
Sages in peace, and demi-gods in war!
Who, ſtern in fight, made echoing Creſſi ring,
And, mild in conqueſt, ſerv'd his captive King?
Who gain'd, at Agincourt, the victor's bays,
Nor took himſelf, but gave good Heaven the praiſe?
Thy nurſelings, ancient dome! to virtue form'd;
To mercy liſtening, whilſt in fields they ſtorm'd;
Fierce to the fierce; and warm th' oppreſt to ſave;
Through life rever'd, and worſhip'd in the grave.
In tenfold pride their mouldering roofs ſhall ſhine,
The ſtately work of bounteous Caroline;
And bleſt Philippa, with unenvious eyes,
From Heaven behold her rival's fabric riſe.
If ſtill, bright ſaint, this ſpot deſerves thy care,
Incline thee to th' ambitious Muſe's prayer:

O, could'ſt

O, could'ſt thou win young William's bloom to grace
His mother's walls, and fill thy Edward's place,
How would that genius, whoſe propitious wings
Have here twice hover'd o'er the ſons of Kings,
Deſcend triumphant to his ancient ſeat,
And take in charge a third Plantagenet!

JUPITER *and* MERCURY; *a Fable. Written ſome Time after Dr.* GOLDSMITH'S *Poem of* Retaliation.

By DAVID GARRICK, *Eſq.*

HERE, Hermes, ſays Jove, who with nectar was mellow,
Go fetch me ſome clay, I'll make an odd fellow;
Right and wrong ſhall be jumbled, much gold and ſome droſs;
Without cauſe be he pleas'd, without cauſe be he croſs.
Be ſure, as I work, to throw-in contradictions;
A great love of truth, yet a mind turn'd to fictions:
Now mix theſe ingredients, which, warm'd in the baking,
Turn to learning and gaming, religion and raking.
With the love of a wench, let his writings be chaſte;
Tip his tongue with ſtrange matter, his pen with fine taſte:
That the Rake and the Poet o'er all may prevail,
Set fire to the head, and ſet fire to the tail:
For the joy of each ſex, on the world I'll beſtow it,
This ſcholar, rake, chriſtian, dupe, gameſter, and poet;
Though a mixture ſo odd, he ſhall merit great fame,
And, amongſt other mortals, be Goldſmith his name!
When on earth this ſtrange meteor no more ſhall appear,
You, Hermes, ſhall fetch him—to make us ſport here.

LINES *occaſioned by the intended Demolition of* FRIAR BACON'S *Study in* Oxford.

ROGER! if with thy magic glaſſes
Running, thou ſee'ſt below what paſſes,
As when on earth thou didſt deſcry
With them the wonders of the ſky—
Look down on yon devoted walls!
Oh! ſave them—ere thy *Study* falls!
Or to thy votaries quick impart
The ſecret of thy *myſtic* art:
Teach us, ere Learning's quite forſaken,
To honour thee, and—*ſave our* Bacon!

VERSES

VERSES *by* HENRY FOX, *Esq. afterwards Lord* HOLLAND, *to a Lady, with an artificial Rose.*

FAIR copy of the faireſt flower,
Thy colours equal Nature's power;
Thou haſt the Roſe's bluſhing hue,
Art full as pleaſing to the view:
Go, then, to Chloe's lovely breaſt,
Whoſe ſweetneſs can give all the reſt.
But if at firſt thy artful make
Her haſty judgment ſhould miſtake,
And ſhe grow peeviſh at the cheat,
Urge 'twas an innocent deceit,
And ſafely too thou may'ſt aver,
The firſt I ever us'd to her.
Then bid her mark, that, as to view,
The Roſe has nothing more than you;
That ſo, if to the eye alone
Her wondrous beauty ſhe made known;
That, if ſhe never will diſpenſe
A trial to ſome ſweeter ſenſe;
Nature no longer we prefer,
Her very picture equals her.
Then whiſper gently in her ear,
Say, ſoftly, if the bluſhing fair
Should to ſuch good advice incline,
How much I wiſh that trial mine.

The FIRST *of* NOVEMBER; *or, the* WINTER'S WALK.

By Dr. JOHNSON.

BEHOLD, my Fair, where'er we rove,
What dreary proſpects round us riſe!
The naked hill, the leafleſs grove,
The hoary ground, the frowning ſkies!

Nor only through the waſted plain,
Stern Winter, is thy force confeſs'd;
Still wider ſpreads thy horrid reign;
I feel thy pow'r uſurp my breaſt.

Enliv'ning Hope and fond Deſire
Reſign the heart to Spleen and Care;
Scarce frighted Love maintains her fire,
And Rapture ſaddens to deſpair.

In

In groundleſs hope, and cauſeleſs fear,
Unhappy man! behold thy doom
Still changing with the changeful year,
The ſlave of ſun-ſhine and of gloom.

Tir'd with vain joys and falſe alarms,
With mental and corporeal ſtrife,
Snatch me, my Stella, to thy arms,
And ſcreen me from the ills of life.

Extract from a MONODY *to the Memory of Mr.* GARRICK; *by Mr.* SHERIDAN. *Spoken at* Drury-Lane *Theatre.*

AMID the arts which ſeek ingenuous fame,
Our toil attempts the moſt precarious claim!
To him, whoſe mimic pencil wins the prize,
Obedient Fame immortal wreaths ſupplies:
Whate'er of wonder Reynolds now may raiſe,
Raphael ſtill boaſts cotemporary praiſe:
Each dazzling light, and gaudier bloom ſubdu'd,
With undiminiſh'd awe his works are view'd:
E'en Beauty's portrait wears a ſofter prime,
Touch'd by the tender hand of mellowing Time.
The patient Sculptor owns an humbler part,
A ruder toil, and more mechanic art;
Content with ſlow and timorous ſtroke to trace
The lingering line, and mould the tardy grace:
But once atchieved—tho' barbarous wreck o'erthrow
The ſacred Fane, and lay its glories low,
Yet ſhall the ſculptur'd Ruin riſe to-day,
Grac'd by defect, and worſhip'd in decay;
Th' enduring record bears the artiſt's name,
Demands his honours, and aſſerts his fame.
Superior hopes the poet's boſom fire—
O proud diſtinction of the ſacred lyre!—
Wide as th' inſpiring Phœbus darts his ray,
Diffuſive ſplendor gilds his votary's lay.
Whether the ſong heroic woes rehearſe,
With epic grandeur, and the pomp of verſe;
Or, fondly gay, with unambitious guile
Attempt no prize but favouring Beauty's ſmile;
Or bear dejected to the lonely grove
The ſoft deſpair of unprevailing love,—
Whate'er the theme—thro' every age and clime
Congenial paſſions meet th' according rhyme;
The pride of glory—Pity's ſigh ſincere—
Youth's earlieſt bluſh—and Beauty's virgin tear.

Such

Such is *their* meed—*their* honours thus ſecure,
Whoſe arts yield objects, and whoſe works endure.
The *Actor* only, ſhrinks from times award;
Feeble tradition is *His* Memory's guard;
By whoſe faint breath his merits muſt abide,
Unvouch'd by proof—to ſubſtance unallied!
Ev'n matchleſs Garrick's art, to Heav'n reſign'd,
No fix'd effect, no model leaves behind!
The *Grace* of *Action*—the adapted *Mien*
Faithful as Nature to the varied ſcene;
Th' *expreſſive Glance*—whoſe ſubtle comment draws
Entranc'd attention, and a mute applauſe;
Geſture that marks, with force and feeling fraught,
A ſenſe in ſilence, and a will in thought;
Harmonious Speech, whoſe pure and liquid tone
Gives verſe a muſic, ſcarce confeſs'd its own;
As light from gems aſſumes a brighter ray,
And cloathed with orient hues, tranſcends the day!—
Paſſion's wild break—and *Frown* that awes the ſenſe,
And every *Charm* of gentler *Eloquence*—
All periſhable!—like the electric fire
But ſtrike the frame—and as they ſtrike expire;
Incenſe too pure a bodied flame to bear,
It's fragrance charms the ſenſe, and blends with air.

We are obliged to the Writer of the Elegy on the Marchioneſs of Tavistock*, for the following original Pieces.

DITTY.

The Meaſure adapted to an old mournful Tune.

WHILST the children of fortune with int'reſted praiſe,
To the joys in poſſeſſion ſtill tune their fond lays;—
The ſon of affliction, unbrib'd, will deplore
Thoſe joys, and thoſe charms, which now are no more.
For the ſweeteſt of maids was my Betty;—
And the joy of all hearts was my Betty.

Her looks were more pleaſing than the bloom of ſweet May,
And her eyes were the ſun that enlighten'd my day;
Her accents could torture, or paſſion beguile;
But who'll ſing the rapture that hung on her ſmile?
For, &c.

* See Ann. Reg. for 1768. vol. XI. Poetical Article, p. 248.

All nature around me is joyful and gay,—
The trees ſhoot their buds, and the flow'rs deck their May;
No void in creation's bright ſpace is deſcried,
Save that, which the life of my ſoul once ſupplied.
For, &c.

But the ſunſhine of life now for ever is flown;
Unpitied my grief, and unbleſt is my moan;
In ſorrow, and darkneſs, I paſs the long day,
Whilſt anguiſh new tunes the ſad voice of each lay.
For, &c.

Thus, diſcolour'd, and jaundic'd, all objects appear;
He hates joy in others, who's loſt all that's dear.
Like the ſhades of the hapleſs, I ſeek the ſtill night,
And haunt in the gloom each paſt ſcene of delight.
For the ſweeteſt of maids was my Betty;
And the joy of all hearts was my Betty.

IMPROMPTU.

BEYOND all climates, far above all ſkies,
The ſoul that once inform'd my Silvia flies:
May guardian angels ſtill point out its way,
Through all the regions of eternal day;
May heavenly love ſtill bleſs that tender mind,
Which ever was with love and truth combin'd.
And that her joys unmix'd with care may flow,
Conceal, kind heaven, from her my heart-felt woe.

EXPOSTULATION.

POOR, throbbing heart! a while refrain!
I ſink beneath thy woe;
O! grant a ſhort receſs from pain,
For ſhort the ſpace we go.
No fortune can our fate reprieve,
So wretched is our ſtrife;
For you can only live to grieve,
And grief cuts me from life.

Account

Account of Books for 1779.

Prefaces, *Biographical and Critical, to the Works of the* Engliſh *Poets*; *by* Samuel Johnſon, 4 *vol.* 12*mo.*

THE many and eſſential benefits, that Engliſh literature hath already derived from the labours of Doctor Samuel Johnſon, have long been ſubjects of general obſervation and experience. The merit of having given preciſion and ſtability to our language belongs almoſt excluſively to him. Like virtue, it is a merit that will be its own reward. In guarding our tongue againſt the innovations of time, he has provided the beſt ſecurity for his own fame, and, as it were, connected his reputation with the very exiſtence of our language. It remained, to form the judgment and taſte of the nation on the ſame ſolid baſis, on which he had eſtabliſhed its vocabulary. This taſk he has performed with his uſual ability in the work now before us; in which he hath undertaken to write criticiſms on that claſs of our writers, which affords the moſt conſpicuous, as well as the moſt numerous inſtances of beauties and of faults of every ſort.

Criticiſm has been very juſtly conſidered as the laſt fruit of literary experience. An early acquaintance with authors of eſtabliſhed reputation, a frequent intercourſe with the men of genius of our own times, and a competent ſhare of natural abilities, are ſufficient to form thoſe habits of diſcrimination, which enable, what is uſually called *a man of taſte*, to pronounce with great accuracy on the merits of literary productions. On the other hand, the philoſopher, by maxims drawn from the nature of things, the ſtructure of the human mind, and the operation of the paſſions, may arrive at an equal degree of certainty in tracing out the effects of art, and laying down rules for producing them. But the buſineſs of criticiſm does not end here. To trace the gradual progreſs and improvement of our taſte, and point out the cauſes that have tended to retard or promote it; to comprehend, as it were in one view the whole circle of the arts and ſciences, to ſee their mutual connections and dependencies, and to inveſtigate the effects which at various times they have produced on each other, are objects of *general criticiſm*, important in themſelves, and which require an intimate knowledge of the ſeveral ſubjects on which they depend. In *occa-*

ſional criticiſm, extenſive experience is ſtill more eſſentially neceſſary.—In art, as in morality, great excellence is always nearly allied to ſome kindred fault. The beauties and defects of compoſition are not only connected with, but frequently ariſe out of each other. The abſurd conceits and extravagant fancies, which diſguſt or ſhock the reader in the juvenile poems of our beſt poets, were the true ſeeds and germs, which afterwards ripened, by proper culture, into the moſt luxuriant harveſts. But this chymical proceſs, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, of genius, in which, ſtill preſerving ſome analogy to its priſtine form, it is tranſmuted into a ſubſtance of a more valuable kind, is not eaſily to be purſued, except by thoſe, whoſe own experience hath admitted them into the ſecrets of the art. Such an adept we may fairly ſuppoſe our learned critic to be. Our readers have had ſufficient proofs of it, in the extracts we have already inſerted. The following characters of Waller and Dryden are in the ſame maſterly ſtyle.

"As much of Waller's reputation was owed to the ſoftneſs and ſmoothneſs of his numbers; it is proper to conſider thoſe minute particulars to which a verſifyer muſt attend.

"He certainly very much excelled in ſmoothneſs moſt of the writers who were living when his poetry commenced. The poets of Elizabeth had attained an art of modulation, which was afterwards neglected or forgotten. Fairfax was acknowledged by him as his model; and he might have ſtudied with advantage the poem of Davies, which, though merely philoſophical, yet ſeldom leaves the ear ungratified.

"But he was rather ſmooth than ſtrong; of *the full reſounding line*, which Pope attributes to Dryden, he has given very few examples. The critical deciſion has given the praiſe of ſtrength to Denham, and of ſweetneſs to Waller.

"His excellence of verſification has ſome abatements. He uſes the expletive *do* very frequently; and though he lived to ſee it almoſt univerſally ejected, was not more careful to avoid it in his laſt compoſitions than in his firſt. Praiſe had given him confidence; and finding the world ſatisfied, he ſatisfied himſelf.

"His rhymes are ſometimes weak words: *ſo* is found to make the rhyme twice in ten lines, and occurs often as a rhyme through his book.

"His double rhymes in heroick verſe have been cenſured by Mrs. Phillips, who was his rival in the tranſlation of Corneille's Pompey; and more faults might be found, were not the enquiry below attention.

"He ſometimes uſes the obſolete termination of verbs, as *waxeth*, *affecteth*; and ſometimes retains the final ſyllable of the preterite, as *amazed*, *ſuppoſed*; of which I know not whether it is not to the detriment of our language that we have totally rejected them.

"Of triplets he is ſparing; but he did not wholly forbear them: of an Alexandrine he has given no example.

"The general character of his poetry is elegance and gaiety. He is never pathetick, and very rarely ſublime. He ſeems neither to have had a mind much elevated by nature,

ture, nor amplified by learning. His thoughts are such as a liberal conversation and large acquaintance with life would easily supply. They had however, then perhaps, that grace of novelty, which they are now often supposed to want by those who, having already found them in later books, do not know or enquire who produced them first. This treatment is unjust. Let not the original author lose by his imitators.

"Praise however should be due before it is given. The author of Waller's Life ascribes to him the first practice, of what Erythræus and some late critics call *Alliteration*, of using in the same verse many words beginning with the same letter. But this knack, whatever be its value, was so frequent among our early writers, that Gascoign, a writer of the sixteenth century, warns the young poet against affecting it; and Shakespeare in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* is supposed to ridicule it.

"He borrows too many of his sentiments and illustrations from the old Mythology, for which it is vain to plead the example of the ancient poets: the deities which they introduced so frequently, were considered as realities, so far as to be received by the imagination, whatever sober reason might even then determine. But of these images time has tarnished the splendor. A fiction, not only detected but despised, can never afford a solid basis to any position, though sometimes it may furnish a transient allusion, or slight illustration. No modern monarch can be much exalted by hearing that, as Hercules had had his *club*, he has his *navy*.

"But of the praise of Waller, though much may be taken away, much will remain; for it cannot be denied that he added something to our elegance of diction, and something to our propriety of thought; and to him may be applied what Tasso said, with equal spirit and justice, of himself and Guarini, when, having perused the *Pastor Fido*, he cried out, "If he "had not read *Aminta*, he had "not excelled it."

From the Preface to Milton's works, we have already given our readers a large extract. The poet who follows next in the series, is the celebrated author of *Hudibras*. The original idea of this poem is, he thinks, undoubtedly to be found in the history of Don Quixotte. "Cervantes, he observes, shews a man who having by the incessant perusal of incredible tales, subjected his understanding to his imagination, and familiarised his mind by pertinacious meditation to think of incredible events, and scenes of impossible existence, goes out in the pride of knighthood to redress wrongs and defend virgins, to rescue captive princesses and tumble usurpers from their thrones; attended by a 'squire, whose cunning, too low for the suspicion of a generous mind, enables him often to cheat his master.

"The hero of Butler, is a Presbyterian justice, who in the confidence of legal authority, and the rage of zealous ignorance, ranges the country to repress superstition, and correct abuses, accompanied by an Independant clerk, disputatious and obstinate, with whom he often debates, but never conquers him.

"Cervantes had ſo much kindneſs for Don Quixotte, that, however he embaraſſes him with abſurd diſtreſſes, he gives him ſo much ſenſe and virtue as may preſerve our eſteem; wherever he is, or whatever he does, he is made by matchleſs dexterity commonly ridiculous, but never contemptible.

"But for poor Hudibraſs, his poet had no tenderneſs; he chuſes not that any pity ſhould be ſhewn, or reſpect paid him; he gives him up at once to laughter and contempt, without any quality that can dignify or protect.

"In forming the character of Hudibraſs, and deſcribing his perſon and habiliments, the author ſeems to labour with a tumultuous confuſion of diſſimilar ideas. He had read the hiſtory of the mock knight-errant; he knew the notions and manner of a Preſbyterian magiſtrate, and tried to unite the abſurdities of both, however diſtant, in one perſonage.—Thus he gave him that pedantic oſtentation of knowledge which has no relation to chivalry; and loads him with martial encumbrances that can add nothing to his civil dignity. He ſends him out a *colonelling*, and yet never brings him within ſight of war."

Dryden follows Butler, and our learned critic has paid him the ample and liberal attention he ſo well deſerves. It is not eaſy to make ſelections from an author, who writes with ſo much judgment as Dr. Johnſon, without doing great injuſtice to the parts. The two following extracts, which contain his opinion on the proſe and poetical language of Dryden, are written with great ſpirit, learning, and penetration.

"Criticiſm, either didactic or defenſive, occupies almoſt all his proſe, except thoſe pages which he has devoted to his patrons; but none of his prefaces were ever thought tedious. They have not the formality of a ſettled ſtyle, in which the firſt half of the ſentence betrays the other. The clauſes are never balanced, nor the periods modelled; every word ſeems to drop by chance, though it falls into its proper place. Nothing is cold or languid; the whole is airy, animated, and vigorous; what is little, is gay; what is great, is ſplendid. He may be thought to mention himſelf too frequently; but while he forces himſelf upon our eſteem, we cannot refuſe him to ſtand high in his own. Every thing is excuſed by the play of images and the ſpritelineſs of expreſſion. Though all is eaſy, nothing is feeble; though all ſeems careleſs, there is nothing harſh; and though, ſince his earlier works, more than a century has paſſed, they have nothing yet uncouth or obſolete.

"He who writes much, will not eaſily eſcape a manner, ſuch a recurrence of particular modes as may be eaſily noted. Dryden is always *another and the ſame*, he does not exhibit a ſecond time the ſame elegancies in the ſame form, nor appears to have any art other than that of expreſſing with clearneſs what he thinks with vigour. His ſtyle could not eaſily be imitated, either ſeriouſly or ludicrouſly, for being always equable and always varied, it has no prominent or diſcriminative characters. The beauty who

who is totally free from disproportion of parts and features cannot be ridiculed by an overcharged resemblance."

From his prose, however, as Dr. Johnson properly remarks, Dryden derives only his accidental and secondary praise; "the veneration, continues he, with which his name is pronounced by every cultivator of English literature, is paid to him as he refined the language, improved the sentiments, and tuned the numbers of English poetry.

"After about half a century of forced thoughts, and rugged metre, some advances towards nature and harmony had been already made by Waller and Denham; they had shewn that long discourses in rhyme grew more pleasing when they were broken into couplets, and that verse consisted not only in the number but the arrangement of syllables.

"But though they did much, who can deny that they left much to do? Their works were not many, nor were their minds of very ample comprehension. More examples of more modes of composition were necessary for the establishment of regularity, and the introduction of propriety in word and thought.

"Every language of a learned nation necessarily divides itself into diction scholastic and popular, grave and familiar, elegant and gross; and from a nice distinction of these different parts, arises a great part of the beauty of style. But if we except a few minds, the favourites of nature, to whom their own original rectitude was in the place of rules, this delicacy of selection was little known to our authors; our speech lay before them in a heap of confusion, and every man took for every purpose what chance might offer him.

"There was therefore before the time of Dryden no poetical diction, no system of words at once refined from the grossness of domestic use, and free from the harshness of terms appropriated to particular arts. Words too familiar, or too remote, defeat the purpose of a poet. From those sounds which we hear on small or on coarse occasions, we do not easily receive strong impressions, or delightful images, and words to which we are nearly strangers, whenever they occur, draw that attention on themselves which they should convey to things.

"Those happy combinations of words which distinguish poetry from prose, had been rarely attempted; we had few elegancies or flowers of speech, the roses had not yet been plucked from the bramble, or different colours had not been joined to enliven one another.

"It may be doubted whether Waller and Denham could have overborn the prejudices which had long prevailed, and which even then were sheltered by the protection of Cowley. The new versification, as it was called, may be considered as owing its establishment to Dryden; from whose time it is apparent that English poetry has had no tendency to relapse to its former savageness."

The minor poets that follow Dryden, from Derham down to Hughes, occupy each a small but well-proportioned share of the author's attention. The distinguishing features and the charac-

teriſtic faults and merits of each, are always marked with great judgment and preciſion.

Before we diſmiſs this article, it will be neceſſary to take ſome notice of the hiſtorical part of theſe prefaces.—The great reputation which Doctor Johnſon has already acquired as a moral and biographical writer, will not ſuffer any diminution from his preſent ſucceſsful attempt to give (as he himſelf well expreſſes it) *uſeful pleaſure*.—Great care appears to have been taken in ſelecting the moſt authentic materials: the errors, into which partiality, prejudice, or want of diſcernment, have led any of his predeceſſors, are judiciouſly corrected; and every part is interſperſed with thoſe beautiful effuſions of moral ſentiment, and remarks on the manners of mankind, which diſtinguiſh him beyond any writer in the Engliſh language.—But whilſt we do him juſtice in this reſpect, it is impoſſible not to obſerve that many parts of his work bear ſtrong marks of thoſe political prejudices, under the influence of which it is well known his mind unfortunately labours. It is for his own ſake we wiſh that he had, on the preſent occaſion, repreſſed an uſeleſs zeal. We ſhould be ſorry to think, with him, that *virulence and malevolence* really belong to any party:—he has taught us that they certainly do not belong to one alone.—*If faction*, (i. e. the party we oppoſe) *ſeldom*, as he ſays, *leaves a man honeſt, however it might find him*, how will the jealous dignity of Doctor Johnſon's character brook the ſuſpicions of, perhaps, the greater part of his readers? The bad men of both ſides, who have an intereſt in the deſtruction of all character, will be glad to make uſe of his authority; and he cannot complain if thoſe of the adverſe party bring his own example as one proof of his rule *.

A Hiſ-

* The part which Milton took in the public tranſactions of the times, he lived in, ſeems to have made him particularly obnoxious to our learned critic. We ſhall therefore ſubmit to our readers ſome of the miſrepreſentations of which he is accuſed, together with the anſwers that have been given to them. "*I am* "*aſhamed*, ſays Dr. Johnſon, *to relate what I am afraid is too true, that Mil-* "*ton was the laſt ſtudent in either univerſity that ſuffered the public indignity of* "*corporal puniſhment.*"—The only evidence of Milton's having ſuffered this indignity reſts on the following lines, taken from his verſes to Deodati.

Nec duri libet uſque minas perferre magiſtri,
Cæteraque ingenio non ſubeunda meo—

The *ſomething elſe*, he contends, muſt be corporal correction; for he adds, *what was more than threats, was evidently puniſhment*. To this it is anſwered, that by rendering *cætera* in the ſingular number, *ſomething elſe*; he has made the application particular, which in the original is general.—He has attempted to pervert the ſenſe ſtill farther, by explaining *cætera*, *ſomething more than threats*;—whereas it means in general the many inſults, beſides threats, to which academical ſubordination might make him liable. But however this may be, he is certainly not the laſt ſtudent in either univerſity that ſuffered this indignity. At Oxford, both in the public and private ſtatutes, the injunction of inflicting corporal puniſhment on boys under ſixteen remains in force at this day; and at ſome colleges, where the foundation ſcholars are elected

A Hiſtory of the Military Tranſactions of the Britiſh *Nation in* Indoſtan. *Vol.* II.

THE firſt volume of this hiſtory was publiſhed in the year 1763 *, and contains an account of the affairs of India, down to the commencement of the war between the Engliſh and French in 1756. To the continuation now before us is prefixed an enquiry into the riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh commerce in the province of Bengal.

It appears that the trade of this country was opened to the Engliſh, by means of a ſurgeon named *Boughton*, who, in 1636, was ſent from Surat to Agra, to attend a daughter of the Emperor Shaw Iehan. His endeavours for the cure of the lady proving ſucceſsful, the Emperor, beſides other favours, granted him the privilege of a free trade throughout his dominions. Having obtained this indulgence, Boughton immediately proceeded to Bengal, where he intended to purchaſe goods, and to carry them by ſea to Surat. He had no ſooner arrived in the former of thoſe places, than he was employed to cure a favourite woman belonging to the Nabob of the province; which having effected, the latter prevailed upon him to remain in the country; giving him at the ſame time a handſome ſtipend, and confirming the privilege that had been granted by the Emperor, with a promiſe to extend it to all others of the Engliſh nation who ſhould come to Bengal. Boughton ſent an account of his ſucceſs to the Engliſh governor of Surat, by whoſe advice the company in 1640 ſent two ſhips from England to Bengal, the agents of which being introduced to the Nabob by Boughton, were kindly received, and aſſiſted in their mercantile tranſactions.

For ſome years the Engliſh carried on their trade in this province without any moleſtation, but afterwards the government, either diſavowing the patents that had been granted to Boughton, or annihilating their operation by the narrow conſtruction which they now put upon them, the ſettlers were obliged to pay the ſame duties with other merchants. Nor was this the only infraction of former ſtipulations that they began to experience. The Nabob henceforth aſſumed a more arbitrary conduct towards them, and their commerce was frequently interrupted by unuſual exertions of deſpotiſm.

Againſt theſe evils our author obſerves, that there were only two remedies, namely, war or retreat,

elected very young, it was commonly practiſed down to the beginning of the preſent century. In another place he aſſerts, that "*Milton entirely omitted* "*all prayer, either in his family, or in private.*" With regard to the latter part of the charge, it is anſwered, that it deſtroys itſelf, for ſolitary prayer could only be known to God and himſelf.—As to family prayer, it appears to be a calumny drawn from an expreſſion of Toland's, who ſays, "that in the "latter part of his life, he frequented none of the aſſemblies of any particular "ſect of Chriſtians, *nor made uſe of their peculiar rites in his family.*" Biſhop Newton has altered this, into *his not uſing any religious rites in his family.* And from the biſhop, as a ſtory never loſes in the telling, Dr. Johnſon roundly concludes that he *never uſed prayer in his family.*

* See Ann. Vol. VII. Reg. for 1764.

either

either of which could not fail of proving detrimental to the company, conſidering that the Bengal trade, notwithſtanding the various reſtraints impoſed by the Nabob, was ſtill very lucrative. For forty years therefore the Engliſh company attempted no military reſiſtance.

But the peaceable acquieſcence of the Engliſh rather increaſed than diminiſhed the exactions impoſed by the governors of the province; beſides, that the acts of oppreſſion exerciſed by thoſe inferior deſpots were abetted by the Emperor at Delhi. Determined therefore to try the effect of arms, the company in the year 1685, with the approbation of King James II. fitted out two fleets, one of which was ordered to cruiſe at the bar of Surat, on all veſſels belonging to the Mogul's ſubjects, and the other deſigned not only to commit hoſtilities by ſea at the mouth of the Ganges, but likewiſe carried ſix hundred regular troops, in order to attack the Nabob of Bengal by land.

The conduct of this war was entruſted to Job Charnock, the company's principal agent at Hughley, a man of courage, but void of military experience. He defeated the forces of the Nabob in two different actions; but pitching his camp in an unhealthy part of the province, in the ſpace of three months he loſt by ſickneſs three hundred Europeans, which was two thirds of his whole force.

The misfortune attending the army was compenſated by the ſucceſs of the fleet that had been ſent out to Surat, which greatly diſtreſſed the trade of the Mogul's ſubjects, and took from them prizes to the amount of a million ſterling money. The clamour raiſed by the merchants in conſequence of this diſaſter, induced the Emperor to ſend one of his officers from Delhi, with orders to hear the complaints of the Engliſh, and to mitigate the oppreſſions which they had ſuffered. Hoſtilities ſoon after ceaſed; and by a treaty ſigned in Auguſt, 1687, it was ſtipulated that the Engliſh ſhould not only be permitted to return to all their factories in the province, but might likewiſe erect docks and magazines at Ulabarca, a village ſituated on the weſtern bank, about fifty miles from the mouth of the river.

This treaty was no ſooner ratified than the war at Surat broke out afreſh, and the Nabob of Bengal not only gave up the Engliſh trade to the rapine of his officers, but demanded a very large ſum, as an indemnification for the loſs which the country had ſuſtained by the late hoſtilities. In conſequence of ſome unexpected events, however, an accommodation again took place between the contending parties without this requiſition being granted; and the company received a patent from the Emperor, allowing them to trade free of cuſtoms, on condition of paying annually the ſum of three thouſand roupees.

In 1696, an inſurrection was commenced by the rajahs on the weſtern ſide of the river Hughley, within whoſe juriſdiction were ſituated the principal ſettlements of the Engliſh, French, and Dutch, all which immediately augmenting their reſpective forces, declared for the Nabob; of whom they at the ſame time requeſted permiſſion to put their factories into a ſtate of defence.

fence. The Nabob ordered them in general terms to defend themſelves; and they, conſidering this order as implying a grant of their requeſt, proceeded with all expedition to raiſe walls and baſtions round their factories; of which that of the Engliſh was at Calcutta, where they had built their principal magazines. Such was the origin of the three European forts in the province of Bengal, the firſt that ever were ſuffered to be erected by foreigners within the Mogul empire.

In 1698, they obtained from Azim-al-Shah, the grandſon of Aurengzebe, permiſſion to purchaſe from the Zemindar or Indian proprietor, the town of Soola-kutty, Calcutta, and Govind-pore, with their diſtricts, the prince reſerving an annual fine. About this time, the union of the two companies, by augmenting the ſtock, increaſed the trade, and enlarged the views of the direction. The commerce of Bengal more eſpecially became the object of their attention. The ſubordinate factories of Coſſimbuzar, Dacca, and Ballaſore, were reſettled: the exports and imports were doubled in value and quantity, and the garriſon of Calcutta was augmented to 300 men: all which the government of Bengal, contrary to its uſual maxims, beheld without repugnance, and even without demanding money as the price of its forbearance and favour. The increaſing importance of the colony induced the company, in 1707, to withdraw the ſettlements in it from their former dependence on Madraſs, and to declare Calcutta a preſidency accountable only to the direction in England.

"The tranquility which the company now enjoyed was in a ſhort time diſturbed by the Nabob Jaffier Khan, at this time appointed Governor of Bengal, and who was better enabled to take cognizance of their affairs by having removed the ſeat of government from Dacca to Muxadavad, in the centre of the province. Mixing policy with oppreſſion, he greatly reſtrained the freedom of their commerce, without openly violating the privileges which they had obtained from Aurengzebe and Azim-al-Shah. In order to obtain a redreſs of their grievances, the preſidency of Calcutta, in the year 1713, propoſed to the company in England the ſending an embaſſy, ſupported by a valuable preſent, to the Great Mogul. The expedient was accordingly adopted; and after various delays occaſioned by the intrigues of the vizir, they at length obtained the principal objects of their miſſion. One of thoſe was, that the company ſhould be allowed to purchaſe thirty-ſeven towns in Bengal, which would give them a diſtrict extending ten miles ſouth of Calcutta along the banks of the river Hughley, the paſſage of which might be eaſily commanded by the erection of batteries or redoubts; and what added to the value of the acquiſition was, that the revenue of the territory would be ſufficient to defray the charge of its protection. The conſequences of ſo advantageous a grant were beheld with indignation by the Nabob Jaffier, who had endeavoured from the beginning to counteract the purpoſe of the embaſſy; but not daring openly to diſpute the Mogul's orders, he prevailed, by ſecret intrigues, with the holders of the land, not to part with it to the company

company upon any terms which might be offered. Jaffier however admitted the immunity of the company's trade, which no longer paid any cuſtoms in the province.

"In the mean time, the ſettlement of Calcutta had attracted ſuch a number of inhabitants, as excited the jealouſy of the Governor of Hughley, who, pretending that he ſhould be puniſhed for ſuffering ſo many of the Mogul's ſubjects to withdraw themſelves from his juriſdiction, threatened to ſend a cadi, or Mahomedan judge, and officers of the police, to adminiſter juſtice amongſt the natives living under the Engliſh flag. The meaſure would have renewed the ſame inconveniences, which had forced the Engliſh to quit Hughley: it was therefore counteracted by a bribe given to Azim-al-Shah, who forbad the Governor of Hughley from proceeding in his intentions. By this conſtant attention to money, Azim-al-Shah in three years amaſſed three millions of pounds ſterling, which he carried with him out of the province: but he left behind him his ſon Furrukſhir to get more; who, in 1713, gained the throne, after his father had periſhed in diſputing it with his brothers."

From this time, the Engliſh company continued to reap the fruits of their commercial privileges till the year 1756, when, by the rupture between Great Britain and France, and by the inteſtine diviſions in India, it neceſſarily became involved in all the calamities of war. The military tranſactions of this period, are related with the ſame preciſion and accuracy which diſtinguiſhed the former volume of this hiſtory; and if in the language and forms of expreſſion there appear frequent marks of haſte and inattention, they may readily be pardoned in a work of ſuch extent and labour.

Iſaiah; *a new Tranſlation, with a preliminary Diſſertation, and Notes critical, philological, and explanatory. By* Robert Lowth, *D. D. F. R. S. S.* Lond. *and* Gotting. *Lord Biſhop of* London. 4*to*.

THE verſions that have hitherto appeared of the prophecies of Iſaiah, both in ancient and modern languages, having been made on a miſtaken opinion of the nature of thoſe compoſitions; it is not to be wondered that they have failed in giving a juſt and expreſſive reſemblance of the original. "It has, I think, ſays the learned prelate, been univerſally underſtood, that the prophecies of Iſaiah are written in proſe. The ſtyle, the thoughts, the images, the expreſſions, have been allowed to be poetical, and that in the higheſt degree: but that they are written in verſe, in meaſure, or rhythm, or whatever it is that diſtinguiſhes, as poetry, the compoſition of thoſe books of the Old Teſtament, which are allowed to be poetical, ſuch as Job, the Pſalms, and the Proverbs, from the hiſtorical books, as mere proſe; this has never been ſuppoſed, at leaſt has not been at any time the prevailing opinion. The opinions of the learned concerning Hebrew verſe have been various; their ideas of the nature of it vague, obſcure, and imperfect; yet ſtill there has been a general perſuaſion, that ſome books of the Old Teſtament are

written

written in verſe; but that the writings of the prophets are not of that number."

The deſign of the preliminary diſſertation is to refute this erroneous opinion; to ſhew that there is a manifeſt conformity between the prophetical ſtyle and that of the books ſuppoſed to be metrical; a conformity in every known part of the poetical character, which equally diſcriminates the prophetical and the metrical books, from thoſe acknowledged to be proſe. This ſubject, which the learned author had before treated in his eighteenth and nineteenth Prelections, is here more fully and minutely diſcuſſed.

"The firſt, he ſays, and moſt manifeſt indication of verſe in the Hebrew poetical books, preſents itſelf in the acroſtick or alphabetical poems, of which there happily remain many examples, and thoſe of various kinds. The nature, or rather the form, of theſe poems is this: the poem conſiſts of twenty-two lines, or of twenty-two ſyſtems of lines, or periods, or ſtanzas, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; and every line, or every ſtanza, begins with each letter in its order, as it ſtands in the alphabet, that is, the firſt line, or firſt ſtanza, begins with aleph, the ſecond with beth, and ſo on. There are ſtill extant in the books of the Old Teſtament, twelve * of theſe poems; reckoning the four firſt chapters of the Lamentations of Jeremiah as ſo many diſtinct poems; three † of them perfectly alphabetical: in which every line is marked by its initial letter; the other nine leſs perfectly alphabetical, in which every ſtanza only is ſo diſtinguiſhed."

After examining ſome remarkable circumſtances in theſe compoſitions, he concludes, that "both theſe ſpecies of alphabetical poems conſiſt of verſes properly ſo called; of verſes regulated by ſome obſervation of harmony or cadence; of meaſure, numbers, or rhythm. For it is not at all probable in the nature of the thing, or from examples of the like kind in other languages, that a portion of mere proſe, in which numbers and harmony are totally diſregarded, ſhould be laid out according to a ſcale of diviſion, which carries with it ſuch evident marks of ſtudy and labour, of art in the contrivance, and exactneſs in the execution. And in general, that the reſt of the poems of the Hebrews, bearing evidently the ſame marks and characteriſtics of compoſition with the alphabetical poems in other reſpects, and falling into regular lines, often into regular ſtanzas, according to the pauſes of the ſentences, which ſtanzas and lines have a certain parity or proportion to one another, theſe likewiſe conſiſt of verſe meaſured by the ear, and regulated according to ſome general laws of metre, rhythm, harmony, or cadence."

The attempt to diſcover the laws of the Hebrew metre, or rhythm, he conſiders as vain and impoſſible; but he conceives that there are other circumſtances which ſufficiently diſcriminate the parts of the

* Pſal. xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, cxix, cxlv. Prov. xxxi. v. 10—31. Lam. i, ii, iii, iv.

† Pſal. cxi, cxii. Lam. iii.

Hebrew

Hebrew ſcriptures that are written in verſe, from thoſe that are written in proſe. The firſt and principal of theſe, is the correſpondence of one verſe, or line, with another, which he calls *paralleliſm*. When a propoſition is delivered, and a ſecond is ſubjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contraſted with it, in ſenſe, or ſimilar to it in the form of grammatical conſtruction, theſe he calls parallel lines, and the words or phraſes anſwering one to another in the correſponding lines, parallel terms.

Parallel lines he reduces to three ſorts: parallels *ſynonymous*, parallels *antithetic*, and parallels *ſynthetic*. Of each of theſe he gives a variety of examples, in order to ſhew the various forms, under which they appear: firſt from the books univerſally acknowledged to be poetical; then correſpondent examples from the prophet Iſaiah; and ſometimes alſo from the other prophets; to ſhew, that the form and character of the compoſition is in all the ſame.

Firſt, of parallel lines *ſynonymous*: that is, which correſpond one to another by expreſſing the ſame ſenſe in different but equivalent terms. As in the following examples:

'O-Jehovah, in-thy-ſtrength the-king ſhall-rejoice;
And-in-thy ſalvation how greatly ſhall-he-exult!
The-deſire of-his-heart thou-haſt-granted unto him;
And the-requeſt of-his-lips thou-haſt-not-denied.' *Pſ.* xxi.

'Becauſe I-called, and-ye-refuſed;
I-ſtretched-out my-hand, and-no-one regarded, &c. *Prov.* i. 24.

Seek-ye Jehovah, while-he-may-be-found;
Call-ye-upon-him, while-he-is near,' &c. *Iſa.* lv. 6.

The author produces many other examples, from the prophets, in which, he obſerves, the parallel lines ſometimes conſiſt of three or more ſynonymous terms; ſometimes of two; which is generally the caſe, when the verb, or the nominative caſe of the firſt ſentence is to be carried on to the ſecond, or underſtood there; and ſometimes of one only.

The terms in Engliſh, conſiſting of ſeveral words, are hitherto diſtinguiſhed by marks of connection; to ſhew, that they anſwer to ſingle words in Hebrew.

Sometimes, he obſerves, the lines conſiſt, each of double members, or two propoſitions.

'Bow thy heaven, O Jehovah, and deſcend;
Touch the mountains, and they ſhall ſmoke,' &c. *Pſ.* cxiv. 5.

'And they ſhall build houſes, and ſhall inhabit them;
And they ſhall plant vineyards, and ſhall eat the fruit thereof, &c.' *Iſa.* lxv. 21.

Sometimes they are formed by a repetition of part of the firſt ſentence.

'My voice is unto God, and I cry aloud;
My voice unto God, and he will hearken unto me.'
. . . . . .
The waters ſaw thee, O God;
The waters ſaw thee; they were ſeized with anguiſh.' *Pſ.* lxxvii. 1. 16.

'For he hath humbled thoſe that dwell on high;
The lofty city, he hath brought her down:
He hath brought her down to the ground;
He hath levelled her with the duſt.
The foot ſhall trample upon her;
The feet of the poor, the ſteps of the needy.' *Iſa.* xxvi. 5, 6.

There are parallel triplets, when three lines correſpond together, and form a kind of ſtanza; of which however only two commonly are ſynonymous.

'The wicked shall see it, and it shall grieve him;
He shall gnash his teeth, and pine away;
The desire of the wicked shall perish.' *Ps.* cxii. 10.

'And he shall snatch on the right, and yet be hungry;
And he shall devour on the left, and not be satisfied;
Every man shall devour the flesh of his neighbour.' *Isa.* ix. 20.

There are likewise parallels consisting of four lines: two distichs being so connected together by the sense and the construction, as to make one stanza. Such is the form of the thirty-seventh Psalm, which is evidently laid out by the initial letters in stanzas of four lines.

'Be not moved with indignation against the evil doers;
Nor with zeal against the workers of iniquity:
For like the grass they shall soon be cut off;
And like the green herb they shall wither.' *Ps.* xxxvii. 1, 2.

'The ox knoweth his possessor;
And the ass the crib of his lord:
But Israel doth not know Me;
Neither doth my people consider.' *Isa.* i. 3.

In stanzas of four lines sometimes the parallel lines answer to one another alternately; the first to the third, and the second to the fourth:

'As the heavens are high above the earth;
So high is his goodness over them that fear him:
As remote as the east is from the west;
So far hath he removed from us our transgressions.' *Ps.* ciii. 11, 12.

'And ye said: Nay, but on horses will we flee;
Therefore shall ye be put to flight:
And on swift coursers will we ride;
Therefore shall they be swift, that pursue you.' *Isa.* xxx. 16.

He next proceeds to the second sort of parallels, viz. the *antithetic*; of which kind are the following:

'A wise son rejoiceth his father:
But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.' *Prov.* x. 1.

Where every word hath its opposite: for the terms *father* and *mother* are, as the logicians say, relatively opposite.

'The memory of the just is a blessing;
But the name of the wicked shall rot.' *Prov.* x. 7.

Here are only two antithetic terms: for *memory* and *name* are synonymous.

'There is that scattereth, and still encreaseth;
And that is unreasonably sparing, yet groweth poor.' *Prov.* xi. 24.

Here is a kind of double antithesis; one between the two lines themselves, and likewise a subordinate opposition between the two parts of each.

This form, he observes, is peculiarly adapted to adages, aphorisms, and detached sentences, and that we are not therefore to expect frequent instances of it in the other poems of the Old Testament; especially those that are elevated in the style, and more connected in the parts. The author however adds a few examples from the higher poetry.

'These in chariots, and those in horses;
But we in the name of Jehovah our God will be strong.
They are bowed down, and fallen;
But we are risen, and maintain ourselves firm.' *Ps.* xx. 7, 8.

The bricks are fallen, but we will build with hewn stone:
The sycamores are cut down, but we will replace them with cedars. *Isa.* ix. 10.

The third sort of parallels the author calls *synthetic*, or constructive, where the parallelism consists only in the similar form of construction: in which word does not answer to word, and sentence to sentence, as equivalent or opposite; but there is a correspondence and equality between different propositions in respect of the shape and turn

turn of the whole ſentence, and of the conſtructive parts; ſuch as noun anſwering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative.

'Praiſe ye Jehovah, ye of the earth;
Ye ſea-monſters, and all deeps:
Fire and hail, ſnow and vapour, &c.
Pſ. cxlviii. 7.

'Is ſuch then the faſt which I chooſe?
That a man ſhould afflict his ſoul for a day?
Is it, that he ſhould bow down his head like a bulruſh;
And ſpread ſackcloth and aſhes for his couch, &c. *Iſa.* lviii. 5, 6.

In theſe inſtances it is to be obſerved, that though there are perhaps no two lines correſponding one with another as equivalent or oppoſite in terms; yet there is a paralleliſm equally apparent, and almoſt as ſtriking, which ariſes from the ſimilar form and equality of the lines, from the correſpondence of the members and the conſtruction; the conſequence of which is a harmony and rhythm little inferior in effect to that of the two kinds preceding.

"Of the three different ſorts of parallels, as above explained, every one hath its peculiar character and proper effect: and therefore they are differently employed on different occaſions . . . Synonymous parallels have the appearance of art and concinnity, and a ſtudied elegance. They prevail chiefly in ſhorter poems; in many of the Pſalms; in Balaam's prophecies; frequently in thoſe of Iſaiah, which are moſt of them diſtinct poems of no great length. The antithetic paralleliſm gives an acuteneſs and force to adages and moral ſentences; and therefore abounds in Solomon's proverbs, and elſewhere is not often to be met with. The poem of Job, being on a large plan, and in a high tragic ſtyle, though very exact in the diviſion of the lines, and in the paralleliſm, and affording many fine examples of the ſynonymous kind, yet conſiſts chiefly of the conſtructive. A happy mixture of the ſeveral ſorts gives an agreeable variety; and they ſerve mutually to recommend and ſet off one another."

He next conſiders the diſtinction of Hebrew verſes into longer and ſhorter, founded alſo on the authority of the alphabetic poems; one third of the whole number being manifeſtly of the larger ſort of verſe, the reſt of the ſhorter. He does not attempt exactly to define, by the number of ſyllables, the limit which ſeparates one ſort of verſe from the other; all that he affirms is this; that one of the three poems perfectly alphabetical, and therefore infallibly divided into its verſes; and three of the nine other alphabetical poems, divided into their verſes, after the manner of the perfectly aphabetical, with the greateſt degree of probability; that theſe four poems, being the four firſt Lamentations of Jeremiah, fall into verſes about one third longer, taking them one with another, than thoſe of the other eight alphabetical poems.—Example of theſe long verſes from a poem perfectly alphabetical:

'I am the man, that hath ſeen affliction, by the rod of his anger:
He hath led me, and made me walk in darkneſs, and not in light,' &c.
Lam. iii. 1—4.

Examples of the ſame ſort of verſe, where the limits of the verſes are to be collected only from the poetical conſtruction of the ſentences:

'Tho

'The law of Jehovah is perfect, restoring the soul:
The testimony of Jehovah is sure, making wise the simple,' &c. *Ps.* xix. 7.

'A sound of a multitude in the mountains, as of many people;
A sound of the tumult of kingdoms, of nations gathered together,' *Isa.* xiii. 4.

The learned prelate having established, on the grounds we have already mentioned, his opinion concerning the composition of the prophetical writings, proceeds to point out the very important advantages which are to be derived from this source, both to the translator and interpreter of the scriptures.

Flatness, he observes, and insipidity, will generally be the consequences of a deviation from the native manner of an original, which has a real merit and a peculiar force of its own. To express therefore the form and fashion of the composition becomes as necessary in a translation, as to give the author's sense with fidelity and exactness: but with what success can this be attempted, when the translator himself has an inadequate or even false idea of the real character of the author, as a writer; of the general nature and of the peculiar form of the composition?

He next proves, in a number of examples, that this attention to the peculiar turn and cast of the original, may be of still greater use to the interpreter, by leading him into the meaning of obscure words and phrases, and by suggesting the true reading where the text is corrupted.

With regard to the fidelity of the translation now offered to the public, the excellent author has entered very largely into the principles of criticism, and the method of interpretation, on which he has proceeded. It would be impossible to do justice to this part of his dissertation without transcribing the whole; we shall therefore content ourselves with saying, that the principal objects of his invaluable observations are, the Masoretic punctuation, the state of the Hebrew text, and the ancient versions of the Old Testament.

*** *The article from our very respectable correspondent at* Liverpool, *was, by some accident, mislaid; but shall be inserted in the next volume.*

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